1362

THE

WORKS

OF THE RIGHT REVEREND

THOMAS NEWTON, D. D.

Late LORD BISHOP of BRISTOL,
And DEAN of St. PAUL's, LONDON.

WITH SOME

ACCOUNT OF HIS LIFE,

AND

ANECDOTES of ſeveral of his FRIENDS,

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON,
PRINTED FOR JOHN, FRANCIS AND CHARLES RIVINGTON,
Nº 62, SAINT PAUL's CHURCH-YARD.
MDCCLXXXII.

CONTENTS of VOL. II.

DISSERTATION I.

On MOSES *and his writings.*

p. 1—59.

Names of his books, p. 3. I. Moſes the author of the Penteteuch, p. 4—20. Proved 1. From general fame and tradition, p. 4. 2. From citations by other antient authors, p. 4—8. 3. From being delivered to a whole nation together, p. 8, 9. 4. From internal proofs and arguments, p. 9, 10, 11. 5. From the refutation of objections to the contrary, p. 11—15. 6. From other conſiderations and reflections, p. 15—20. II. An author deſerving of peculiar regard and attention, p. 20—59. 1. The oldeſt author now extant, p. 20, 21, 22. 2. Of great fame among heathen writers, p. 22—27. 3. Well qualified to write, and the ſubjects important and intereſting, p. 27—31. 4. A fine writer, p. 31—41. 5. An honeſt and diſintereſted writer, p. 41—45. 6. An inſpired writer, p. 45—58. Concluſion, p. 58, 59.

DISSERTATION II.

On the hiſtory of the creation, and the fall of our firſt parents.

p. 59—74.

The world created about four thouſand years before Chriſt, p. 59. Created in ſix days, p. 59, 60. The firſt day, p. 60. Second day, p. 60, 61. Third day, p. 61. Fourth day, p. 61, 62. Fifth day, p. 62. Sixth day, p. 62, 63. The earth probably created in ſpring, p. 64. Seventh day, p. 64, 65. The language hieroglyphical, p. 65, 66. Formation of man, p. 66. Paradiſe, p. 66, 67, 68. Man divinely taught, p. 68, 69. Formation of woman, p. 69. Account of the fall, p. 70, 71. Sentence upon the offenders, p. 71, 72. Sacrifices then probably inſtituted, p. 73, 74. Expulſion from paradiſe, p. 74.

DISSERTATION III.

On the history of the antediluvian world.

p. 75—106.

Cain and Abel, p. 75. Their different ſacrifices, p. 76. Cain envies and murders his brother, p. 77, 78. His puniſhment, p. 78, 79. Seth born, p. 80. Cain's deſcendents, p. 80, 81. Lamech the firſt polygamiſt, p. 81, 82. Seth's family, p. 82, 83. Adam's death and age, p. 83, 84. Seth's pillars, p. 84. Riſe of idolatry, p. 85. Enoch and his tranſlation, p. 86, 87, 88. Methuſelah, Lamech, Noah, p. 88, 89. The wickedneſs of the world, p. 89, 90. The giants, p. 91, 92. The deluge threatened, p. 92. Noah a ſingular example of goodneſs, p. 93. Other hiſtories of this period, p. 93. Phœnician by Sanchoniathon, p. 94, 95, 96. Chaldæan by Beroſus, p. 96. Egyptian by Manetho, p. 97. Hebrew chronology preferred to the Samaritan or Septuagint, p. 97—100. Long lives of men, p. 100, 101. Vaſt multiplication, p. 102. Their government, arts, and religion, p. 102, 103. The ſabbath, p. 103, 104. Stated places of worſhip, p. 104. Their ſacrifices, p. 105. What the ſins of the antediluvian world, 106.

DISSERTATION IV.

On the deluge, and the ſubſequent hiſtory of NOAH.

p. 107—125.

Noah directed to build the ark, p. 107, 108. And to bring in ſome of all creatures, p. 108, 109. He and his family, and the creatures, enter into the ark, which was capable of containing them, p. 109, 110. The beginning of the deluge, p. 110, 111. The cauſes of the deluge, p. 111, 12, 13. The increaſe and highth of the deluge, p. 113, 14. Decreaſe of the waters, p. 114. Mountain of Ararat, p. 115. Raven and dove ſent forth, p. 115, 16. Noah and the reſt come out of the ark, p. 116, 17. Times and dates of the deluge, p. 117, 18. Noah's ſacrifice, p. 118. Eating of fleſh allowed, but blood forbidden, p. 119, 20. Aſſurance of no more deluge, and the rainbow the ſign, p. 120, 21. Account of the deluge confirmed by other authors, p. 121—124. Remains of Noah's hiſtory, p. 124, 25.

DISSER-

CONTENTS.

DISSERTATION V.

On the confuſion of language, the diſperſion of mankind, and origin of nations.

p. 125—181.

Men all of one language, p. 126, 27. Come from the eaſt to the land of Shinar or Babylonia, p. 127, 28. Set about building their tower, p. 129. Their intention in doing it, p. 130, 31, 32. Their language miraculouſly confounded, p. 133, 34. Not a diſſenſion of opinions, p. 134, 35. Not a difference of pronunciation, p. 135, 36. Not a difference of confeſſions, p. 137. Dr. Middleton accounts for it in a natural way, p. 137, 38. His arguments refuted, p. 139—146. What the original language, p. 147, 48. Not known what number of languages then nor even now, p. 149, 50. The time of the confuſion of language and diſperſion of mankind, p. 150, 51. Not a tumultuous diſperſion, but according to their families, p. 151. The three ſons of Noah overſpread the whole earth, p. 151, 52. I. Japheth and his ſons, p. 153—159. II. Ham and his ſons, p. 159—172. Cuſh, p. 159, &c. Nimrod, p. 163—167. III. Shem and his ſons, p. 172—177. Conjectures about the peopling of America, p. 177—181.

DISSERTATION VI.

On the hiſtory of Abraham.

p. 181—218.

Abram's deſcent, p. 181. His anceſtors idolaters, p. 182. His firſt call, p. 183. Proceeds to Haran or Charran, p. 184. His ſecond call, ibid. Comes into Canaan, p. 184, 85. Goes down into Egypt, and ſtrange adventure there with his wife, p. 185, 86. Returns into Canaan, p. 187. He and Lot ſeparate, p. 187, 88. His ſignal ſervice to the kings of the country, p. 188, 89, 90. Account of Melchizedeck, p. 190, 91, 92. The promiſe of a numerous poſterity and the whole land of Canaan, p. 193, 94, 95. Sarai offers Hagar to her huſband, p 196. Iſhmael born, p. 196, 97. Circumciſion inſtituted, and Abram's name changed to Abraham, and Sarai's to Sarah, p. 198. Entertains the three angels, and the chief foretells the deſtruction of Sodom, p. 199, &c. The manner of it with the preſervation of Lot, p. 201—264. Joſephus his account, p. 204. Strabo's, p. 204, 205. Tacitus's, p. 205.

Maundrell's, p. 206, 207. Biſhop Pocock's, p. 208, &c. Lot's wife, p. 211. His daughters, p. 212. Abraham removes into the land of the Philiſtines, p. 213. His adventure with Abimelech, p. 213, 14. Iſaac born, p. 214, 15. Iſhmael expelled, p. 215, 16, 17. Covenant between Abraham and Abimelech, 217, 18.

DISSERTATION VII.

On ABRAHAM's *offering up* ISAAC.

p. 218—230.

A ſevere trial, but to be juſtified by reaſon, p. 218, 19. I. God might juſtly command Abraham to offer up his ſon, p. 220. II. Abraham might be perfectly aſſured that God did command it, p. 220—223. III. If he was ſo aſſured, it was his duty to put it in execution, p. 223, 24. IV. But the command was only for trial, and not intended for execution, p. 225, 26. V. The principal deſign was to exhibit a lively type of the death and ſacrifice of our Saviour Chriſt, p. 226, 27. VI. Several uſeful obſervations may be raiſed from this tranſaction, p. 228, 29, 30.

DISSERTATION VIII.

On the remainder of ABRAHAM's *hiſtory, and the ſtate of religion in his time.*

p. 230—251.

Sarah's death and burial, p. 230, 31. Abraham ſends Eliezer his ſteward to procure a wife for Iſaac, p. 232. His ſucceſs in that affair, p. 233, 34. Abraham's ſons by Keturah, p. 235, 36. He dies, and his two ſons Iſaac and Iſhmael attend his funeral, p. 237, 38. His great character, p. 238. The preſerver and propagator of true religion among men, p. 239, 40. His religion, p. 240, 41. The hiſtory of tithes, p. 241—244. The hiſtory of circumciſion, p. 244—249. Abraham's faith in the Meſſiah, p. 250, 51.

DISSERTATION IX.

On the hiſtory of the patriarchs after ABRAHAM.

p. 252—284.

Eſau and Jacob born, p. 252. Eſau ſells his birth-right, p. 253. Iſaac removes to Gerar, his diſſimulation there with Abimelech, p. 254. Proſpers and enters into covenant with Abimelech, p. 254, 55. Eſau marries two Canaanitiſh women, p. 256. Jacob ſupplants his brother Eſau, and obtains the

the bleſſing, p. 256—259. Eſau determins to kill his brother, who thereupon flies to Padan-Aram, p. 259. Eſau marries a daughter of Iſhmael, p. 260. Jacob's journey, p. 260, 61. Meets with Rachel, p. 262. Serves Laban ſeven years for Rachel, p. 262, 63. Put off with Leah, and ſerves ſeven years more for Rachel, p. 263. Jacob's children by Leah and the two handmaids, p. 264, 65. Rachel at length has a ſon, Joſeph, p. 265, 66. Jacob deſires to return to his own country, but Laban retains him, p. 266. His amazing proſperity, p. 267, 68. The Lord orders him to return to his country and kindred, p. 268. Purſued by Laban, p. 269. They expoſtulate and then enter into treaty together, p. 269, 70, 71. His meeting with Eſau, p. 272—276. Purchaſes a field at Sechem, p. 276, 77. The affair of Dinah, and how it was revenged by Simeon and Levi, p. 277, 78, 79. Removes to Bethel, p. 279, 80. Death of Deborah, Rebecca's nurſe, p. 281. Rachel's death, with the birth of Benjamin, p. 282, 83. Reuben's inceſt, p. 283. Iſaac's death and burial, p. 283, 84.

DISSERTATION X.

On the hiſtory of the patriarchs after ISAAC.

p. 284—324.

The generations of Eſau, p. 284—287. Generations of Jacob, p. 287. Joſeph and his dreams, p. 288. Sold into Egypt, p. 289, 290. Judah's adventure with Tamar, p. 291, 92. Potiphar and Potiphar's wife, p. 293, 94. Joſeph committed to priſon interprets the dreams of the chief butler and baker, p. 294, 95, 96. Pharaoh's dream, p. 296, 97. Joſeph interprets it, and made deputy over the land of Egypt, p. 298, 99. His brethren come into Egypt to buy corn, p. 300. His diſcourſe with them, p. 301. They return to their father, p. 302. Prevail at laſt to have Benjamin go with them into Egypt, p. 303. What paſſed between them and Joſeph's ſteward, p 304, 5. Their ſecond interview with Joſeph, p. 305, 6. Set out on their return, and are called back, p. 306, 7. Their third interview, p. 308, 9. Joſeph makes himſelf known to his brethren, and ſends for their father, p 309, 10. Jacob comes into Egypt, p. 311, 12. Why ſhepherds an abomination to the Egyptians, p. 313. Jacob preſented to Pharaoh, and placed in the land of Goſhen, p. 314. The famin ſo grievous, that the Egyptians ſell all their lands, p. 315. Joſeph purchaſes them for Pharaoh upon equitable conditions, p. 315, 16. Manaſſeh and Ephraim adopted by Jacob, p. 317, 18. Jacob's laſt bleſſing to his ſons, p. 319, 20, 21. Dies, and is carried into the land of Canaan, p. 321, 22, Joſeph dies, and his character from Juſtin, p. 323, 24.

DIS-

CONTENTS.

DISSERTATION XI.

On DAVID *and* NATHAN.

p. 324—337.

Obſervations on this tranſaction, p. 324, 25. 1. The frailty and wickedneſs of human nature, p. 325, 26, 27. 2. The fairneſs and impartiality of ſcripture hiſtory, p. 327, 28. 3. Art and addreſs requiſite in reproving ſuperiors, p. 328, 29. 4. Antiquity and uſefulneſs of parables, p. 329, 30. 5. Courage requiſite in reproving, and proper qualifications, p. 330, 31, 32. 6. Impartial reaſon ready to condemn any flagrant act of wickedneſs, p. 332. 7. How little we know ourſelves, with practical inferences, 332—337.

DISSERTATION XII.

On religious melancholy.

p. 337—352.

Saul's melancholy, p. 337, 38. Of all caſes of conſcience religious melancholy the moſt pitiable, p. 339. I. The uſual cauſes, p 340. 1. Indiſpoſition of body p. ibid. 2. Evil thoughts, p. 340, 41. 3. Miſtaken paſſages of ſcripture, p. 341. 4. Unworthy notions of themſelves, p. ibid. 5. Terrible apprehenſions of the devil, p. ibid. 6. Dreadful notions of God, p. 341, 42. II. The remedies for each caſe, p. 342. For the firſt, p. 342, 43. For the ſecond, p. 344, 45. For the third, p. 345, 46. For the fourth, p. 347, 48, 49. For the fifth, p. 349, 50. And for the ſixth, p. 350, 51. Concluſion, p. 351, 52.

DISSERTATION XIII.

On ſelf-love.

p. 353—361.

Self-love a natural principle, and agreeable to ſcripture, p. 353, 54. 1. What it is, p. 355. With reſpect to the ſoul, p. 356. With reſpect to the body, p. 357. With reſpect to the eſtate, p. 357, 58. 2. How it conduceth to our reputation with others, p. 358, 59. Diſtinction between ſelf-love and ſelfiſhneſs, p. 359, 60. Concluſion, p. 360, 61.

DISSER-

CONTENTS.

DISSERTATION XIV.

On GOD's *omnipreſence.*

p. 361—372.

Contemplation of the divine nature the greateſt of all ſubjects, p. 361, 62. His omnipreſence celebrated in a divine ſtrain by the Pſalmiſt, p. 362. I. Proof and illuſtration of this attribute, p. 363, 64, 65. II. Speculative inferences from this doctrin, p. 365—368. III. Practical inferences, p. 368—372.

DISSERTATION XV.

On the goodneſs of GOD.

p. 372—382.

A noble ſubject for meditation, p. 372. Some illuſtration of this attribute in various inſtances, p. 373—76. This doctrin may be of uſe and ſervice, 1. In forming our opinions, p. 376—78. 2. In directing our practice, p. 378—382.

DISSERTATION XVI.

Religion our greateſt pleaſure.

p. 383—393.

All men born for happineſs, but where is it to be found? p. 383. Chiefly in religion, p. 384. As will appear, I. From the little ſatisfaction that is to be found in other pleaſures, p. 385, &c. 1. In power or the goods of fortune, p. 385, 86. 2. In pleaſure or the gratification of the ſenſes, p. 386, 87, 88. 3. In knowlege as the food and delight of the underſtanding, p. 388, 89. Will farther appear by conſidering, II. The peculiar properties and advantages of religious pleaſures above all others, p. 389, &c. 1. With reſpect to power or outward circumſtances, p. 389, 90. 2. With reſpect to the pleaſures of ſenſe, p. 390, 91. 3. With reſpect to the ſoul, the proper ſeat of happineſs, p. 391, 92. Concluſion, p. 393.

DISSER-

CONTENTS.

DISSERTATION XVII.

Religion our greateſt comfort.

p. 394—407.

Trouble more or leſs the portion of all mankind, p. 394. Religion as our greateſt pleaſure, ſo likewiſe our greateſt comfort, p. 395. As will appear by conſidering, I. How little comfort is to be found in other things, p. 395, &c. Proved in various inſtances, p. 395—398. By conſidering II. The comforts which religion affords, p. 398, &c. 1. In the eſtimation of religion ſeveral of the evils of life are no real evils, p. 399. 2. Religion will improve the real evils of life, if not into temporal, yet certainly into ſpiritual benefits, p. 399—402. 3. The belief of a God and a providence another motive to moderate griefs, p. 402, 3. 4. Religion if not deliver us from troubles, will yet afford the beſt ſupports under them, p. 404, 5. The hopes of a bleſſed immortality, p. 404, 5, 6. Examples of men who have triumphed over afflictions, p. 405, 6. Concluſion, p. 407.

DISSERTATION XVIII.

On the government of our thoughts.

p. 408—417.

On the regulation of our thoughts depends the regulation of our lives, p. 408. I. We are accountable for our thoughts, and how far accountable for them, and able to govern them, p. 409—412. II. Some rules for the better regulation and government of them accordingly, p. 412, &c. 1. To live under an habitual ſenſe of God's omnipreſence and omniſcience, p. 412, 13. 2. To guard againſt all exceſs of paſſion, and to take all proper care of our health, p. 413, 14. 3. To make choice of ſome proper buſineſs and employment, and be very diligent therein, p. 414, 15. 4. To be curious in the choice of our company, p. 415. 5. To be curious in the choice of books, p. 415, 16. 6. To pray unto God for his Holy Spirit to purify our hearts, p 416, 17.

DISSER-

CONTENTS.

DISSERTATION XIX.

On the government of the tongue.

p. 417—428.

The tongue may be the inſtrument of great good or great hurt in the world, p. 417. Scripture directions for the government of it, p. 418, 19. The conveniences and inconveniences of governing or not governing the tongue, p. 420—426. Much the ſame rules for the government of the tongue as of the heart, p. 426, 27, 28.

DISSERTATION XX.

Men the authors of their own miſery or happineſs.

p. 428—447.

All creatures deſigned for happineſs in their different degrees, p. 428, 29. Men miſtake in ſeeking it in things without, when it is ſeated more within, p. 429, 30. I. Guilt its own puniſhment, p. 430, &c. 1. The natural effects of ſome ſins are a puniſhment to the ſinner, p. 431, 32. 2. Sins of men are often the occaſion of their misfortunes, p. 432, 33. 3. Sometimes draw down ſimilar judgments, p. 433, 34. 4. The horrors and agonies of a guilty mind, p. 434, 35. 5. The ſource of the ſinner's miſery in the next world, as well as embitter all enjoyments in this, p. 435, 36. No argument more powerful to diſſuade from a ſinful courſe of life, p. 436, 37. II. Goodneſs its own reward, p. 437, &c. *Where may happineſs be found?* it is ſeated principally in the mind, p. 438. No happineſs without the mind, p. 438, 39. What happineſs the mind will adminiſter, p. 439, 40, 41. *How may happineſs be attained?* p. 441. No happineſs without virtue and goodneſs, p. 441, 42. Virtue and goodneſs greatly contribute to happineſs, p. 442, 43. Practical uſes, 1. To pray unto God to refine our ſpirits, p. 443, 44. 2. To uſe our own endevors, p. 444, 45. 3. To keep under our body, p. 445. 4. Principally to improve our minds, p. 445, 46. 5. To become virtuous and good, p. 446, 47.

CONTENTS.

DISSERTATION XXI.

On a chearful and a wounded ſpirit.

p. 447—457.

From Solomon's moral obſervations moral precepts to be drawn, p. 447. The advantages of a chearful ſpirit, p. 448. The diſadvantages of a wounded ſpirit, p. 448, 49. The precept therefore to cheriſh chearfulneſs, p. 449, 50. The chriſtian religion ſo far from being an enemy to it, that it injoins it, p. 450, 51. A duty to ourſelves, p. 452, 53. A duty to others, p. 453. A duty to God, p. 453, 54. Some exceptions conſidered, p. 454, 55, 56. The moſt effectual means to promote chearfulneſs, p. 456, 57.

DISSERTATION XXII.

On flattery.

p. 458—467.

A moſt pernicious, and yet common vice, p. 458—461. The great evil and miſchief of it, I. To the perſon that is flattered, p. 461, 62, 63. II. To the flatterer himſelf, p. 463—65. Advice to each, 1. To the perſon that is flattered, p. 465, 66. To the flatterer himſelf, p. 466, 67.

DISSERTATION XXIII.

On reproof.

p. 467—477.

In converſation truth leſs regarded than ceremony and compliment, p. 467, 68. I. The duty and expediency of brotherly reproof, p. 468, &c. II. The beſt manner of doing it, p. 471, &c. The qualifications and intentions of thoſe who reprove, p. 471, 72, 73. The characters and tempers of thoſe who are to be reproved, p. 473, 74. The occaſions and times of reproving, p. 474, 75. The addreſs and ſpirit wherewith it ſhould be done, p. 476, 77. After all much to be left to diſcretion, p. 477.

DISSER-

CONTENTS.

DISSERTATION XXIV.

AGUR's *wiſh.*

p. 478—487.

He prayeth not abſolutely againſt poverty or riches, but for a competency rather than either of the extremes, p. 478, 79. His reaſons, p. 479, 80. 1. The temptations and dangers of poverty, p. 480, 81, 82. 2. The temptations and dangers of riches, p. 482, 83, 84. 3. The ſecurity and advantages of a competency, p. 484, 85, 86. Concluſion, p. 487.

DISSERTATION XXV.

On public worſhip.

p. 488—497.

Solomon, who firſt built a magnificent temple for the worſhip of the true God, a fit perſon to give directions about public worſhip, p. 488. His phraſe of *keeping the foot* explained, p. 488, 89. Implies two things, a duty to frequent the houſe of God, and to behave there with reverence, p. 489. 1. The reaſons for public worſhip, p. 489—493. 2. Reaſons for behaving with reverence upon ſuch occaſions, p. 493, 94, 95. Exhortations to both, p. 495, 96, 97.

DISSERTATION XXVI.

On dreams.

p. 498—508.

Every thing hath its uſe and abuſe, dreams particularly, p. 498. I. The abuſe of dreams, p. 499, &c. 1. Regarding them as ſignificative of future events, p. 499, 500. 2. Deſiring to relate them, and to liſten to the interpretation of others, p. 500. 3. Thence to infer the materiality of the ſoul, p. 500, 501. 4. Thence to infer no material ſubſtance, p. 501. II. The proper uſes of dreams, p. 501, &c. 1. To conſider what may be the cauſe of dreaming, p. 501—505. 2. From thence to learn our natural diſpoſition and temper, p. 505, 506. 3. Arguments for the immateriality and immortality of the ſoul, p. 506, 507. 4. The religious uſes, p. 507, 508.

CONTENTS.

DISSERTATION XXVII.

On the abuſe of names and words.

p. 508—517.

Nothing capable of doing more good or harm than ſpeech and language, p. 508. Of all abuſes none worſe than calling evil good, and good evil, p. 509. I. Some inſtances of this abuſe and miſapplication of names and words, p. 509—513. II. The great wickedneſs and miſchievous effects of it, p. 513—516. Concluſion, p. 516, 17.

DISSERTATION XXVIII.

On modeſty and ſhame.

p. 518—528.

Modeſty and ſhame, generally commendable, but not always right, p. 518, 19. I. The nature, end, and uſe, of modeſty and ſhame in general, p. 519—523. II. Of what things we ſhould not be aſhamed, p. 523, 24, 25, 26. Of what we ſhould be aſhamed, p. 526, 27, 28. Concluſion, p. 528.

DISSERTATION XXIX.

Againſt learned pride.

p. 529—538.

Nothing more apt to fill us with pride than a conceit of our own wiſdom and knowlege, p. 529. The vanity of it, 1. Becauſe all human wiſdom is at the beſt very ſhort and imperfect, p. 530, 31. 2. Becauſe liable to many contingences, and of ſhort and uncertain duration, p. 532, 33. 3. Becauſe the wiſeſt perſonages have ſomething to humble and abaſe them, p. 533, 34. 4. Becauſe pride is deſtructive of that very learning and knowlege, which are its own foundation and ſupport, p. 534, 35. 5. Other conſiderations from the ſtate of mankind and our own, p. 535, 36. 6. Man compared with angels altogether lighter than vanity itſelf, p. 536. 7. This temper particularly hateful in the ſight of God, p. 537. Concluſion, p. 537, 38.

DISSER-

CONTENTS.

DISSERTATION XXX.

On the philoſophy of ſcripture.

p. 539—554.

This a philoſophic age, p. 539. The philoſophy of ſcripture cenſured, p. 540. Vindicated, p. 540, &c. I. The true religion teacheth nothing contrary to the true philoſophy, p. 540, 41. Not in *ſun ſtand thou ſtand ſtill* in Joſhua, p. 541, 42. Not in the Moſaic hiſtory of the creation, p. 543, 44. Not in Samuel or Job, p. 544, 45. II. The ſcriptures confirm it, and are confirmed by it in ſeveral inſtances, p. 545. In the Moſaic hiſtory of the creation, p. 546. In Job, p. 547. In Moſes, p. 548. In Solomon, p. 548, 49. In Jeremiah and Iſaiah, p. 549. In Pſalms, p. 550. In St. Peter, p. 551. The moſt eminent philoſophers men of religion, p. 552. Lord Bacon, p. 552, 53. Mr. Boyle, p. 553. Mr. Locke, p. 553, 54. Sir Iſaac Newton, p. 554.

OCCASIONAL SERMONS.

I.

On forms of prayer, and particularly thoſe of the church of England.

LUKE XI. 1.

—Lord teach us to pray, as John alſo taught his diſciples.

p. 555—567.

The neceſſity of inſtruction for prayer, p. 557. I. The lawfulneſs and expediency of ſet forms of prayer in general, p. 558, &c. Proved 1. From the authority of ſcripture, p. 558, 59. 2. From the reaſon of the thing, p. 560, 61. II. The excellency of our own form in particular, p. 561, &c. 1. It will much recommend it to conſider how and by whom it was compoſed, p. 562. 2. That it is drawn up in our own mother tongue, p. 562, 63. 3. Compoſed principally out of ſcripture and ancient liturgies and fathers, p. 563. 4. Our prayers addreſſed to the proper object through the proper mediator, p. 563, 64. 5. So many ſhort diſtinct petitions, p. 564. 6. The variety of it, ibid. 7. Its comprehenſiveneſs, p. 564, 65. 8. The congregation have a large ſhare, p. 565. Other excellencies, p. 565, 66. Concluſion, p. 566, 67.

SERMON

CONTENTS.

SERMON II.

Phariſaiſm and Popery paralleled.

Preached on occaſion of the rebellion, 1745.

MATT. XXIII. 13.

Woe unto you Scribes and Phariſees, hypocrites.

p. 567—579.

The eight woes denounced againſt the Scribes and Phariſees as applicable to ſome others, p. 567, 68. The firſt woe for taking away the key of knowlege, and ſhutting up the kingdom of heaven againſt men, p. 568, 69, 70. Second woe for devouring widows houſes, and for a pretence making long prayers, p. 570. Third woe for compaſſing ſea and land to make proſelytes, p. 571. Fourth woe for vain diſtinctions of oaths, p. 572. Fifth woe for paying tithe of mint, &c. and omitting the weightier matters of the law, p. 572, 73. Sixth woe for making the outſide clean, but being within full of extortion and wickedneſs, p. 573, 74. Seventh woe for appearing outwardly righteous, but being within full of iniquity, p. 574. Laſt woe for honoring dead ſaints and perſecuting the living, p. 574, 75. Other reſemblances between the Phariſees and Papiſts, p. 576. Concluſion and application to the preſent rebellion, p. 576, 77, 78, 79.

SERMON III.

Preached before the Houſe of Commons during the rebellion, 1745.

REV. II. 5.

Remember therefore from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the firſt works; or elſe I will come unto thee quickly, and will remove thy candleſtick out of his place, except thou repent.

p. 580—592.

The fate of the eaſtern churches a warning to thoſe of the weſt, p. 580, 81. Two things propoſed to our conſideration, the evils with which we are threatened, and the moſt effectual means to prevent them, p. 581, 82. I. The evils with which we are threatened, p. 582, &c. The loſs of our religion, p. 582, 83. Of our

our property, p. 583, 84. Of our trade and commerce, p. 584, 85. Of our excellent conſtitution and Engliſh liberty, p. 585, 86. II. The moſt effectual means to prevent theſe evils, p 586, &c. By general repentance and particularly of our national vices, p. 587, 88. The great decay of public ſpirit and love of our country, p. 588, 89. The luxury and diſſoluteneſs of the age, p. 589, 90. Our factions and diviſions, p. 590, 91. Our offenſes towards God, p. 591, 92.

SERMON IV.

On our Saviour's choice of his apoſtles.

Preached at the conſecration of Biſhop Warburton.

MARK III. 14.

He ordained twelve, that they ſhould be with him, and that he might ſend them forth to preach.

p. 593—603.

The manner of our Saviour's chooſing his apoſtles, p. 593, 94. 1. They were twelve in number, p. 594, 95. 2. Were honeſt and good men, p. 595, 96. 3. Were poor men, of no power, influence or authority, p. 596, 97. 4. Of no learning, eloquence or addreſs, p. 597. The reaſons of his making ſuch a choice, p. 598, &c. Becauſe the rich and learned were not at firſt diſpoſed to receive the goſpel, p. 598. For fear the rich and learned ſhould enervate the force, and corrupt the purity of the goſpel, p. 598. The principal reaſon more fully to manifeſt the truth and divinity of the chriſtian religion, p. 598, 99, 600. At firſt eſtabliſhed by miracle, but to be preſerved by natural means, p. 600. The uſe of learning, p. 601. Of ſome perſons of noble extraction, p. 601. Virtue and piety neceſſary at all times, p. 602. Prayer for the continuance of theſe bleſſings, p. 602, 603.

SERMON

CONTENTS.

SERMON V.

God and the King.

Preached before the King on the day of his acceſſion, 1761.

2 PET. II. 17.

Fear God, honor the king.

p. 603—610.

Some virtues have a cloſe connexion with others, as fearing God and honoring the king, p. 603, 604. Great and important duties conſidered ſeparately, p. 604, 605, 606. Of greater force and efficacy taken conjointly, p. 606. The influence of the ſtate upon religion, p. 606, 607. Of religion upon the ſtate, p. 607—610. Concluſion, p. 610.

SERMON VI.

The good Samaritan.

Preached at Briſtol for the benefit of the Infirmary.

LUKE X. 37.

Go, and do thou likewiſe.

p. 611—621.

The example of the good Samaritan applicable to this preſent aſſembly, p. 611. I. The perſon a ſtranger and alien from the commonwealth of Iſrael, and men of all ſects and parties may unite in acts of mercy and kindneſs, p. 611, 12, 13. II. The ſufferer a Jew of a different religion, and all ſects and parties partake of the benefit of an infirmary, p. 613, 14, 15. III. The manner and circumſtances of the Samaritan's behaviour, p. 615. His readineſs to relieve and aſſiſt a poor helpleſs fellow-creature, and ſuch are readily admitted into the hoſpital, p. 615, 16, 17. His conducting him to a houſe of good reception, hoſpitals of later inſtitution by chriſtians, and more efficacious than any private charity, p. 617, 18.

His

His maintaining him there, and defraying all expenſes, wherein the hoſpital hath greatly the advantage, p. 618, 19, 20. Here you follow a greater and better example than the Samaritan, our bleſſed Saviour and Redeemer, p. 620, 21.

SERMON VII.

On moderation.

Preached before the Houſe of Lords, Jan. 30, 1764.

PHILIP. IV. 5.

Let your moderation be known unto all men.

p. 621—630.

Moderation a frequent ſubject of diſcourſe, but underſtood by few, and practiſed by yet fewer, p. 621, 22. I. What is moderation, p. 623, 24. II. What it is to make it known unto all men, p. 624, 25. In matters of religion, p. 625, 26. In matters of government, p. 626, 27. III. The uſefulneſs and expediency of it, p. 628. The advantages of this temper, ibid. The diſadvantages of the contrary, p. 628, 29. Other arguments drawn from the clauſe following the text, *the Lord is at hand*, p. 629. Concluſion with texts of ſcripture illuſtrating and enforcing the doctrin, p. 630.

SERMON VIII.

The Goſpel preached to the poor.

Preached at the annual meeting of the Charity Schools, May 2, 1765.

MATT. XI. 5.

The poor have the goſpel preached to them.

p. 631—640.

The occaſion of the words, p. 631, 32, 33. Who the poor to whom the goſpel is preached, p. 633, 34. A proof of our Saviour's ſincerity and diſintereſtedneſs, p. 634, 35. The goſpel in many ways preached to the poor in theſe days, p. 635, 36. Principally in the education of poor children, p. 637. No juſt objections againſt theſe ſchools, many good arguments for them, p. 637, 38, 39. A ſummary of farther arguments, p. 639, 40.

CONTENTS.

SERMON IX.

On the imperfect reception of the gospel.

Preached before the Society for the propagation of the gospel, Feb. 17, 1769.

JOHN X. 16.

Other sheep I have which are not of this fold.

p. 641—656.

An inquiry into the reasons of it, p. 641. 1. If we cannot account for it, yet no just objection against the providence of God, p. 642. 2. God was not obliged to make a revelation universal, p. 642, 43. 3. He had also foretold that for some time at least it should not be universal, p. 643. 4. But yet he hath not left himself without witness, p. 643, 44. 5. Christianity operates beyond the sphere of Christendom, p. 644. 6. Christ's satisfaction not partial but universal, p. 644, 45. 7. Men will be judged in proportion to their knowlege of their duty, p. 645. 8. Scarce any nation that hath not, some time or other, had an opportunity of being converted, p. 645, 46. 9. The failure therefore must be charged altogether upon men, p. 646, 47. 10. The want of universality made to serve several wise ends and purposes of providence, p. 647, 48. Lastly, the christian religion will one time or other become universal, p. 648, 49. The consequence to promote as much as lieth in us the universal reign of Christ, p. 649, 50. Particularly in our colonies, p. 651. The good effects of the society, p. 652, 53. Much still remains to be done, p. 654, 55. Conclusion, p. 655, 56.

CHARGES.

I.

On reading the scriptures, 1763.

p. 657—669.

No subject more proper and seasonable, p. 659. I. Some arguments for being constant and diligent in reading the scriptures, p. 659, &c. 1. Worth our while if nothing more than human compositions, p. 660, 61. But 2. Challenge a greater regard as they are of divine inspiration, p. 662, 63. 3. By them

them only we can be made wiſe unto ſalvation, p. 663, 64. 4. Are farther profitable for doctrin, for reproof, &c. p. 664, 65. II. Some directions for reading them to the beſt advantage, p. 665, &c. 1. To bring an honeſt and diſintereſted mind, p. 665, 66. 2. To begin with the plaineſt parts firſt, p. 666. 3. To regard the context without the diviſion into chapters and verſes, p. 666, 67. 4. To compare ſcripture with ſcripture, p. 667. 5. To judge of parts according to the analogy of the whole, p. 668. 6. Never to depart lightly from the generally received interpretation, ibid. 7. In any difficulty to conſult others, eſpecially thoſe who have made theſe things their ſtudy, p. 668, 69. 8. To beg of the God of truth to direct us in the ſearch of truth, p. 669. Finally, to do the will of God in order to know of the doctrin, ibid.

CHARGE II.

On the increaſe of popery, 1766.

p. 669—679.

The cry greater than the occaſion, but yet there may have been ſome increaſe owing to the following cauſes, p. 669, 70. I. The baniſhed Jeſuits taking ſhelter in this country, p. 670, 71, 72. II. The number of Methodiſts, p. 672, 73, 74. III. The non-execution of the laws, p. 675, 76. IV. Some neglects of the clergy, p. 676, 77, 78, 79. With inſtructions under each head.

CHARGE III.

On the licentiouſneſs of the times, 1770.

p. 679—689.

Very threatning to church and ſtate, p. 679. Never was a period when the clergy were more moderate, p. 680. Never was a period when we had a better king, p 680, 81. Never was a period when theſe kingdoms were more flouriſhing, p. 681, 82. But yet all complained of and abuſed. The great grievance of all the want of religion, p. 682, 83. If religion and virtue had their due influence, the face of things would be very different, p. 683, 84. The duty of the clergy to apply remedies to theſe evils, p. 684, &c. Concluſion, p. 688, 89.

CHARGE

CONTENTS.

CHARGE IV.

On the late attempts againſt the church, 1773.

p. 690—698.

The times perilous, 690. Firſt attack made by ſome of the clergy diſclaiming all creeds and confeſſions, with the unreaſonableneſs of it, p. 690, 91. More to be ſaid in favor of the diſſenter's plea, but yet not to be admitted without ſome teſt for the ſecurity of the ſtate, p. 691, 92, 93. Another attack by the *Nullum Tempus Bill*, p. 694. Another relating to tithes, p. 695. The laſt for the reviſion of the liturgy and articles, which however reaſonable would be attended with great inconvences, p. 696, 97, 98. Caution to the clergy, p. 698.

CHARGE V.

A diſſuaſive from ſchiſm, 1776 *and* 1777.

p. 699—711.

The great duty of uniformity and the great ſin of ſchiſm, p. 699, 700. Uniformity not only injoined by the law of the land, but farther enforced by the law of God, p. 700, 01. Nothing can juſtify a ſeparation, unleſs the terms of communion are ſinful, which cannot be objected to the church of England, p. 701, 02. The Methodiſts guilty of ſchiſm, p. 702, 03. The Socinians a better plea for ſeparation, if their principles were true, p. 703, 04. But their principles not true, if ſcripture be true, p. 704, 5. Proofs from ſcripture, p. 706, 7. No truth in the aſſertion, that the primitive chriſtians were Unitarians till the council of Nice, p. 708. If Chriſt be not God, what can be ſaid in vindication of him and his apoſtles, for his making himſelf God, and their aſcribing to him God-like titles and attributes? p. 709, 10. Other faults of the Socinians, p. 710, 11.

ERRATA in VOL. II.

For *are are*,	p. 41.	l. 20.	read *are*.
For *ought be*,	p. 69.	l. 15.	read *ought to be*.
For *Araphaxad*,	p. 175.	l. 17.	read *Arphaxad*.
For *Mechizedek*,	p. 192.	l. 5.	read *Melchizedek*.
For *foul*,	p. 327.	l. 4.	read *ſoul*.
For *circumſtance*,	p. 336.	l. 3.	read *circumſtances*.
For *but but*,	p. 568.	l. 25.	read *but*.
For *no*,	p. 578.	l. 1.	read *not*.

DISSERTATIONS

Chiefly on ſome PARTS of the

OLD TESTAMENT.

OLD TESTAMENT

DISSERTATIONS

DISSERTATION I.

On MOSES and his Writings.

THE collection of the writings of Moſes and the prophets, of the apoſtles and evangeliſts, is diſtinguiſhed by the name of the *Bible*, or the book by way of eminence. For the ſame reaſon it is denominated the *Scripture*, or the writing in preference to all other writings: and in imitation hereof the Mohammedans intitle the book of their religion, or any part of it, the *Koran*, (1) that is the reading, or that which ought to be read. The holy bible conſiſteth of two principal parts, the old teſtament or covenant of God with the Iſraelites, and the new teſtament or covenant with all mankind in Chriſt Jeſus. Of the old teſtament the principal part is the Penteteuch or the five books of Moſes, ſo called from the Greek word (πεντε) five, and from another Greek word (τευχος) ſignifying a book or volume: and theſe five books are uſually intitled, as they are in the Greek tranſlation, *Geneſis* or the generation of the world and of mankind, *Exodus* or the departure of the Iſraelites out of Egypt, *Leviticus* or the ſervice of the Levites, *Numbers* or the numbrings of the tribes of Iſrael, and *Deuteronomy* or the repetition of the law; whereas in the Hebrew they have their titles from ſome of the initial words of each book; in the ſame manner as *Arma virum* the two firſt words of Virgil's Æneid are made to ſignify the whole Æneid. Perſius I. 96.

Arma virum nonne hoc ſpumoſum et cortice pingui?

(1) See Sale's Prelim. Diſcourſe to the Koran, Sect. III.

In like manner Cicero mentions his treatiſe *of old age* not directly by name, but by the words with which it begins. Quod vero ſcribis te magis et magis delectari *O Tite, ſi quid ego*, addes mihi ſcribendi alacritatem. Ad Atticum. XVI. 3. and afterwards Epiſt. 11. *O Tite*, tibi prodeſſe lætor. As theſe five books then are the firſt, and as I may ſay the foundation of all the reſt, it may be proper to ſhow, that they are really the works of Moſes to whom they are aſcribed, and that he is a writer very well worthy of our peculiar regard and attention.

I. Moſes was the author of the Penteteuch or the five books uſually attributed to him. For conſider what are the marks and characters, which prove the genuinneſs and authenticity of the works of any ancient author; and the ſame arguments may be urged with equal, if not with greater force, in favor of the writings of Moſes.

1. There is the authority of general fame and tradition; and what better authority have you for receiving this or that book as the production of this or that author, whom you could not yourſelf know to be the author? Why do you believe for inſtance, that the Iliad of Homer and the hiſtory of Herodotus are the works of their reſpective authors, but upon the credit and conſent of all antiquity? and is there not the ſame general teſtimony and tradition in favor of the writings of Moſes? If the writings of Moſes have by ſome few perſons been aſcribed to other authors, ſo likewiſe have the poems of Homer; but ſuch ſingular opinions were never thought of any weight in the balance with general tradition. The books of Moſes have conſtantly been received as his, and have been delivered down to us as his, by the conſent of all ages, and of all nations, Jews, Heathens, and Chriſtians: nor was their truth or genuinneſs ever denied or queſtioned by thoſe whoſe intereſt it was to deny it, by any of the Jews in their frequent apoſtaſies, or by the greateſt enemies of the Jews, the Samaritans; and they both certainly would have done it, if there had been any the leaſt ground or pretence for it.

2. It is a farther confirmation of the genuinneſs and authenticity of the works of any ancient author, when they are mentioned and quoted by

by other ancient writers, eſpecially by thoſe who lived neareſt the time of that author. Now beſides the ſeveral teſtimonies of ancient heathen writers, it will be of great moment with all who profeſs themſelves Chriſtians, that our Saviour and his apoſtles make frequent mention of the writings of Moſes, ſpeak of them as his without any doubt or heſitation, and produce paſſages from them in his name, and upon his authority.

But to go up higher, we ſee *the law of Moſes* frequently mentioned in the ſacred hiſtorical books of the Jews, and ſometimes particularly quoted, as in 2 Kings XIV. 5, 6. "And it came to paſs as ſoon as "the kingdom was confirmed in his hand, that he" (Amaziah) "ſlew "his ſervants who had ſlain the king his father. But the children of "the murderers he ſlew not, according unto that which is written "in the book of the law of Moſes, wherein the Lord commanded ſay-"ing, The fathers ſhall not be put to death for the children, nor the "children be put to death for the fathers; but every man ſhall be put "to death for his own ſin:" which is quoted from Deut. XXIV. 16.

We find alſo the prophets, the earlieſt of them, bearing teſtimony to the writings of Moſes not only by various alluſions to them, but alſo by expreſs quotations from them. The prophet Jonah thus addreſſeth himſelf to God, (IV. 2.) "I knew that thou art a gracious God and "merciful, ſlow to anger, and of great kindneſs:" *I knew* it, that is from thy declaration to thy ſervant Moſes in the ſame words, for the words are the ſame in the original, (Exod. XXXIV. 6.) "The "Lord God merciful and gracious, long-ſuffering, and abundant in "goodneſs." The prophet Hoſea introduceth God declaring, (I. 10.) that "the number of the children of Iſrael ſhall be as the ſand of the "ſea, which cannot be numbred;" which are the words of Moſes upon the ſame ſubject, (Gen. XXXII. 12.) "I will make thy ſeed as "the ſand of the ſea, which cannot be numbred:" and in another place the ſame prophet, not only alludes to the ſtory of Jacob as related in the book of Geneſis, but likewiſe applies the ſame words, (XII. 3, 4.) "He took his brother by the heel in the womb, and by "his ſtrength he had power with God; Yea he had power over the "angel,

" angel, and prevailed." The prophet Jeremiah denounceth the judgments of God upon the Jews for their diſobedience, and in ſeveral inſtances employeth the ſame words, which Moſes had employed upon the ſame occaſion: as in this paſſage, (XIX. 9.) " I will cauſe " them to eat the fleſh of their ſons, and the fleſh of their daughters, " in the ſiege and ſtraitneſs, wherewith their enemies ſhall ſtraiten " them;" which is the denunciation of Moſes, (Deut. XXVIII. 53.) " Thou ſhalt eat the fleſh of thy ſons, and of thy daughters, in the " ſiege, and in the ſtraitneſs wherewith thine enemies ſhall diſtreſs " thee." The prophet Iſaiah appeals " to the law, and to the teſti- " mony," (VIII. 20.) " If they ſpeak not according to this word," ſaith he, " it is becauſe there is no light in them." He begins his prophecy with this ſolemn exclamation, (I. 2.) " Hear, O heavens, " and give ear, O earth, for the Lord hath ſpoken;" which is plainly copied from the beginning of Moſes's ſong, (Deut. XXXII. 1.) " Give " ear, O ye heavens, and I will ſpeak; and hear, O earth, the words " of my mouth." In deſcribing the deſolation of the wicked he ſaith, (XXIV. 18.) " the windows from on high are open;" which is a manifeſt alluſion to the deſcription of the deluge, and to the words of Moſes, (Gen. VII. 11.) " the windows of heaven were opened." He promiſeth the righteous in the name of the Lord, (LVIII. 14.) " I " will cauſe thee to ride upon the high places of the earth;" which is the very expreſſion of Moſes, (Deut. XXXII. 13.) " He made him " ride on the high places of the earth." And in ſeveral paſſages he alludes to the hiſtory, as well as to the words of Moſes; as in this inſtance, (LXIII. 11, 12.) " Then he remembred the days of old, " Moſes and his people, ſaying, Where is he that brought them up out " of the ſea, with the ſhepherd of his flock? That led them by the " right hand of Moſes, with his glorious arm, dividing the water be- " fore them, to make himſelf an everlaſting name?" &c.

But there are higher authorities than theſe. The Proverbs of Solomon are not without ſeveral alluſions to the writings of Moſes, but there are more direct proofs in the book of Pſalms. For David's " delight was in the law of the Lord," ſo he calleth the law of

Moſes, (Pſal. I. 2.) " and in his law did he meditate day and night:" and no wonder therefore that the ſame ſpirit breathes in both their compoſitions. Who doth not immediately perceive, that the following account of man's dominion is taken from the original grant made to Adam at his creation? (Pſal. VIII. 6, 7, 8.) " Thou madeſt him " to have dominion over the works of thy hands; thou haſt put all " things under his feet; All ſheep, and oxen, yea and the beaſts of " the field; The fowl of the air, and the fiſh of the ſea, and what- " ſoever paſſeth through the paths of the ſeas." David prayeth unto God, (XVII. 8.) " Keep me as the apple of the eye;" the ſame ſimilitude that is in Moſes's ſong, (Deut. XXXII. 10.) " He kept him " as the apple of his eye." " The earth is the Lord's," ſaith David (XXIV. 1.) and ſo ſaith Moſes, (Exod. IX. 29.) " The earth is " the Lord's." In celebrating the works of creation the Pſalmiſt borrows his images from the Moſaic hiſtory, (Pſal. XXXIII. 6, &c.) " By the word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all the hoſt " of them by the breath of his mouth: He gathereth the waters of the " ſea together as an heap; he layeth up the depth in ſtore-houſes: " Let all the earth fear the Lord, let all the inhabitants of the world " ſtand in awe of him: For he ſpake, and it was done; he com- " manded, and it ſtood faſt." " Judah is my law-giver," ſaith David, (LX. 7.) the very ſame word that is in Jacob's prophecy, (Gen. XLIX. 10.) " The law-giver ſhall not depart from Judah." David thus begins his pſalm or ſong at the removing of the ark, (LXVIII. 1.) " Let God ariſe, let his enemies be ſcattered; let them alſo that hate " him, flee before him:" which are the words of Moſes upon the ſame occaſion (Numb. X. 35.) " And it came to paſs when the ark " ſet forward, that Moſes ſaid, Riſe up, Lord, and let thine enemies " be ſcattered; and let them that hate thee, flee before thee." In another pſalm of David we read, (CIII. 7, 8.) " He made known " his ways unto Moſes, his acts unto the children of Iſrael; The " Lord is merciful and gracious, ſlow to anger, and plenteous in " mercy:" which words are found again in Pſalm LXXXVI. 15. " But thou, O Lord, art a God full of compaſſion and gracious, " long-

" long-ſuffering, and plenteous in mercy and truth:" and again are found in Pſalm CXLV. 8. " The Lord is gracious, and full of com-" paſſion, ſlow to anger, and of great mercy:" and are a direct quotation of God's declaration to Moſes, which was cited before, (Exod. XXXIV. 6.) " The Lord God merciful and gracious, long-" ſuffering, and abundant in goodneſs and truth." Beſides theſe quotations, ſeveral entire pſalms, as LXXVIII. CV. CVI. are little hiſtories, and faithful copies of the tranſactions recorded by Moſes; which pſalms, by whomſoever they were compoſed, ſhow evidently, that the Jewiſh church eſteemed the writings of Moſes the foundation of true hiſtory as well as of true religion.

So early as Joſhua, we find ſeveral quotations from the writings of Moſes, in the book of Joſhua, which if not all, yet the greater part of it was in all probability written by Joſhua himſelf. When the Lord appointed Joſhua to ſucceed Moſes, he gave him this direction among others, (Joſh. I. 8.) " This book of the law ſhall not depart " out of thy mouth, but thou ſhalt meditate therein day and night, " that thou mayſt obſerve to do according to all that is written " therein;" which fully evinces that Joſhua had the book of the law; and the firſt chapter conſiſts almoſt of quotations from the writings of Moſes; and in other places there are frequent references to them, and things are ſaid to be done " as Moſes the ſervant of the Lord com-" manded," or " as the Lord commanded Moſes." There are numberleſs other quotations and alluſions, which may be found by the help of good concordances, beſides theſe here ſpecified; theſe are ſuch as occurred upon reflection, and are ſufficient to ſhow that the books of Moſes were in effect the ſame then as they are at preſent, with the very ſame paſſages in them, and expreſſed in the very ſame words, and conſequently could be written by none other than Moſes.

3. It is an advantage peculiar to the writings of Moſes above moſt other books, and an eminent atteſtation of their being really and truly his, that they were delivered to a whole nation together, that a whole people were made the depoſitaries and keepers of them, and the religion and government of that people were founded upon them, ſo that they

they could not have been impoſed at any other time, or counterfeited by any other author. Can there be any ſtronger evidence that there were ſuch men as Solon and Lycurgus, and that their laws were of their own framing, than the commonwealths of Athens and Sparta, which were governed by thoſe laws, and reverenced thoſe men as their law-givers? Things of private concern may eaſily be counterfeited, but not the laws and conſtitution of a whole country: and what is an additional ſecurity in this caſe, the eccleſiaſtical and civil polity of the Jews are ſo blended and interwoven, that they cannot be ſeparated the one from the other. They muſt therefore have been eſtabliſhed at the ſame time, and derived from the ſame original; and both together evince the impoſſibility of any forgery, more than either of them could ſingly. The religion and government of a people cannot be new modeled, and they know nothing of the matter.

4. There are likewiſe ſeveral internal proofs and arguments, that the books of Moſes were really of his writing, as they are pretended to be. For he was commanded to write the law, (Exod. XXXIV. 27.) "And the Lord ſaid unto Moſes, Write thou theſe words; for "after the tenor of theſe words I have made a covenant with thee "and with Iſrael:" and in another place (XXIV. 4.) it is ſaid expreſly, that "Moſes wrote all the words of the Lord," and (ver. 7.) "he took the book of the covenant, and read in the audience of the "people." He was ordered too to write the account of the defeat of the Amalekites, and the ſentence of God againſt them. (XVII. 14.) "And the Lord ſaid unto Moſes, Write this for a memorial in a book, "and rehearſe it in the ears of Joſhua; for I will utterly put out the "remembrance of Amalek from under heaven:" and likewiſe the marches and ſtations of the Iſraelites, (Numb. XXXIII. 2.) "And "Moſes wrote their goings out according to their journeys, by the "commandment of the Lord:" and likewiſe his ſong, (Deut. XXXI. 19.) "Now therefore write ye this ſong for you, and teach it the "children of Iſrael;" and (ver. 22.) "Moſes therefore wrote this "ſong the ſame day, and taught it the children of Iſrael." And why ſhould we not believe that Moſes committed the whole to writing,

as well as theſe particulars? Other things were as material, and as worthy to be recorded; and throughout the whole there is a conſiſtence and agreement, with none other variety of ſtile than ſuch as properly ariſeth from the variety of ſubjects.

The books of Moſes may be conſidered as conſiſting of two principal parts, the hiſtory and tranſactions of his own times, and of the times preceding. The hiſtory and tranſactions of his own times, it is certain, no body was ſo well qualified or able to write as himſelf: and his knowlege of the times preceding he might derive either from inſpiration or tradition, or the memorials and records of the ancient patriarchs. The hiſtory of thoſe times contained in the book of Geneſis is alſo written with ſo many and ſuch particular references to the hiſtory, and laws, and inſtitutes contained in the following books, that it appears plainly to be the production of the ſame hand, compoſed with a view to the ſame ends, and for the uſe and inſtruction of the ſame people. Moſes himſelf frequently mentions the "book of the law" or "covenant:" and a little before his death he "delivered it to the "Prieſts the Levites," (Deut. XXXI. 9, &c.) and "commanded it to "be read at the end of every ſeven years before all Iſrael in their hear-"ing," and to be laid up "in the ſide of the ark of the covenant of "the Lord." It muſt be acknowleged, that the "law" doth ſometimes ſignify only part of the law; but in the places above cited the whole muſt be underſtood, and eſpecially in this paſſage, (Deut. XXXI. 24, &c.) "And it came to paſs when Moſes had made an end of writ-"ing the words of this law in a book, until they were finiſhed; That "Moſes commanded the Levites, which bare the ark of the covenant "of the Lord, ſaying, Take this book of the law, and put it in the "ſide of the ark of the covenant of the Lord your God, that it may "be there for a witneſs againſt thee." This book was evidently the whole of the law; and indeed there was the ſame neceſſity for writing the

(2) Certe ſi repetitiones, quæ in libris hiſce occurrunt, et ordinis in legibus tradendis neglectum animo reputemus, facile intelligemus eos libros ad nos perveniſſe, quales primum, variis temporibus, per longam illam in Deſerta Arabia moram, a Moſe conſcripti ſunt. Si enim ex Moſis libris refecti eſſent, majore ordine, reſectiſque repetitionibus, ut fieri ſolet, fuiſſent digeſti. Clerici Prolegom. Differt. III.

(3) Tract. Theologico-polit. in part. alter. c. 8.

(4) Iræn.

the whole, as for writing any part; ſo many and ſuch operoſe laws could not poſſibly be remembered, unleſs committed to writing.

The frequent repetitions too in theſe books (2), and the neglect of order in delivering the precepts, are ſtrong proofs that the books are come down to us ſuch as they were written by Moſes, at various times, and upon various occaſions, during the long abode of the Iſraelites in the wilderneſs. Had they been new written by any later hand, there would in all probability have been an appearance of greater exactneſs, they would have been digeſted into better order, and not have abounded with ſo many repetitions.

5. Theſe arguments will be ſtrengthened by refuting the objections, which may be raiſed againſt them. The moſt material objection, and indeed the only one of any weight, is that ſome things in theſe books are manifeſtly of a later date than the time of Moſes, and could not poſſibly have been of his writing: and therefore it is concluded, that theſe books muſt have been written by ſome other author, by Ezra, or by the prieſt whom the king of Aſſyria ſent to inſtruct the people whom he had planted in the cities of Samaria, or by Samuel.

(3) Spinoza maintains that Ezra was the author of the Penteteuch; ſeveral of the fathers have proceeded farther, and (4) Irenæus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Tertullian, and Baſil particularly have aſſerted, that all the ſcriptures were deſtroyed and loſt in the Babyloniſh captivity, and were afterwards reſtored by Ezra, who was divinely inſpired for that purpoſe. But for this aſſertion they have no better authority than that fabulous relation in the fourteenth chapter of the ſecond apocryphal book of Eſdras, a book (as (5) Prideaux ſays) too abſurd for the Romaniſts themſelves to receive into their canon. The canonical ſcriptures are ſo far from giving any ſuch intimation, that they rather evince the contrary. In the book of Ezra it is ſaid, (VII. 6.) that Ezra was "a ready ſcribe in the law of Moſes," which implies that he

(4) Iræn. adverſus Hæreſes. Lib. 3. cap. 25. p. 255, 256. Edit. Grabe. Clemens Alex. Stromatum. Lib. 1. p. 410. Edit. Potter. Tertull. de Cultu fœminarum, Lib. 1. Cap. 3. p. 151. Edit. Rigaltii. Paris 1675. Baſil. Epiſt. 42. ad Chilonem. p. 129. Vol. 3. Edit. Benedict.

(5) Connect. Part 1. Book 5.

he was not the author of it, but only that he had been diligent in reading it, and underſtood it well himſelf, and could explain it readily to others. When the people called upon Ezra to read the law, they did not deſire him to dictate it anew, but only to "bring the book "of the law of Moſes, which the Lord had commanded to Iſrael;" (Nehem. VIII. 1.) ſo that they muſt have known it to have been then extant, and have regarded it as the work of Moſes, and not as Ezra's own production. And many years before Ezra came to Jeruſalem, the Prieſts and Levites were ſettled in their courſes, "as it is written "in the book of Moſes," (Ezra VI. 10.) and before that, they ſet up the altar to offer burnt-offerings thereon, "as it is written in the law "of Moſes the man of God;" (III. 2.) ſo that they muſt have brought copies of the law with them from their captivity. Nay it is evident, that Daniel had a copy of the holy ſcriptures at Babylon, for in his ninth chapter he has quoted the law of Moſes, and alſo the prophecies of Jeremiah, which he could not have done, if they had been utterly burnt and conſumed, and needed a miracle for their reſtoration.

This notion therefore of Ezra failing, it hath been imagined that the Penteteuch might be written by the prieſt, whom the king of Aſſyria ſent to inſtruct the people whom he had planted in the cities of Samaria; becauſe the countries about paradiſe, and their natural productions are deſcribed more exactly (it is ſaid) than they could have been by any author, who never paſſed the Euphrates, nor ever reſided in thoſe countries, as was the caſe of Moſes. But when it is conſidered that Moſes had the advantage of a learned and princely education in Egypt, it is by no means wonderful that he ſhould know ſo much of geography, as is contained in that ſhort deſcription. Beſides how improbable was it, if not altogether impoſſible, that the Jews ſhould ever receive the book of their laws and religion from the Samaritans, whom of all people they moſt deteſted and abhorred? But indeed upon all accounts this opinion is ſo wild and extravagant, that no wonder the learned perſon (Le Clerc) who broached it, ſoon grew aſhamed of it, and afterwards wrote largely in defenſe of the writings of Moſes, and vindicated them to their proper author.

Neither

Neither was Samuel the author or compiler of the Penteteuch, as (6) our moſt celebrated and divine philoſopher ſuppoſes. For there is not one authority or teſtimony in all antiquity to countenance this opinion; there is not ſo much as a ſingle hint of it in the hiſtory of Samuel, or in the writings of David, or any of the ſubſequent hiſtorians: and it is by no means likely, that ſo material a tranſaction ſhould not have been ſo much as once remembered. It is ſaid (1 Sam. X. 25.) that "Samuel told the people the manner of the kingdom, "and wrote it in a book, and laid it up before the Lord:" and would the ſacred writer have mentioned this, and have paſſed over in ſilence his other writings, which were of ſo much greater importance, and would have redounded ſo much more to his honor? "This is "the book of the generations of Adam," (Gen. V. 1.) and the like expreſſions in the books of Moſes, are no more a proof that they were not written by Moſes, than "the book of the generation of Jeſus "Chriſt" (Matt. I. 1.) is a proof that the firſt chapter of St. Matthew's Goſpel was not written by St. Matthew. But we need not argue only from the ſilence of authors, which is a kind of negative proof; there are poſitive arguments againſt this opinion, which is founded on nothing but conjecture, and is refuted by the whole tenor of the preceding hiſtory. For as we obſerved before, there is frequent mention of "the book of the law" or "the book of the covenant," which ſufficiently implies that it was all collected into a book. And after Moſes had finiſhed this book, he delivered it to the Prieſts the Levites, (Deut. XXXI. 24, &c.) "And it came to paſs when Moſes "had made an end of writing the words of this law in a book, until "they were finiſhed; That Moſes commanded the Levites which "bare the ark of the covenant of the Lord, ſaying, Take this book "of the law, and put it in the ſide of the ark of the covenant of the "Lord your God, that it may be there for a witneſs againſt thee:" and as the book was already written and collected together, what could Samuel have done more, than what had been done before? We find afterwards

(6) See Sir Iſaac Newton's Obſervations on Daniel. chap. 1.

(7) Pauca

afterwards that Joſhua had the book of the law, "This book of the "law ſhall not depart out of thy mouth, but thou ſhalt meditate "therein day and night, that thou mayeſt obſerve to do according "to all that is written therein;" (Joſh. I. 8.) and a little before his death Joſhua thus addreſſeth the people (Joſh. XXIII. 6.) "Be ye "therefore very courageous to keep and to do all that is written in "the book of the law of Moſes, that ye turn not aſide therefrom, "to the right hand or to the left:" and it cannot be ſuppoſed with any probability, that the copies of the law ſhould all have been deſtroyed between the days of Joſhua and of Samuel, and yet neither their loſs nor their reſtoration have been once mentioned.

But if neither Samuel, nor Ezra, nor any one but Moſes was the author of the Penteteuch, what account can be given of thoſe additions, which are manifeſtly of a later date than the time of Moſes? It muſt be acknowleged, that there are ſome ſuch paſſages: but a few inſertions can never prove the whole to be ſpurious; we have reaſon ſtill to receive the reſt for genuin (7); as no body ever denied the Iliad or Odyſſey to be the works of Homer, becauſe the critics and grammarians have adjudged that ſome verſes here and there are interpolations. Theſe inſertions in the books of Moſes are much fewer, and leſs conſiderable, than they are generally imagined to be. Aben Ezra, a Jewiſh doctor, who floriſhed in the twelfth century after Chriſt, was I think the firſt who raiſed this ſcruple; he hath been followed by Spinoza and others: and eighteen paſſages have been produced as bearing the characters and tokens of a later hand than Moſes. But of theſe eighteen paſſages, it hath been ſhown by ſome late commentators, and eſpecially by Le Clerc and Kidder and Patrick, that far the greater part may be reconciled to the time of Moſes, and are conſiſtent enough with the ſuppoſition of his being the author. As for thoſe which are plainly inconſiſtent with ſuch a ſuppoſition, there is perhaps only a new name ſubſtituted inſtead of an old one, or perhaps

(7) Pauca ſunt, quæ ab alia manu eſſe liqueat, et quæ non obſtant quo minus Moſis opus hoſce libros eſſe dicamus: quemadmodum quia varios verſus, hic, illic, Homeri poematibus inſertos volunt veteres grammatici, nemo propterea Iliadem et Odyſſeam ab Homero ſcriptas eſſe negarit. Cle-

perhaps a few words are added by way of explanation: and it is not improbable, that theſe ſhort ſtrictures and obſervations were firſt interlined or inſcribed in the margin, and afterwards were inſerted into the text.

There are only two paſſages of any length, which are thought to be of a later date than the time of Moſes. The firſt is in Gen. XXXVI. 31—39. the ſucceſſion of the eight kings "who reigned in the land "of Edom, before there reigned any king over the children of Iſrael:" which could not be written till after ſome king had reigned in Iſrael, and probably was written ſoon after, and before David had conquered Edom. The other is in the laſt chapter of Deuteronomy the account of Moſes's death and burial, which was wanting to complete his hiſtory: and we can by no means agree with (8) Philo and the Jewiſh rabbins, that Moſes himſelf wrote this account prophetically: it muſt have been added by ſome hand after his death, and the three laſt verſes ſeem to have been added a conſiderable time after. Whether theſe additions were made by Joſhua, or by Samuel, or by Ezra, or any one elſe, we cannot pretend to ſay for certain. I know the learned (9) Prideaux aſcribes them all to Ezra, but am afraid there is not ſufficient authority for this hypotheſis. It is moſt probable that they were made at different times by different authors, but ſuch authors as had the reputation of being divinely inſpired, for otherwiſe the Jewiſh church would hardly have admitted theſe additions as parts of their ſacred canon.

6. This ſubject may ſtill be farther illuſtrated and confirmed by ſome other conſiderations and reflections. It is a probable preſumption, that the five books of Moſes were not at firſt ſo many ſeparate works, but were one continued hiſtory of the religion and government of the Iſraelites, of which Geneſis was the preface or introduction, the law was as it were the body, and Deuteronomy the recapitulation: and accordingly we may obſerve, that ſeveral of the books begin as if they were a continuation only of the preceding diſcourſe. The diviſion

rici Prolegom. Diſſert. III.
(8) Philo de Vita Moſis. Lib. 3. prope finem. | pag. 696. Edit. Paris. 1640.
(9) Connect. Part 1. Book 5.

(1) Και

ſion might be made afterwards for the greater convenience of reading: at what time it was made, is uncertain; but perhaps it was, when the book of the law began to be read in the Jewiſh ſynagogues; and (1) Joſephus accounting the ſacred books in his time to be twenty two, reckons thoſe of Moſes as five of them. In ſcripture the word is, I think, conſtantly in the ſingular number the *book* of the law, and the *book* of Moſes: and the original book (Deut. XXXI.) was delivered to the Prieſts and Levites, and laid up in the ſide of the ark of the Lord, to be conſulted upon occaſion, and to be the authentic ſtandard for all copies: and it was this very original book "by the hand of Moſes" (2 Chron. XXXIV. 14.) that was afterwards found, as they were repairing the temple in the reign of their good king Joſiah, when moſt of the copies of the law had been deſtroyed in the wicked and idolatrous reign of his grandfather Manaſſeh.

At certain ſeaſons too the prieſts (Deut. XXXI. 10.) were to "read "the law before all Iſrael, in their hearing:" and they are commanded (Levit. X. 11.) to "teach the children of Iſrael all the ſta-"tutes which the Lord had ſpoken unto them by the hand of Moſes:" and their king (Deut. XVII. 18, 19.) was to "write him a copy of "this law in a book, out of that which is before the Prieſts the "Levites, and to read therein all the days of his life:" and the people (Deut. VI. 7.) were to "teach it diligently unto their children, "and to talk of it when they ſat in the houſe, and when they walked "by the way, and when they lay down, and when they roſe up:" all which would be the means of preſerving it from corruptions and interpolations. All the people therefore were in a manner the truſtees and guardians of the law, as well as the Prieſts and Levites: and after the people were divided into two kingdoms, both thoſe of Iſrael and thoſe of Judah ſtill retained the ſame book of the law, and they would neceſſarily hinder each other from making any additions or alterations:

(1) Και τουτων πεντε μεν εσι τα Μωϋσεως. Ex his quinque quidem ſunt Moyſis. Contra Apion. Lib. 1. c. 8. p. 1333. Edit. Hudſon.

(2) See Nehemiah XIII. 28. and Joſephus Antiq. Lib. 11. cap. 8. p. 501. Edit. Hudſon. and Prideaux Connect. Part I. Book 6.

(3) It

alterations: and from time to time prophets were raiſed up among them, who would correct their errors, if any had crept into the ſacred text.

After the Iſraelites were carried captive into Aſſyria, other nations were planted in the cities of Samaria in their ſtead: and the Samaritans muſt have received the book of the law, either from the prieſt, who was ſent (2 Kings XVII. 26.) by order of the king of Aſſyria to inſtruct them in "the manner of the God of the land;" or ſeveral years afterwards, from the hands of Manaſſeh, the ſon of Joiada the high-prieſt, who was (2) expelled from Jeruſalem by Nehemiah for marrying the daughter of Sanballat the governor of Samaria, and was by Sanballat conſtituted the firſt high-prieſt of the temple at Samaria. By one or both theſe means the Samaritans had the Penteteuch, as well as the Jews; but with this difference, that the Samaritan copy was (3) in the old Hebrew or Phœnician characters, and remains ſo to this day, whereas the Jewiſh copy was changed into Chaldee letters, the Chaldee character being fairer and eaſier than the Hebrew, and the Jews having learned that language, during their ſeventy years abode at Babylon. And the Samaritans having their copy in the old Hebrew character renders it highly probable that they received it in that character before the captivity; otherwiſe the Jews muſt have changed the letters from Hebrew to Chaldee, and the Samaritans again from Chaldee to Hebrew.

The Jews too, after their return from the Babyloniſh captivity, had the book of the law read publicly in their ſynagogues, which was an excellent method to ſecure the purity, as well as to enforce the obſervation of it. The Chaldee paraphraſes, and the Greek tranſlations which were made afterwards, were ſo many additional ſecurities. The jealouſy too and hatred, which ſubſiſted between the Jews and Samaritans, made it impracticable for either nation to corrupt or alter the ſacred text in any thing of conſequence without certain diſcovery; the one was a continual check and reſtraint upon the other. Moreover it very well

(3) It is probable this alteration was not made all at once, but by degrees. See Kennicott, Vol. 2. p. 147, &c.

well deſerves our peculiar notice, that when the Samaritan copy was procured from the people of Sichem, and brought into Europe, and printed about the middle of the laſt century, the various readings alſo were collected and publiſhed firſt by Morinus at Paris, and afterwards with the moſt minute exactneſs by our Walton in the Polyglot Bible at London; and it appears that there is no very material or eſſential difference: ſo that, as a great (4) critic aſſerts, "it is a plain demon-"ſtration, that the copies were originally the ſame: nor can any bet-"ter evidence be deſired, that the Jewiſh bibles have not been cor-"rupted or interpolated, than this very book of the Samaritans; "which, after above 2000 years diſcord between the two nations, "varies as little from the other, as any claſſic author in leſs tract of "time has diſagreed from itſelf, by the unavoidable ſlips and miſtakes "of ſo many tranſcribers."

Our Saviour and his apoſtles, who freely reprove the other faults and vices of the Scribes and Phariſees, yet never once lay to their charge this of corrupting the ſcriptures. On the contrary our Saviour ſaith, "Search the ſcriptures" (John V. 39.) which probably he would have ſaid with ſome caution, if he had thought that they had been falſified and corrupted: and he not only refers to the ſcriptures in general, but appeals directly to the writings of Moſes, (ver. 46, 47.) "Had ye believed Moſes, ye would have believed me; for he "wrote of me: but if ye believe not his writings, how ſhall ye be-"lieve my words?" St. Paul ſaith (Rom. III. 1, 2.) "What advan-"tage then hath the Jew, or what profit is there of circumciſion? "Much every way; chiefly becauſe that unto them were committed "the oracles of God:" but would he have reckoned it ſo great an advantage, if they had betrayed their truſt, or would he have ſaid of them as follows in another place, (Rom. IX. 4.) "Who are Iſraelites; "to

(4) Remarks upon a late Diſcourſe of Free-thinking by Phileleutherus Lipſienſis, Part 1. Rem. 27.

(5) Joſephus contra Apion. Lib. 1. c. 8. p. 1333, 1334. Edit. Hudſon. Philo de Vita Moſis. Lib. 1. p. 656. Edit. Paris. 1640. See likewiſe Euſebius Præpar. Evang. Lib. 8. c. 6 et 8. Edit. Vigeri.

(6) Ad me quidem quod adtinet, re anxiè expenſa, nullos puto libros ex ultima antiquitate ad nos

" to whom pertaineth the adoption, and the glory, and the cove-
" nants, and the giving of the law, and the promiſes?"

The Jews had ſuch a veneration for the memory and for the very name of Moſes, and were ſo bigotted to his laws and conſtitutions, that they would be ſure to preſerve the books containing thoſe laws and conſtitutions with the moſt religious care and attention; and they would ſuffer any tortures, rather than alter the leaſt tittle, as both (5) Joſephus and Philo teſtify. And as the Jews had not corrupted theſe ſacred writings before the coming of Chriſt, ſo neither have they ſince; for the quotations made from them in the New Teſtament agree with the Old; and they were then likewiſe in the hands of the Chriſtians; and the Jews were ſo diſperſed, that they could not conſpire together in corrupting them. The Jews and Chriſtians, as well as the Jews and Samaritans, were a conſtant watch and guard upon each other: and we do not know, that they would have been willing to make alterations, if they had been able; but ſure we are, they would not have been able, if they had been willing.

Upon the whole I think, there can be no ſtronger or better arguments to prove the genuinneſs and authenticity of the writings of any ancient author whatever; and in few caſes can we be furniſhed with ſo good proofs as theſe: and as the Penteteuch was certainly the work of Moſes, ſo it hath been preſerved with ſuch religious care and vigilance, that it is come down to us as little corrupt and interpolated, as entire and genuin, as any book of that antiquity can be ſuppoſed to be: and this in the opinion of all competent judges, and even of thoſe who are far from being prejudiced in favor of the writings of Moſes. The famous Le Clerc expreſſeth himſelf very full to this purpoſe. (6) ' For my-
' ſelf, ſaith he, having conſidered and weighed the matter with the
' greateſt diligence and exactneſs, I think no books are come down to
' us from the moſt remote antiquity, ſo correct as the ſacred books
' of

nos perveniſſe, æquè emendatos ac ſint ſacri Hebræorum codices, quanquam omnium ſunt antiquiſſimi.—Quod ſine Providentia divina, quæ hiſtorias ſacras et revelationes propheticas in uſum humani generis ſartas tectas, ad ſummam rerum quod adtinet, ſervari voluit, factum non eſſe tam mihi perſuaſum eſt, quam cui maxime. Clerici Prolegom. Differt. I. prope finem.

‘ of the Hebrews, although they are the moſt ancient of all. Which, ‘ I am as ſtrongly perſuaded as any man can be, was not effected ‘ without divine Providence, who would have theſe ſacred hiſtories ‘ and prophetic revelations to be preſerved pure and entire in all the ‘ main and eſſential points for the uſe and benefit of mankind.’

II. The genuinneſs of theſe writings being eſtabliſhed, we hope, beyond all reaſonable contradiction, we proceed now to treat of their excellence, and to ſhow that Moſes is an author very deſerving of our peculiar regard and attention. And ſo he will appear upon many accounts, any one of which is a ſufficient inducement to a ſerious and diligent peruſal of his works.

1. He is the oldeſt author now extant in the world, and we are naturally curious and fond of ſearching into antiquity. (7) *Old books to read* is the wiſh of many perſons beſides the wiſe king of Aragon. I do not preſume to ſay with (8) ſeveral both Jews and Chriſtians, that Moſes was the firſt inventor of letters, and that the firſt writing in the world was that upon the two tables of ſtone; but only that Moſes is more ancient than any writer, of whom there are any authentic works remaining.

The Grecians are mere moderns in compariſon: as the Egyptian (9) prieſt ſaid to Solon, ‘ the Grecians are always children, no Grecian is ‘ an old man,’ becauſe they had no knowlege of antiquity. The firſt Greek writer whoſe works are extant is Homer, and the firſt Greek hiſtorian is Herodotus, whom (1) Cicero honors with the appellation of the father of hiſtory; and Herodotus ſaith that (2) Homer lived not

(7) I ſhall conclude with a ſaying of Alphonſus (furnamed the Wiſe) king of Aragon: ‘ That ‘ among ſo many things as are by men poſſeſſed or ‘ purſued in the courſe of their lives, all the reſt ‘ are bawbles, beſides old wood to burn, old wine ‘ to drink, old friends to converſe with, and old ‘ books to read.’ See Sir William Temple’s Eſſay on ancient and modern learning.

(8) Eupolemus et Artapanus in Euſebius. Præpar. Evang. Lib. 9. c. 26, 27. p. 431. Edit. Vigeri. Huetius, Gale, and almoſt all the Rabbins.

(9) Platonis Timæus—και τινα ειπειν των ἱερεων ευ μαλα παλαιων, Ω Σολων, Σολων, Ἑλληνες αει παιδες εστε, γερων δε Ἑλλην ουκ εστιν, κ. τ. λ. tum ſeniorum ſacerdotum unus, O Solon, Solon, ait, Græci ſemper pueri eſtis, ſenex Græcorum eſt nullus, p. 22. Vol. 3. Edit. Serrani.

(1) Herodotum, patrem hiſtoriæ—De Legibus I. 1.

(2) Ὁμηρον ἡλικιην τετρακοσιοισι ετεσι δοκεω μευ προτερον γενεσθαι, και ου πλεοσι. Quadringentis non amplius annis ante me opinor extitiſſe. Lib. 2. cap. 53. p. 111. Edit. Gale.

(3) See Fabricii Biblioth. Græca. Lib. 2. c. 20. Sect. 1. Prideaux Connect. Part 1. B. 6. Sir Iſaac Newton’s Short Chronicle, p. 41.

(4) Nunc

not above 400 years before him: and (3) it is very well known, that Herodotus wrote his hiſtory about 444 years before Chriſt in the time of Nehemiah; and conſequently Homer muſt have lived about the time of Joaſh king of Judah, above 100 years after the death of Solomon. The Grecians, it is confeſſed on all hands, had no true exact hiſtory, all was either *unknown* before the deluge, or *fabulous* after the deluge; and nothing *hiſtorical* (4) according to the diſtinction of Varro, till after the æra of the Olympiads, and the æra of the Olympiads began according to Uſher and the beſt chronologers in the year 776 before Chriſt, and the 35th of Uzziah king of Judah. Nay the (5) Grecians had not the uſe of letters among them, till they received them from Cadmus the Phœnician; and Cadmus is generally ſuppoſed to have come into Greece with his companions flying from the victorious arms of Joſhua and the Iſraelites, but (6) ſome reckon this event to have fallen out in the time of the Judges, and (7) ſome as late as about the 16th year of king David's reign.

The Phœnicians, Egyptians, and Chaldeans have much juſter and fairer pretenſions to antiquity than the Grecians: but of their three famous hiſtorians, Sanchoniathon, Manetho, and Beroſus, ſome fragments only are remaining; and all three are younger than Moſes. Sanchoniathon, the Phœnician hiſtorian is much the oldeſt of the three; it is not certainly known at what time he lived; but (8) Porphyry, who advances his age the higheſt, allows him ſtill to be younger than Moſes: Bochart placeth him (9) in the time of Gideon, 182 years after Moſes; but (1) Scaliger and Stillingfleet place him lower, and

(4) Nunc vero id intervallum temporis tractabo, quod hiſtoricon Varro appellat. Hic enim tria diſcrimina temporum eſſe tradit. Primum ab hominum principio ad cataclyſmum priorem: quod propter ignorantiam vocatur αδηλον. Secundum a cataclyſmo priore ad Olympiadem primam: quod quia in eo multa fabuloſa referuntur μυθικον nominatur. Tertium a prima Olympiade ad nos: quod dicitur ἱστορικον, quia in eo res geſtæ veris hiſtoriis continentur. Vid. Cenſorinum de die natali.

(5) See this abundantly proved by Scaliger. Not. in Euſebii Chron. 1617. and by Bochart. Geograph. Sacra. Lib. 1. c. 20. and by Ez. Spanheim. Diſſert. 2da de præſtantia et uſu numiſm. antiq. p. 83.

(6) Jac. Capellus placeth Cadmus in the third year of Othoniel. Stillingfleet's Orig. Sacræ, B. 1. Ch. 1. Sect. 20.

(7) Sir Iſaac Newton's Chronol. of the Greeks, p. 125.

(8) Porphyrius apud Euſebium Præpar. Evang. Lib. 1. c. 9. et Lib. 10. c. 9.

(9) Bocharti Geograph. Sacra. Lib. 2. c. 17.

(1) Scalig. Not. in Frag. Græc. p. 40. Stillingfleet's Orig. Sacræ, B. 1. Ch. 2. Sect. 4.

(2) Euſebii

and for a very good reaſon, becauſe he mentions the building of Tyre as an ancient thing, which by the beſt chronologers is placed about the time of Gideon. Manetho, the Egyptian hiſtorian, lived in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus; for to him (2) he dedicated his hiſtory: and about the ſame time lived Beroſus, the Chaldæan hiſtorian; for (3) he dedicated his hiſtory to Antiochus Soter or Antiochus Theus, who were ſucceſſively kings of Syria, while Ptolemy Philadelphus reigned in Egypt: ſo that theſe two famous hiſtorians floriſhed not much above 250 years before Chriſt, and above 1150 after Moſes; and by that time the books of Moſes were more publicly known by being tranſlated into the Greek language, which is (4) conceived with great probability to have been the occaſion of Beroſus and Manetho's publiſhing their fabulous dynaſties to the world.

If we take therefore any delight in the ſtudy of antiquities, none are ſo venerable as the Jewiſh, nor any writer of any other nation near ſo ancient as Moſes: and what a ſingular providence is it, that his books ſhould be preſerved entire, while ſo many ancient authors have utterly periſhed, or ſome fragments only have eſcaped the general ruin!

2. He is an author of great fame and celebration even among heathen writers, and ſeveral of them bear witneſs to the principal matters of fact in his hiſtory. It is uſual in the beſt editions of ancient authors to prefix the teſtimonies of other writers in their commendation; and as large a collection of this kind might be made in favor of Moſes, as of any author whoever: but we will confine ourſelves to Heathen writers, whoſe favorable teſtimony will have the greater weight, as they were generally prejudiced againſt the whole nation of the Jews.

The

(2) Euſebii Chron. Lib. 1. p. 6. Edit. Scaligeri. Voſſius de Hiſtor. Græc. Lib. 1. c. 14. Fabricii Biblioth. Græc. Lib. 3. c. 20.

(3) Tatianus apud Euſebium. Præpar. Evang. Lib. 10. c. 11. Voſſius de Hiſtor. Græc. Lib. 1. c. 13. Prideaux Connect. Part 2. B. 2.

(4) See Stillingfleet's Orig. Sacræ. B. 1. Ch. 3.

(5) Τουτον δε τον ανδρα θαυμαζουσι μεν Αιγυπτιοι και θειον νομιζουσι· κ. τ. λ. Hunc virum mirandum quidem Ægyptii et divinum exiſtimant, &c. Contra Apion. Lib. 1. Sect. 31. p. 1357. Edit. Hudſon.

(6) Μωϋσεως μεμνηνται ὡς ηγεμονος τε και αρχηγος τε των Ιουδαιων γενους. ουτω γαρ Πολεμων τε εν τη πρωτη των Ελληνικων ιστοριων μεμνηται. κ. τ. λ. Moſæ meminerunt, tanquam ducis et principis Judaicæ

The Egyptians, as (5) Joſephus aſſerts, eſteemed this man wonderful and divine; and were willing to have him thought a prieſt of their own, which was certainly a proof of their high opinion of him, tho' mixed with other fabulous relations. The (6) author of the Exhortation to the Gentiles informs us of ſeveral writers, who mention Moſes as the leader and ruler of the Jewiſh nation, as Polemon in the firſt book of his Grecian hiſtory, and Apion in his book againſt the Jews, and in the fourth book of his hiſtory, and Ptolemy the Mendeſian who wrote the hiſtory of the Egyptians, and Hellanicus and Philochorus who wrote the hiſtory of the Athenians, and Caſtor, and Thallus, and Alexander Polyhiſtor. Several of the ſame authors are cited likewiſe by Cyril, archbiſhop of Alexandria, in his (7) firſt book againſt the Emperor Julian.

The author of the Exhortation to the Gentiles, and Cyril too, in the places already quoted, produce a paſſage out of Diodorus Siculus in commendation of Moſes: but theſe two fathers have miſtaken and perverted the ſenſe of the paſſage, underſtanding of Moſes what Diodorus had ſaid of Mneves the firſt law-giver of the Egyptians, and omitting ſomething the better to accommodate the quotation to their purpoſe. All that (8) Diodorus really ſaith is, that ſpeaking of thoſe law-givers, who made the Gods to be the authors of their laws, as Minos in Crete, Lycurgus among the Lacedæmonians, Zathrauſtes among the Arimaſpians, Zamolxis among the Getæ, he reckons alſo Moſes among the Jews, who aſcribed his laws to the God called Jäo, meaning I ſuppoſe Jehovah; and this is a ſufficient honor to Moſes, to be ranked by a heathen hiſtorian among the firſt and moſt famous law-givers.

Strabo (9) deſcribing Judæa is much larger in his commendation of Moſes, though miſtaken in ſome particulars. He ſays that 'the Egyptians

daicæ gentis. Ita enim Polemo in Græcanicarum rerum primo ſcribit libro, &c. Juſtin Martyr. Op. p. 9. Edit. Paris. 1615.

(7) P. 15. Edit. Spanhemii.

(8) Καθαπερ παρ' Ἕλλησι ποιησαι φασιν εν μεν τῃ Κρητῃ Μινωα, —— παρα δε τοις Ιουδαιοις Μωσην τον Ιαω επικαλεμενον θεον. Diod. Sic. Lib. 1. p. 84. Edit. Rhodomani.

(9) Αιγυπτιος αποφαινει τας προσονας των νυν Ιουδαιων λεγομενων. Μωσης γαρ τις των Αιγυπτιων ἱερεων εχων τι μερος της καλεμενης χωρας, απηρεν εκειθε ενθενδε δυσχερανας τα καθεςωτα, και ξυνεξηραν αυτῳ πολλοι.

‘ tians were reported to have been the progenitors of the people now
‘ called Jews. For one Moſes, poſſeſſing ſome ſhare of the country
‘ belonging to the Egyptian prieſts, paſſed from thence hither out of
‘ diſlike to the conſtitution of affairs, and there accompanied him
‘ many who reverenced the deity. For he ſaid and taught, that the
‘ Egyptians did not think rightly in likening the deity to wild beaſts
‘ and cattle, nor the Libyans, nor indeed the Grecians, in repreſent-
‘ ing the Gods of human form. For this alone was God, which con-
‘ tains us all and the earth and the ſea, which we call heaven and the
‘ world and the nature of things. Who that hath any underſtand-
‘ ing would preſume to frame an image of this like unto any thing
‘ among us? Wherefore they ought to lay aſide all image-making,
‘ and conſecrating a temple worthy of him to worſhip him without
‘ any figure, &c. Moſes teaching ſuch things convinced good men
‘ not a few, and conducted them to this place, where now is the
‘ temple in Jeruſalem. And his ſucceſſors continued in the ſame in-
‘ ſtitutions for ſome time, doing juſtly, and being truly religious.’
Such a teſtimony from ſo judicious an author is enough to overbalance the invectives of a multitude of other writers.

One of theſe invective writers and declamers againſt the Jews is Tacitus, who yet (1) mentions Moſes as the leader and deliverer of his people,

πολλοι τιμωντες το θειον. Εφη γαρ εκειν@ και εδιδασκεν, ως ουκ ορθως φρονουσιν οι Αιγυπτιοι θηριοις εικαζοντες, και βοσκημασι το θειον. ουδ' οι Λιβυες. ουκ ευ δε ουδ' οι Ἑλληνες, ανθρωπομορφους τυπους ποιουντες· ειη γαρ ἐν τῳ μονον θε@ το περιεχον ἡμας ἁπαντας και γην και θαλατταν, ὁ καλουμεν ουρανον, και κοσμον, και την των ὁλων φυσιν. Τουτο δη τις αν εικονα πλατταειν θαρρησειε νουν ἐχων ὁμοιαν τινι των παρ' ἡμιν; αλλ' εαν δει πασαν ξοανοποιιαν· τεμενος αφορισαντας και ζηκον αξιολογον τιμαν ειδους χωρις. —Εκειν@ μεν ουν τοιαυτα λεγων επεισεν ευνωμονας ανδρας ουκ ολιγους, και απηγαγεν επι τον τοπον τουτον, ὁπου νυν εστι το εν τοις Ἱεροσολυμοις κτισμα.—οι δε διαδεξαμενοι, χρονους μεν τινας εν τοις αυτοις διεμειναν δικαιοπραγουντες, και θεοσεβεις ως αληθως ὁντες. Fama perhibet ab Ægyptiis fuiſſe prognatos eos, qui nunc Judæi appellantur. Nam Moſes unus ex Ægyptiis ſacerdotibus, cum partem quandam regionis haberet, ac moleſtè ferret præſentem ſtatum, inde huc commigravit, multis eum comitantibus, quibus divina curæ erant. Affirmabat enim docebatque Ægyptios non recte ſentire, qui beſtiarum ac pecorum imagines Deo tribuerent, itemque Afros, et Græcos, qui diis hominum figuram affingerent. Id vero ſolum eſſe Deum, quod nos et terram ac mare continet, quod cœlum et mundum et rerum omnium naturam appellamus, cujus profecto imaginem nemo ſanæ mentis alicujus earum rerum, quæ penes nos ſunt, ſimilem audeat effingere. Proinde omni ſimulacrorum effictione repudiata, dignum ei templum ac delubrum conſtituendum, ac ſine aliqua figura colendum.—Talia Moſes dicens hominibus bonis fidem fecit, inque ea loca deduxit, ubi nunc condita ſunt Hieroſolyma.—Succeſſores aliquandiu in iiſdem inſtitutis permanſere, juſti et verè religioſi. Strabo. Geograph. Lib. 16. p. 1103, 1104. Edit. Amſtel. 1707.

(1) Taciti

people, and the founder of their religion, and acknowleges that the Jews worſhip only one God, and him only in mind, that ſupreme and eternal being, who can never change nor periſh. Juſtin, the epitomizer of Trogus, abounds with miſtakes in his account of the Jews. He giveth indeed a high character of the patriarch Joſeph, and ſaith that (2) his ſon was Moſes, who beſides inheriting his father's knowlege, had alſo the recommendation of a beautiful perſon: he was the leader of thoſe who were baniſhed, and ſtole away the ſacred things of the Egyptians, which they endevoring to recover by arms were compelled by tempeſts to return home: and of the ancient Jews he addeth this commendation, that their juſtice being mixed with religion, it is incredible how they prevailed and proſpered.

The great critic Longinus, extolling thoſe who repreſent the deity as he really is, pure and great and unmixed, (3) teſtifies that thus did the legiſlator of the Jews, who, ſays he, was no ordinary man, and as he conceived ſo he ſpoke worthily of the power of God. Numenius, the Pythagorean philoſopher, of Apaméa in Syria, is cited by (4) Clemens Alexandrinus for aſking, 'What is Plato but Moſes Atticizing, 'or ſpeaking in the Attic dialect?' which ſentiment whether juſt or not, yet is a proof of this philoſopher's high opinion of Moſes. He is cited likewiſe by (5) Origen for relating the ſtory of Moſes and Jannes and Jambres. And he is cited by (6) Euſebius for both theſe particulars,

(1) Taciti Hiſt. Lib. 5.—cujus auxilio credentes, præſentes miſerias pepuliſſent.—Moſes, quo ſibi in poſterum gentem firmaret, novos ritus contrarioſque cæteris mortalibus indidit.—Judæi mente ſola, unumque numen intelligunt.—Summum illud et æternum, neque mutabile, neque interiturum.

(2) Filius ejus Moſes fuit, quem præter paternæ ſcientiæ hereditatem, etiam formæ pulchritudo commendabat.—Dux igitur exulum factus ſacra Ægyptiorum furto abſtulit: quæ repetentes armis Ægyptii domum redire tempeſtatibus compulſi ſunt.—Quorum juſtitia religione permixta, incredibile quantum *convaluere*. ita lego cum Grævio, potius quam *coaluere*. Juſt. Lib. 36. cap. 2.

(3) Ταυτῃ και ὁ των Ιυδαιων θεσμοθετης, εχ ὁ τυχων ανηρ, επειδη την τε θειε δυναμιν κατα την ἀξιαν εχωρησε, καξεφηνεν. Ad hunc modum etiam ille Judæorum legiſlator, vir minimè vulgaris, poſtquam potentiam numinis, pro dignitate ejus mente concepit, etiam declaravit. Long. de Sub. Sect. 9. p. 50. Edit. 2da Pearce.

(4) Νεμηνιος δε, ὁ Πυθαγορειος φιλοσοφος, αντικρυς γραφει, Τι γαρ εςι Πλατων, η Μωσης Ατθιζων; Numenius autem philoſophus Pythagoreus apertè ſcribit: *Quid enim eſt Plato, niſi Moſes Attice loquens?* Strom. Lib. 1. Sect. 22. p. 411. Edit. Potter.

(5) Εκθιθεται και την περι Μωϋσεως, και Ιαννε και Ιαμβρε ἱςοριαν. Meminit et hiſtoriæ de Moyſe, et Janne, et Jambre. Contra Celſum Lib. 4. Sect. 51. p. 543. Edit. Benedict.

(6) Euſeb. Præpar. Evang. Lib. 9. cap. 6 et 8. Μεσαιῳ γαρ τῳ Ιυδαιων εξηγησαμενῳ, ανδρι γενομενῳ θεῳ

ticulars, the latter of which is related in the words of Numenius, wherein Moſes is ſaid to be a man moſt powerful in prayer to God. Several other heathen authors are cited by Euſebius for the ſame purpoſe; but as their writings are deſtroyed, and conſequently the writers are little known, I forbear to make any more quotations of quotations; and will only add that if any of the moderns ſpeak contemptibly of Moſes, it muſt be ſaid of them, that they think differently from the wiſe ancients, whoſe authority they pretend to regard in other things.

But heathen authors not only ſpeak of Moſes as an eminent and illuſtrious perſon, but alſo bear witneſs to the principal matters of fact in his hiſtory. Several particulars reſembling the Moſaic account of the creation are to be found in heathen authors, as (7) that one ſupreme God was the cauſe and original of all things, that there was a chaos, that the waters were ſeparated and the dry land appeared, that darkneſs was before light, that light was before the ſun, that the ſun and ſtars were made before animals, and animals before men, that the body of man was formed out of clay, and his ſoul was infuſed into him by God, and dominion given him over the other creatures.

That the lives of the firſt men were extended to near a thouſand years is atteſted by Manetho the Egyptian, and Beroſus the Chaldæan hiſtorian, and ſeveral other Phœnician and Greek writers cited by (8) Joſephus. The account of the deluge, and the ark, and the dove, is confirmed by a cloud of witneſſes, and particularly by (9) Beroſus, and (1) Nicolaus Damaſcenus, and (2) Abydenus of Aſſyria, and (3) Alexander the hiſtorian, and even by (4) Plutarch, and (5) Lucian. The tower of Babel and the confuſion of tongues are mentioned by Abydenus

Θεῷ ἐυχᾶσθαι δυνατωτάτῳ.—Muſæo duci Judæorum, cujus apud Deum potentiſſimæ preces erant.—p. 411. Edit. Vigeri.

(7) See theſe particulars in Grotius de Ver. Rel. Chriſtianæ. Lib. 1. cap. 16.

(8) Antiq. Lib. 1. cap. 3. Sect. 9. p. 14. Edit. Hudſon.

(9) Apud Joſeph. contra Apion. Lib. 1. Sect. 19. p. 1342. et Antiq. Lib. 1. cap. 3. Sect. 6. p. 12. Edit. Hudſon.

(1) Apud Joſeph. ibid.

(2) Apud Euſeb. Præpar. Evang. Lib. 9. cap. 12. Edit. Vigeri. et apud Cyril. contra Jul. Lib. 1. p. 8. Edit. Spanheim.

(3) Apud

Abydenus and other writers quoted by (6) Euſebius and Joſephus. The burning of Sodom is teſtified by (7) Diodorus Siculus, and Strabo, and Tacitus, and Solinus.

Abraham is mentioned with great honor, and ſeveral circumſtances of his life are recounted by Beroſus, Hecatæus, and Nicolaus Damaſcenus cited (8) by Joſephus, and alſo by Eupolemus, Artapanus, Melo, and others cited by (9) Euſebius. The hiſtory of Jacob and the twelve patriarchs is ſummed up by Demetrius and Theodotus, and Joſeph is particularly commended by Artapanus and Philo the poet, who are all cited by (1) Euſebius moſtly out of Alexander Polyhiſtor; and a high character, as we obſerved before, is given of Joſeph by (2) Juſtin from Trogus Pompeius. The hiſtory of Moſes too and his principal actions are related by moſt of the ſame authors agreeably with his own narration, which they muſt either have read themſelves, or had reported to them by others.

Theſe teſtimonies to the character of Moſes and to the truth of his hiſtory are ſelected out of many; and they who are deſirous of ſeeing more quotations to this purpoſe, may find them in the firſt book of Joſephus's Antiquities of the Jews and his two books againſt Apion, and in the Exhortation to the Gentiles commonly aſcribed to Juſtin Martyr, and in the ninth book of Euſebius's Evangelical Preparation, and in the firſt book of Cyril archbiſhop of Alexandria againſt the emperor Julian, and among modern writers in the firſt book of Hugo Grotius's moſt excellent treatiſe of the Truth of the Chriſtian religion, and in the ſecond chapter of the fourth propoſition of Huetius's Evangelical Demonſtration.

3. Moſes was excellently well qualified to write upon the ſubjects which he had undertaken, and the ſubjects are important and intereſting,

(3) Apud Cyril. ibid.
(4) De ſolertia animalium, p. 968. Edit. Paris. 1624.
(5) De Syria Dea.
(6) Euſeb. Præpar. Evang. Lib. 9. c. 14 et 15. Edit. Vigeri. Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. 1. c. 4. Sect. 3. Edit. Hudſon.
(7) Diod. Lib. 19. p. 734. Edit. Rhodomani. Strabon. Geogr. Lib. 16. p. 1108. Vol. 2. Edit. Amſtel. 1707. Taciti. Hiſt. Lib. 5. Solinus. cap. 35. Edit. Salmaſii.
(8) Antiq. Lib. 1. cap. 7. Sect. 2. Edit. Hudſon.
(9) Præpar. Evang. Lib. 9. cap. 17, 18, 19, 20. Edit. Vigeri.
(1) Ib. cap. 21, 22, 23, 24.
(2) Juſtin. Lib. 36. cap. 2.

ing, worthy of him to write, and of us to read. It ſhould be remembered that he had the benefit of a princely education; for (Acts VII. 21, 22.) "when he was caſt out, Pharaoh's daughter took "him up, and nouriſhed him for her own ſon;" and as St. Stephen farther aſſerts, "he was learned in all the wiſdom of the Egyptians." Origen (3) conceives, that St. Stephen took this from ſome old and uncommon books: but it ſeemeth to have been the general tradition of the Jewiſh nation, and (4) Philo giveth much the ſame account, only inlarged and embelliſhed according to his manner, in his life of Moſes. It is certain that Egypt was the moſt famous ſchool of learning in ancient times. Thither the hiſtorians and philoſophers of other nations reſorted for information and inſtruction. Diodorus Siculus in the concluſion of his firſt book enumerates the poets and ſages of Greece, who had traveled into Egypt to learn the laws and diſciplin of the Egyptians. When a ſacred writer would give the higheſt character of Solomon's wiſdom, he ſaith that it "excelled all the wiſdom "of Egypt;" (1 Kings IV. 30.) and from Moſes's own hiſtory it appears, that in his time and before it Egypt was a mighty and floriſhing kingdom.

The prieſts in this country, as in moſt others, were the moſt learned men; and Moſes, as we obſerved before, was reckoned by the Egyptians among their prieſts for his wiſdom and learning. The Egyptian hiſtorian (5) Manetho particularly affirms him to have been a Heliopolitan prieſt; and the Heliopolitans, according to (6) Herodotus, were ſaid to be the moſt wiſe and learned of the Egyptians. In all probability Moſes, being brought up at the charge of Pharaoh's daughter as her own ſon, received his education among the prieſts, who were not only the men of letters, but were alſo the counſellors and inſtructors

(3) πανλως απο των παλαιων και μη εις πολλας εφθακοΐων γραμμαΐων λαβων. ex veteribus nec vulgo cognitis libris hauſerat. Orig. cont. Celſ. Lib. 3. Sect. 46. p. 478. Vol. 1. Edit. Benedict.

(4) De vita Moſis. Lib. 1. p. 606. Edit. Paris. 1640.

(5) ιερευς, το γενω Ηλιοπολίης, ſacerdos genere Heliopolitanus. Apud Joſeph. cont. Apion. Lib. 1. Sect. 26. p. 1354. Edit. Hudſon.

(6) οι γαρ Ηλιοπολίαι λεγονται Αιγυπτιων ειναι λογιμωΐαΐοι. Nam Heliopolitani feruntur Ægyptiorum eſſe ſolertiſſimi. Herod. Lib. 2. cap. 3. p. 91. Edit. Gale.

(7) Οι δ' ιερεις και φιλοσοφιαν ησκεν, και αστρονομιαν, ομιληΐαι

ſtructors of their princes. (7) Strabo ſaith, that the prieſts ſtudied philoſophy and aſtronomy, and were companions of their kings. (8) Diodorus Siculus ſaith, that they conſtantly attend the king to adviſe him in the greateſt affairs, being his coadjutors in ſome things, and in others his leaders and teachers. Their political knowlege muſt therefore have been the moſt conſiderable; and ſo Moſes was trained up and fitted by human means as well as by divine, to become a great legiſlator, and founder of the conſtitution of his country.

He had then the advantage of the beſt education that the times afforded, and his parts and capacity were never queſtioned, but are confeſſed and commended by his very enemies. They who look upon him as an impoſtor, muſt yet allow him to have been an able impoſtor. He was too of an advanced age and conſummate experience when he wrote his hiſtory, had perfect and moſt exact knowlege of all tranſactions, was eye-witneſs to the greateſt part, nay pars magna fuit, was a great part himſelf: and for what he hath related of former times, he might derive the knowlege of it; as it was hinted above, either from tradition which paſſed then through fewer hands by reaſon of the long lives of men, or from the written memorials and records of the ancient patriarchs, ſetting aſide divine revelation. The largeſt part is what he ſaw and heard, and performed himſelf; and thoſe authors are always the moſt valuable, who treat principally of what lieth within the ſphere of their own knowlege. Monks and pedants, who have lived recluſe and remote from the ſcene of great actions, are by no means proper perſons to relate them. They certainly are fitteſt to record memorable exploits, who themſelves have borne a part, and have adviſed or acted in them; and ſuch will be found the beſt and ableſt hiſtorians from Thucydides and Xenophon down to Lord Clarendon. Upon all theſe accounts Moſes muſt be acknowleged to

ὁμιλῆσαι τε των βασιλεων ησαν. Sacerdotes philoſophiam et aſtronomiam exercebant, et cum regibus converſabantur. Strab. Lib. 17. p. 1135. Edit. Amſtel. 1707.

(8) Καθολω γαρ περι των μεγιστων ἀτοι προβαλλομενοι ξυνδιαιρεθσι τω βασιλει, των μεν ξυνεδροι, των δε εισηγῆσαι και διδασκαλοι γινομενοι. Hi namque ut ſenatus principes regi perpetuo ſunt præſto, quâ opera, quâ conſilio et doctrina ipſum adjuvantes. Diod. Sic. Lib. 1. p. 66. Edit. Rhodomani.

(9) *Puiſſant*

to be no inconſiderable writer: and indeed who ſo proper to write the hiſtory and laws of a people, as their deliverer and lawgiver?

As he was excellently well qualified to write upon theſe ſubjects, ſo theſe ſubjects are important and intereſting, and worthy of the writer. We muſt not however look for more in his writings than they really contain. We muſt not expect to find therein a ſyſtem of univerſal hiſtory and chronology, any more than a ſyſtem of natural philoſophy. They who have attempted to prove the latter, have proved nothing ſo much as their own abſurdity; and they who require the former, are very captious and unreaſonable in requiring what the author never intended. The end and purpoſe of an author ſhould always be conſidered; and the end and purpoſe of Moſes was plainly not to teach his people arts and ſciences, but to write a ſuccinct hiſtory of his nation, together with the religion and laws delivered to them; and previouſly he giveth ſuch an account of the origin of things, and ſo much of the hiſtory of former times, as were relative to this end, omitting the reſt as being beyond or beſide his purpoſe.

But though his hiſtory was never deſigned for an univerſal hiſtory, yet it is valuable on many accounts, and particularly becauſe it is not only the moſt ancient hiſtory, but alſo the hiſtory of the moſt ancient times, whereof all other hiſtories are manifeſtly fabulous; and though it be not ſo large and full as perhaps our curioſity may wiſh it, yet it is the fulleſt and beſt that is extant. What is more inſtructive than to trace the riſe and progreſs of ſtates and empires, to know the laws and conſtitutions, the governments and religions of nations, and eſpecially of a nation, who have made and ſtill make ſo remarkable a figure in the world as the Jews.

One of the nobleſt efforts of human wiſdom is the giving of laws and the founding of commonwealths. The greateſt men in all ages have been ambitious of exerting this talent of legiſlation; and where they have not had real occaſions, they have delighted in forming imaginary commonwealths, ſuch as the republics of Plato and Cicero, and the Utopia's and Oceana's of modern times. Now Moſes, conſidered only as an human lawgiver, deſerves a regard ſuperior to others. It

would

would lead us into too long a digreſſion, or it would be no difficult or diſagreeable taſk to ſhow wherein he hath the preference, and how far he excels the wiſdom of other nations. Every wiſe man therefore, philoſopher or politician, would ſtudy his writings, and conſider and compare his inſtitutions eccleſiaſtical and civil with others; and perhaps modern laws might be improved in ſeveral reſpects, if they were made more to reſemble the ancient.

But the ſtudy of laws, though edifying and uſeful, is not of itſelf the moſt agreeable ſtudy; it requires ſomething more to make it palatable and pleaſing; and it is a ſingular excellence of Moſes's laws, and an eminent advantage which they enjoy over others, that they are delivered with ſuch an intermixture of hiſtory, as renders the reading of them entertaining as well as inſtructive. And it is not a hiſtory of light and trivial affairs, but includes ſome of the moſt memorable and moſt intereſting occurrences, as the creation of the world, the origin of evil, the univerſal deluge, the diſperſion of mankind, the firſt planting of nations, and the like events. And who would not wiſh for information and ſatisfaction in theſe particulars? who would not be curious to ſee what any ancient author hath ſaid upon theſe ſubjects? He was the author who lived neareſt to theſe tranſactions, and therefore moſt likely to give the beſt account of them: and his account upon examination will be found more probable and authentic than any other whatever.

4. Moreover he was a fine writer; and in his works are beauties, which in any ancient heathen author would be greatly admired and commended. When St. Stephen informs us, that "Moſes was learned "in all the wiſdom of the Egyptians," (Acts VII. 22.) he farther aſſerts, "and was mighty in words and in deeds:" but his being "mighty in words" muſt refer more to his matter than to his elocution, more to his writing than to his ſpeaking; for we learn from himſelf, (Exod. IV. 10, 16.) that he was "ſlow of ſpeech, and of a "ſlow tongue," ſo that his brother Aaron was his "ſpokeſman unto "the people." A learned French commentator thus inlargeth upon

the place; (9) ‘ *Mighty in words*, perſuaſive, powerful in reaſoning; ‘ for we know from another place, that he had an impediment in his ‘ ſpeech. But he had force, had energy, had grandeur in his diſ- ‘ courſe. We ſee proofs of it in the books which we have of his. ‘ He is inimitable, whether he relate, or write laws, or compoſe ſongs ‘ or orations. He excels in all kinds of diſcourſe. He is ſimple, ‘ clear, ſublime, vehement, conciſe, copious, rapid, according to ‘ the nature of the diſcourſe and of the circumſtances.’

Longinus, though a heathen, in his golden treatiſe of the Sublime highly commends the ſublimity of the Moſaic hiſtory of the creation. Speaking in praiſe of thoſe who repreſent the deity in his purity and majeſty, he ſaith that (1) thus alſo the lawgiver of the Jews, who was no ordinary man, having conceived worthily of the power of God, hath alſo expreſſed it: in the very entrance of his laws, *God ſaid*, ſaith he; what? This *what* the critic inſerts, to awaken the attention, and incite the veneration of the reader to what follows. *Let there be light, and it was; let there be earth, and it was.*

I know very well, that Lucian hath attempted to ridicule this paſſage in his Philopatris, if that dialogue be of his compoſing. (2) He banters the notion of the world's being made with a word only ſpoken by God, as the ſlow-tongued man hath deſcribed it; by the *ſlow-tongued* man meaning Moſes, whom he ſo denominates in alluſion to what he had ſaid of him himſelf, that he was *ſlow of ſpeech, and had a ſlow tongue*, and employs the ſame word βραδυγλωσσος that is uſed in the Septuagint tranſlation. I know very well too, that the famous Huetius and Le Clerc have queſtioned the juſtneſs of this criticiſm of Longinus;

(1) *Puiſſant en paroles*, perſuaſif, puiſſant en raiſonnemens; car on ſait d'ailleurs, Exod. IV. 10. VI. 12. qu'il ne parloit pas aiſément, et qu'il avoit la langue graſſe, ou peſante. Mais il avoit de la force, de l'energie, de la grandeur dans ſon diſcours. On en voit des preuves dans les livres que nous avons de lui. Il eſt inimitable, ſoit qu'il raconte, ou qu'il ecrive des loix, ou qu'il compoſe des cantiques, ou des harangues. Il excelle dans tous les genres de diſcours. Simple, clair, élevé, véhément, ſerré, étendu, rapide, ſuivant la nature du diſcours, et des circonſtances. Calmet in locum.

(1) Ταυτη και ὁ των Ιουδαιων θεσμοθετης, ουχ ὁ τυχων ανηρ, επειδη την τυ θειυ δυναμιν κατα την αξιαν εχωρησε, καξεφηνεν· ευθυς εν τη εισβολη γραψας των νομων, “ Ειπεν ὁ θεος,” φησι· τι; “ γενεσθω “ φως, και εγενετο· γενεσθω γε, και εγενετο.” Ad hunc modum etiam ille Judæorum legiſlator, vir minimè vulgaris, poſtquam potentiam numinis, pro dignitate ejus mente concepit, etiam declaravit; ſtatim

Longinus: but Tollius, one of the editors of Longinus, and Boileau and others have vindicated both Moſes and Longinus. Boileau particularly, the French tranſlator of Longinus, and as excellent a critic as he was a poet, hath ſo clearly refuted all objections, and ſo fully proved and eſtabliſhed the true ſublime of this paſſage, that I think no one of any taſte, though taſtes are various, can any more call it into queſtion. They who are deſirous of ſeeing the controverſy at large, may find the diſſertations and reflections on both ſides in all the late editions of Boileau's works.

I conceive the merits of the queſtion may fairly be reduced to theſe four points. They object that Longinus had never ſeen the writings of Moſes, as appears ſay they from his manner of quoting them: but it was not the method of Longinus or of any of the ancients to make exact verbal quotations; he hath not throughout his whole commentary quoted any paſſage word for word from any author, as the late and indeed the beſt (3) editor of Longinus hath obſerved. If he had taken this quotation from ſecond hand, he might ſtill perceive the ſenſe and ſublimity of the paſſage. But there is very good reaſon to believe, that he had ſeen the books of Moſes; for the Greek tranſlation of them was very well known, having been ſpread through all countries by means of the Jews and Chriſtians. He was too ſo general a reader and univerſal a ſcholar, that his (4) contemporaries called him *a living library* and *walking muſeum*. Such a man of ſo curious and philoſophical a turn, who read almoſt every thing, would hardly fail of reading ſuch extraordinary writings as theſe: and by his manner

ſtatim in principio legum ſuarum ſcribens "Dixit "Deus" inquit: quid? "Sit lux, et fuit; ſit "terra, et fuit." Sect. 9.

(2) λοίῳ μονῳ ῥηθεὶι ὑπ' αὐτε, ὡς ὁ βραδυλωσσος απεγραψατο. verbo ſolo dicto ab ipſa, quemadmodum tardilinguis iſte deſcripſit. Luciani Philop. p. 999. Vol. 2. Edit. Benedicti.

(3) We will here quote the words of this excellent critic,—neque enim aut Longino aut aliis priorum ſæculorum ſcriptoribus videtur uſitatum fuiſſe accuratè fidéque ſatis verba citare: imò nuſquam (ſi bene memini) Longinus per totum ſuum commentarium cujuſvis auctoris locum iiſdem verbio (modo pluribus, quam duobus aut tribus, conſiſteret) exhibuit: nec aliter ab aliis ſcriptoribus factum video: ſi enim ſenſum auctoris, et præcipua citatæ ſententiæ verba ob oculos lectoris ponerent, de cæteris minus ſoliciti fuere: accurata hæc citandi diligentia, quâ hodie utimur, quæque laudabilis ſanè eſt, fruſtra in veteribus quærenda eſt, &c. Pearce's Pref. to Longinus.

(4) Etiam Eunapius eum vocat βιβλιοθηκην εμψυχον και περιπατῶν μουσειον. Voſſius de Hiſt. Græc. Lib. 2. cap. 16.

ner of quoting them it ſhould ſeem, that he refers to the whole account of the creation, as an inſtance of the true ſublime, in repreſenting the deity producing earth and every thing as well as the light by a word only.

They object too, that if the paſſage was ſo ſublime as is pretended, it would offend againſt the rules of Horace and of all good writing, which direct that the beginning ſhould be plain and ſimple, without ornament or affectation. Theſe rules are better calculated for poetry which ſhould riſe by degrees, than for other writings: but though the beginning ſhould be ſimple, yet it is not forbidden that it ſhould be ſublime; ſublimity is not oppoſed to ſimplicity; a thing may be both plain and grand, without ornament of ſpeech, and at the ſame time with great elevation of thought.

They farther obſerve, that ſuch forms of expreſſion are familiar and common in the Hebrew language, and produce ſome inſtances which cannot be admired for their ſublimity: as if the form of words only was to be regarded, and the perſon who ſpeaketh, and the manner and occaſion of ſpeaking were not alſo to be taken into conſideration. A thing may be trivial and ridiculous, when ſpoken by a certain perſon, and in a certain manner, and upon a certain occaſion, and yet the ſame may be great and ſolemn, when ſpoken by a different perſon, and in a different manner, and upon a different occaſion.

After all they are forced to allow that there is ſomething ſublime in the paſſage, but the ſtile they ſay is low and ſimple: as if ſimplicity of expreſſion might not conſiſt with ſublimity of thought, and did not often raiſe and improve it. The true ſublime may conſiſt both in the ſentiment and in the diction; but it can never be found in the diction alone without the ſentiment, it may be and often is in the ſentiment alone without the diction.

In a word Longinus is giving inſtances of the ſublime in deſcriptions of the deity according to his dignity and majeſty; and he could not have choſen any inſtance more to his purpoſe, nor any expreſſions more becoming the power of God, than Moſes's aſcribing the creation to his ſingle command; he only ſpake the word, and the thing

was immediately done. The Pſalmiſt had much the ſame conceptions with Longinus, for alluding to this very paſſage, he endevors from thence to excite the reverence and awe of mankind. (Pſal. XXXIII. 8, 9.) " Let all the earth fear the Lord, let all the inhabitants of " the world ſtand in awe of him. For he ſpake, and it was done; " he commanded, and it ſtood faſt."

The hiſtory of the patriarchs can never be ſufficiently admired for the ſimplicity of the ſtile ſo properly adapted to the ſubject. From what we have heard or read of Eſau we are by no means prejudiced in favor of his character: but yet the diſcourſe between him and his father Iſaac, after his brother Jacob had robbed him of his father's bleſſing, cannot fail of touching every generous heart. The old man, it is ſaid (Gen. XXVII. 33.) " trembled very exceedingly;" and accordingly his ſpeech is broken and confuſed, the better to expreſs his diſorder and confuſion, " Who, where is he that hath taken veniſon, " and brought it me, and I have eaten of all before thou cameſt, and " have bleſſed him? yea, and he ſhall be bleſſed." And afterwards how mournful and moving is Eſau's reply, (ver. 38.) " Haſt thou " but one bleſſing my father? bleſs me; even me alſo, O my father. " And Eſau lift up his voice and wept!"

The ſtory of Joſeph and his brethren is related with ſo many circumſtances, and at the ſame time with ſuch conciſeneſs, as we ſhall ſeldom find in any author. The language is the moſt plain and artleſs. The incidents are wonderful yet natural, and affecting to the higheſt degree. It is difficult to point out peculiar excellences, where the whole is excellent. We will touch only upon ſome paſſages at their ſeveral interviews in Egypt.

Joſeph at firſt ſight knew his brethren, (Gen. XLII. 7.) " but " made himſelf ſtrange unto them, and ſpake roughly unto them," and (ver. 9.) charged them with being " ſpies," the better to diſguiſe himſelf, and to frighten them into ſome confeſſion of their ſtate and condition. The ſtratagem ſucceeded; for (ver. 13.) they ſaid, " Thy " ſervants are twelve brethren, the ſons of one man in the land of " Canaan; and behold, the youngeſt is this day with our father, and

" one is not." He no ſooner heard of his own brother Benjamin, than he was deſirous of ſeeing him; but to conceal his purpoſe, he ſtill repeated his charge of their being ſpies, and would not be ſatisfied to the contrary, except they " brought their youngeſt brother " unto him." (ver. 20.) When men are in any diſtreſs, their conſciences uſually reproach them with their former tranſgreſſions, eſpecially if there be ſomething ſimilar in the caſes; and nothing therefore was ever more natural than the brethren ſaying one to another, (ver. 21.) " We are verily guilty concerning our brother, in that we " ſaw the anguiſh of his ſoul, when he beſought us; and we would " not hear: therefore is this diſtreſs come upon us." Reuben, who had acted a more merciful part, reproached them too, as well as their own conſciences, (ver. 22.) " Spake I not unto you, ſaying, Do not " ſin againſt the child; and ye would not hear? therefore behold alſo, " his blood is required." No wonder that Joſeph (for he underſtood them, though they thought that he did not) was ſenſibly affected with their remorſe and anguiſh on his account, " and turned himſelf about " from them and wept:" (ver. 24.) but it was not yet a proper time to diſcloſe himſelf; he had a mind to chaſtiſe and prove them yet farther, and " took from them Simeon, and bound him before their " eyes." Reuben was the eldeſt, but the reaſon why he was not taken is evident, becauſe he had pleaded for mercy to Joſeph: Simeon was the next in age and authority, and the eldeſt of thoſe who had conſpired againſt him.

At their ſecond coming into Egypt, when Joſeph underſtood that his brother Benjamin was with them, he ſpake more kindly unto them, (Gen. XLIII. 27.) " and aſked them of their welfare, and ſaid, Is " your father well, the old man of whom ye ſpake? is he yet alive?" Very natural was this curioſity, and very affectionate this inquiry. When he ſaw " his brother Benjamin, his mother's ſon," (ver. 29.) he ſpake graciouſly unto him, as a perſon in power and authority to an inferior and younger, " God be gracious unto thee, my ſon." Here his natural affection was too ſtrong for the part that he had aſſumed, and he could counterfeit no longer. (ver. 30.) " And Joſeph

" made

" made haſte; for his bowels did yern upon his brother: and he " ſought where to weep, and he entred into his chamber, and wept " th re."

Then again when by policy he had brought back his brethren, how handſomely did Judah plead in behalf of his brother Benjamin, for whom he was ſurety to his father, and who was too young to ſpeak for himſelf? (5) Philo and Joſephus were particularly pleaſed with his ſpeech, for they have both labored to paraphraſe it, as it deſerves, with all the art and eloquence of which they were capable. How pathetical is the beginning, and how fitted to expreſs diſtreſs and to move compaſſion! (Gen. XLIV. 16.) " What ſhall we ſay unto my " Lord? what ſhall we ſpeak? or how ſhall we clear ourſelves?" How dutiful and becoming of a good ſon was his care and concern for his old father! Nothing could be better calculated to touch the heart of Joſeph. The ſpeaker himſelf had no notion, could have no notion, how well it was adapted to this purpoſe. (ver. 30 and 31.) " Now therefore when I come to thy ſervant my father, and the lad " be not with us (ſeeing that his life is bound up in the lad's life) it " ſhall come to paſs, when he ſeeth that the lad is not with us, that " he will die; and thy ſervants ſhall bring down the gray hairs of " thy ſervant our father with ſorrow to the grave." Rather than the lad ſhould not return to his father, he generouſly offers himſelf to remain a captive in his room, (ver. 33.) " Now therefore, I pray thee, " let thy ſervant abide, inſtead of the lad, a bond-man to my lord; " and let the lad go up with his brethren." The ſprings were now wound up to the highth. Nature and paſſion entirely got the better of art and diſguiſe, and Joſeph could not contain any more, but " made himſelf known unto his brethren." (Gen. XLV. 1.) And an exquiſitely tender moving ſcene it was; ſuch condeſcenſion and goodneſs on one ſide, ſuch wonder and gratitude on the other.

" He wept aloud," (ver. 2.) before he could declare himſelf: and he declares himſelf in as few words as poſſible, and immediately inquires after

(5) Philo Lib. de Joſeph. p. 558, &c. Edit. Paris. 1640. Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. 2. cap. 6. Sect. 8. p. 65. Edit. Hudſon.

(6) Εκβαλλει

after his father's welfare, (ver. 3.) "I am Joſeph; Doth my father "yet live?" His guilty brethren were ſtruck dumb by this unexpected and ſudden diſcovery, "and could not anſwer him; for they were "troubled at his preſence." He therefore entreats them to approach him in the moſt indearing manner, (ver. 4.) "Come near to me, I "pray you;" and comforts and encourages them by imputing their former treatment of him to the direction and diſpoſal of an all-wiſe providence, (ver. 5.) "Now therefore be not grieved, nor angry with "yourſelves, that ye ſold me hither; for God did ſend me before "you to preſerve life." He informs them that there were five years of famin yet to come, and would have them haſten and bring down their father; he would be happy to hear of his ſon's glory, and much more to ſee it. (ver. 13.) "And you ſhall tell my father of all my "glory in Egypt, and of all that you have ſeen; and ye ſhall haſte, "and bring down my father hither." Words in ſuch a caſe are too poor to expreſs the ſenſations of the heart; tears and kiſſes ſupply the reſt. (ver. 14, 15.) "And he fell upon his brother Benjamin's "neck, and wept; and Benjamin wept upon his neck. Moreover "he kiſſed all his brethren, and wept upon them."

In the concluſion of the chapter, when the father was acquainted with the circumſtances of the ſtory, who is not in raptures almoſt, to hear the raptures and tranſports of the old man? (ver. 28.) "It is "enough; Joſeph my ſon is yet alive; I will go and ſee him before "I die."

In theſe narrations the ſtile is lower and plainer, as indeed it ought to be; it is more raiſed and figured in the prophetic parts, as when Jacob delivers his bleſſings to his ſons (Gen. XLIX.) and Moſes to the twelve tribes. (Deut. XXXIII.) And the ſame obſervation we may extend to the prophecies, or *parables* as they are called, of Balaam. The bleſſings promiſed to obedience, and the curſes threatened to diſobedience (Deut. XXVIII.) appear in a ſtronger light by being contraſted with each other. We find Moſes here foretelling things to come, as particularly and exactly, as if he was deſcribing paſt tranſactions. Indeed the diſtreſs and miſery of a people were never drawn

in

in more lively colors. You can ſcarcely conceive any image of horror, which is not there expreſſed or implied: but nothing in the whole is more ſtriking and affecting than that reſtleſneſs, anxiety, and agony of mind in their captivity. (ver. 65, 66, 67.) "And among "theſe nations ſhalt thou find no eaſe, neither ſhall the ſole of thy "foot have reſt: but the Lord ſhall give thee a trembling heart, and "failing of eyes, and ſorrow of mind. And thy life ſhall hang in "doubt before thee, and thou ſhalt fear day and night, and ſhalt "have none aſſurance of thy life. In the morning thou ſhalt ſay, "Would God it were even; and at even thou ſhalt ſay, Would God "it were morning, for the fear of thine heart wherewith thou ſhalt "fear, and for the ſight of thine eyes which thou ſhalt ſee." Theſe images of diſtreſs cannot be exceeded or equalled by the moſt melancholy ſtrains of the Greek tragedians.

But he was a poet as well as a prophet; for they are nearly related; the ſtile and diction of both are much alike; and in ſome languages the ſame word ſignifies both the one and the other. We cannot deſire a ſtronger proof that he was poſſeſſed of the ſpirit of poetry than his two ſongs, the firſt in Exod. XV. which he compoſed after Pharaoh and his hoſt were drowned in the Red Sea, and the other in Deut. XXXII. which he delivered to the Iſraelites a little before his death.

In the latter how ſolemnly and emphatically doth he begin with invoking heaven and earth, (ver. 1.) "Give ear, O ye heavens, and I "will ſpeak; and hear, O earth, the words of my mouth." We before obſerved, that Iſaiah began his prophecy with the ſame ſolemn invocation: and there is ſomething reſembling it in the beſt heathen poets:

Ηελιος θ', ὸς πανθ' ὲφορᾳς, και πανθ' ὲπακυεις,
Και Πόταμοι, και Γαια—— Hom. Iliad. III. 277.

Eſto nunc ſol teſtis, et hæc mihi terra precanti.
Virg. Æn. XII. 176.

Homer compares Ulyſſes's eloquence to the winter's ſnow, Iliad. III. 222.

Και επεα νιφαδεσσιν εοικοτα χειμεριησιν,

meaning

meaning thereby that it was copious, vehement, and penetrating; and the thought hath been often admired, and often quoted: but Moſes much better compares the ſalutary effects of his doctrin to the rain and the dew, which are not only copious and penetrating, but alſo gentle and refreſhing, and render every thing floriſhing and fruitful. (ver. 2.) "My doctrin ſhall drop as the rain, my ſpeech ſhall "diſtil as the dew, as the ſmall rain upon the tender herb, and as "the ſhowers upon the graſs."

What another noble ſimilitude is that taken from the nature of the eagle, and her remarkable affection to her young! It appears that Moſes even in his poetry was a better naturaliſt than Ariſtotle; for (6) Ariſtotle hath deſcribed the eagle as envious and cruel to her young, thruſting them out of the neſt before the time, even while they are deſtitute of food, and not yet able to fly: but this muſt be underſtood only of a certain ſpecies of eagles, otherwiſe Ariſtotle would contradict himſelf, for he hath mentioned others, (7) who nouriſh their young till they are able to fly: and the moſt learned (8) Bochart hath proved againſt Ariſtotle from Arrian, Oppian, and other authors, that of all creatures the eagle is the fondeſt of her young, feeding them carefully, ſupporting them on her wings, and inſtructing them to fly: and the ſame account is confirmed by the natural hiſtories and obſervations of later times. (9) The ingenious author of Spectacle de la Nature or Nature Diſplay'd, diſcourſing how plentifully eagles cater for their young, ſaith expreſly, "The male carefully nouriſhes them "for the ſpace of three months, and the female is engaged in the "ſame employment till the bird is capable of quitting the neſt; but "when that period is compleated, they make him ſpring into the "air, and bear him up with their wings and talons when he is in "danger of falling." How fitly then has Moſes employed this compariſon borrowed from nature, to illuſtrate the goodneſs of God in conducting his people through the wilderneſs! (ver. 11 and 12.) "As "an

(6) εκβαλλει γαρ ὁ αιετος προ ὡρας, ετι βια δεομενα, και απω δυναμενα πτεσθαι. εκβαλλειν δε δοκει τους νεοττους ὁ αιετος δια φθονον. φυσει γαρ εστι φθονερος και οξυπεινος. Mittit namque ſuos aquila antè quam tempus ſit, adhuc parentis operam deſiderantes, nec volandi adeptos facultatem, quod per

" an eagle ſtirreth up her neſt, fluttereth over her young, ſpreadeth " abroad her wings, taketh them, beareth them on her wings; So " the Lord alone did lead him, and there was no ſtrange God with " him."

There are other poetical expreſſions in ſetting forth God's mercies, as (ver. 13 and 14.) " he made him to ſuck honey out of the rock, " and oil out of the flinty rock; thou didſt drink the pure blood of " the grape;" and again in ſetting forth God's vengeance, as (ver. 42.) " I will make mine arrows drunk with blood, and my ſword " ſhall devour fleſh:" and in the midſt of all there is the greateſt tenderneſs and delicacy in that paſſionate wiſh, ſo worthy of the father of his country, (ver. 29.) " O that they were wiſe, that they under- " ſtood this, that they would conſider their latter end!"

If we farther conſider him in his capacity of lawgiver, we ſhall find his ſtile and manner of writing ſuperior to that of moſt legiſlators. Laws, effectually to ſerve any wiſe end or anſwer any good purpoſe, ſhould be delivered with plainneſs that they may be better underſtood, with conciſeneſs that they may be better remembred, and with dignity and authority that they may be better obeyed: and in all theſe reſpects the laws of Moſes are are as complete and perfect as the nature of ſo many and ſuch various inſtitutions would permit. So that if we view him in any light, either as an hiſtorian, or as a prophet, or as a poet, or as a lawgiver, we ſee him varying and accommodating his ſtile to his ſubject; and few writers excel in any one of theſe characters, ſo much as he doth in all.

5. He was likewiſe an honeſt and diſintereſted writer, and hath given ſuch proofs of impartiality and veracity, as are rarely to be found in the moſt faithful hiſtorians. He could have no deſign to flatter his countrymen, for he rather expoſeth their infidelity and wickedneſs. He commends indeed the virtues of ſome of their anceſtors, but

per invidiam ita facere creditur. Naturâ enim, invida, et famelica eſt. De Hiſt. Animal. Lib. 9. cap. 34. p. 939. Vol. 1. Edit. Du Val.

(7) τρεφουσι δε τους νεοττους, εως αν δυνωνται πτησεσθαι. Alunt ſuos pullos, donec poteſtas volandi fiat. Ib. cap. 32. p. 938.

(8) Hierozoic. Pars poſt. Lib. 2. cap. 3.

(9) Part II. Dial. 11. p. 44.

but at the ſame time records the failings and imperfections of the very beſt of them; and they who cenſure and condemn the character and conduct of any of the patriarchs, muſt yet allow the ſincerity and integrity of the hiſtorian, who relates things as they were really tranſacted, without favor or affection to perſons or to families or to nations. If he had been diſpoſed to diſguiſe and palliate matters in honor of his nation, he would never have given ſuch a particular account of Jacob's ſupplanting Eſau, and ſtealing the bleſſing from him, (Gen. XXVII.) which muſt have furniſhed occaſion of complaint to the Edomites, who were the deſcendents of Eſau, and implacable enemies of the Jews: neither would he have related ſo punctually the ſcandalous commerce between Judah and Tamar, (Gen. XXXVIII.) which muſt have brought a reproach upon that whole tribe, and eſpecially upon the families who ſprung from that inceſtuous mixture.

As a veneration for their forefathers could not induce him to ſuppreſs or diſguiſe the truth, ſo neither could the influence of the then preſent generation, the hopes of their favor, or the fear of their diſpleaſure. He was ſo far from courting their applauſe by juſtifying, extenuating, or even concealing their crimes, that he deſcribes at large their meanneſs of ſpirit, and unwillingneſs to be delivered from bondage, their murmurings and complainings as ſoon as they were delivered, their idolatry and rebellion againſt God, their ingratitude and diſobedience to himſelf, their cowardice upon the report of the ſpies, and unmanly inclinations to return into Egypt rather than to face their enemies, to ſubmit again to baſeſt ſervitude rather than to contend for glorious liberty: and theſe particulars he not only relates in the order of time wherein they happened, but afterwards recapitulates and rehearſes them together, to daſh the pride and vanity of the people, and to abaſe and humble them the more: and he aſſures them that God brought them in to poſſeſs this land not for their own righteouſneſs, for they were "a ſtiff-necked people," (Deut. IX. 6.) "a nation void "of counſel and underſtanding," (XXXII. 28.) "children in whom "is no faith," (ver. 20.) "a perverſe and crooked generation," (ver. 5.) "you have been rebellious againſt the Lord," ſays he (IX. 24.)

" from the day that I knew you." Nothing but the force of truth could have obtained a reception for ſuch writings as theſe. He would not otherwiſe have written theſe things, and much leſs would they have received them.

Nay he doth not ſpare even his own family and his neareſt relations. Levi, the founder of his tribe and family, he mentions not with any particular honor, but freely relates his barbarity in the affair of the Shechemites, (Gen. XXXIV.) and the curſe entailed upon him for it. (Gen. XLIX.) He is ſo faithful an hiſtorian, that he paſſeth not over in ſilence, but giveth an exact detail of Aaron's idolatry, (Exod. XXXII.) and of Miriam's and Aaron's ſedition, (Numb. XII.) together with Miriam's leproſy and the cure of it. And we may be certain, that he would not thus have expoſed a brother and ſiſter, if he had not regarded conſanguinity leſs than truth, which was dearer to him than all relations. If Moſes had been an impoſtor, his brother Aaron muſt neceſſarily have been in the ſecret, and there muſt have been ſome colluſion between them: but if there had been any colluſion between them, he would never have ventured to bring ſuch a public accuſation againſt him.

Nay he is ſo ingenuous, that he doth not diſguiſe or conceal even his own faults, but fairly acknowlegeth his want of faith and confidence in God: and this inſtance of diſobedience he mentions not ſlightly nor once only, but repeats it upon ſeveral occaſions: and if at any time he commends himſelf, it is when it became neceſſary for his own juſtification. The paſſage moſt liable to objection, and moſt commonly objected, is the following text, (Numb. XII. 3.) " Now " the man Moſes was very meek, above all the men which were upon " the face of the earth." It is imagined, that a modeſt or prudent writer could not ſay this of himſelf: but it ſhould be conſidered, that this was aſſerted on occaſion of the ſedition which Aaron and Miriam had raiſed againſt him; and at ſuch a time and in ſuch a caſe to vindicate his own character, to declare his innocence, that he had never given them any provocation, but bore every thing with all imaginable temper, was ſurely neither unbecoming his modeſty nor his

prudence. When a man's conduct and character are unjuſtly impeached, it is allowable for him to ſpeak in his own commendation, and to juſtify himſelf; it is no violation of decency, it is but equity and juſtice to himſelf; and it is no more than what St. Paul (2 Cor. XI.) and our Saviour himſelf (John X.) have done upon the like occaſions.

Neither can we charge Moſes with ſordid avarice, or wicked ambition. He was as far from conſulting his own intereſt, as he was from ſeeking his own glory. He forſook all the *pleaſures*, and all the *treaſures* of the court of Egypt, "chooſing rather to ſuffer affliction "with the people of God:" (Heb. XI. 25.) and though he was appointed to a great command, yet it was a laborious and painful command, attended with infinite trouble and vexation to himſelf, and with little profit or advantage to his family. For the prieſthood he ſettled in the line of Aaron, the ſovran command he reſigned to one of another tribe, and for his own children he neither heaped up riches, nor procured honors, nor bequeathed inheritance, but reduced them to the rank of common Levites: and we ſhall ſeldom ſee ſuch power and ſuch public ſpirit united. Diſintereſtedneſs is oftner admired and commended, than practiſed, eſpecially in the diſpoſition of public offices and honors.

An additional proof of his honeſty and integrity is that perfect conſiſtence and agreement with himſelf and with the other writers of his own nation. Other hiſtorians, if they do not ſometimes contradict themſelves, yet are often contradicted by contemporary or ſubſequent hiſtorians of the ſame country. (1) Joſephus juſtly remarks of the Grecians, that in their books they often refute one another, and are not aſhamed to give the moſt contradictory accounts of the ſame occurrences: Hellanicus is ſhown to be a great liar by Ephorus, Epho-

rus

(1) πλειον γαρ δια των βιβλιων αλληλας ελεγχουσι, και τα εναντιωτατα περι των αυτων λεγειν αισχυνουσι.—Εφορῳ μεν Ελλανικον εν τοις πλειοσις ψευδομενον επιδεικνυσιν, Εφορον δε Τιμαιος, και Τιμαιον οι μετ' εκεινον γεγονοτες, Ηροδοτον δε παντες.—πολλα δε και Θουκυδιδης ως ψευδομενος υπο τινων κατηγορειται, και τοι δοκων ακριβεστατην καθ' αυτον ιστοριαν συγγραφειν. Itaque ſcriptis ſuis alios paſſim alii reprehendunt, nec iiſdem omnino de rebus longe diverſa loqui erubeſcunt.—ſæpe mendacii reum Hellanicum.

rus by Timæus, and Timæus by later writers, and Herodotus by all: and even Thucydides, though counted a moſt faithful and exact hiſtorian, yet by ſome is accuſed of ſeveral falſifications. What is thus obſerved of the Greek hiſtorians, will generally hold true of the Roman and thoſe of other nations. But the writings of Moſes are not only conſiſtent and uniform, but are alſo confirmed by the concurrent and unanimous teſtimony of all the Jewiſh writers. The hiſtorians in their narrations, the poets in their hymns, the prophets in their exhortations to the people, all refer and appeal to them as the teſt and ſtandard of truth in hiſtory as well as in religion.

The goodneſs of the man is a farther recommendation of the fidelity of the hiſtorian. He appears throughout all his writings to have had a moſt ardent zeal for the glory of God, as well as for the ſervice of his country. Whatever elſe he was, he was without doubt a true patriot. He delivered his people from the meaneſt ſlavery in a foreign land, and conducted them ſafely through dangers and difficulties to a land of liberty. He gave them a religion and laws, which muſt be allowed at leaſt to be much better than thoſe of any of the nations around them. Many a time did he ſtand between them and deſtruction, and rather than they ſhould be cut off as they had deſerved, he begged and prayed that himſelf might be blotted out of the book of the living. Such a public ſpirit is indeed an excellent qualification for a public writer. A man who had ſo ſincere a love for his friends and country, could not be a bad man: and if he had been a Grecian or a Roman, we ſhould never have heard enough of his exploits. The pens, which are now the moſt petulant and forward to traduce him, would then perhaps have been the moſt profuſe and laviſh in his commendation.

6. Laſtly he was an inſpired writer, and wrote and acted by eſpecial commiſſion and authority from heaven. How far the writings of Moſes

Hellanicum Ephorus, Ephorum Timæus, Timæumque recentiores, denique Herodotum univerſi peragunt.—prorſus ut ipſe etiam Thucydides, licet accuratiſſimam temporum ſuorum hiſtoriam perſcribere videatur, a nonnullis erroris ac vanitatis arguatur. Cont. Ap. Lib. 1. cap. 3. p. 1331. Edit. Hudſon.

(2) Some

Moſes were divinely inſpired, is another queſtion; and the diſcuſſion of the meaſure and degree of inſpiration in theſe and the other books of holy ſcripture would require and employ, as indeed it very well deſerves, a particular diſſertation: but for our preſent purpoſe it may be ſufficient to prove, that in the general his writings were inſpired, and he was extraordinarily and miraculouſly directed and aſſiſted by God; and this is no more than what (2) Dr. Middleton himſelf hath allowed and confeſſed. For "having declared myſelf a ſincere Chriſ-
"tian," ſaith he, "in the character of a Chriſtian I take to be ne-
"ceſſarily included *a general belief of the divine origin and inſpiration*
"*of the books of the Old and New Teſtament:* a doctrin too clearly de-
"livered in the ſcriptures, to be doubted of and called in queſtion
"by any one, who lays claim to that title. And as to the particu-
"lar character and caſe of Moſes; I take him to have been *a great*
"*prophet and lawgiver, who in an extraordinary and miraculous man-*
"*ner was favored, aſſiſted, and inſpired by God in the inſtitution of his*
"*laws and religion*, and conſequently had a *divine authority*, which
"is frequently appealed to and confirmed in the New Teſtament."
This truth indeed is ſo very evident, that ignorance alone can doubt of it, and obſtinacy alone can deny it. Had Moſes only aſſerted it, he might have done ſo to promote his own honor, and eſtabliſh his own authority, and we ſhould have placed him upon a level with Minos, Lycurgus, Numa, and other legiſlators of antiquity, who pretended equally to inſpiration and communication with the deity: but he hath not only aſſerted it, but hath alſo furniſhed us with ſuch ample proofs of it, as cannot fail of ſatisfying every reaſonable inquirer.

His miracles are a ſufficient evidence of his divine miſſion; for no man could have performed ſuch wonders, unleſs the hand of God had been with him: and theſe miracles were wrought not privately and in a corner, but publicly and in the preſence of multitudes; and they were not firſt publiſhed in after-ages, when the parties concerned had been

(2) Some Remarks on a Reply, &c. p. 287. Vol. 2. Quarto.

(3) By

been all long dead and forgotten, but were written at the very time when they were wrought, and by the very perſon who wrought them, and were rehearſed in the ears of the people who had ſeen them with their eyes, and were therefore properly appealed to as witneſſes of their truth to future generations. Here was no room for fraud and impoſition. A whole nation could not be deceived in ſuch public tranſactions, which they ſaw with their own eyes, and heard with their own ears.

Imagin him as political and artful, and the people as ignorant and credulous as ever you pleaſe, he could never have made them believe that God himſelf conducted them by day in a pillar of a cloud, and inlightened them by night in a pillar of fire, if there had been only ſome machine with bituminous matter to produce the appearance of ſmoke by day and of flame by night: for they muſt have known it as well as himſelf; at leaſt they muſt have known it who made this machine, and they who carried it; and what machine could be contrived and effected by man, ſo as to be portable, and at the ſame time be big enough to direct and inlighten a camp of ſo many hundred thouſand men?

He could never have perſuaded them, that God himſelf ſpake unto them out of the mount with thundrings and with lightnings, if there had been only ſome artificial noiſe or voice; for that, though ever ſo loud, could not poſſibly have been heard by a hundredth part of the people. He could never have convinced them, that they were continually fed with bread from heaven, that quails were ſent in prodigious numbers for their meat, and the dry and barren rocks were miraculouſly opened and poured forth ſtreams for their drink, if they had not ſeen and felt theſe ſalutary effects, but all the while had been really ſtarving in the wilderneſs.

It doth not appear that they had at any time an implicit belief in him, but on the contrary they doubted of his word and queſtioned his authority upon ſeveral occaſions, and were conſtantly repining and murmuring againſt him. They began to murmur and complain within three days after their paſſing of the Red Sea, (Exod. XV.) and ſo they

continued

continued through all their marches and incampments the moſt diſcontented and perverſe generation, that ever abuſed the goodneſs of God, and exerciſed the faith and patience of the beſt of men. He had no ſeparate faction, no ſelect party to plead his cauſe, and recommend his meaſures; but even his own relations, his brother and ſiſter, whenever they had any pretence for it, were forward enough to condemn his adminiſtration, and raiſed a ſedition againſt him. Nothing therefore but the reality of his miracles could have ſupported, and have carried him through ſo much malice and oppoſition. Without theſe divine credentials the people would never have owned his authority, or have ſubmitted to his laws. The ſeditious ſpirit of his brother and ſiſter could not be ſuppreſſed, till he convinced them by miracles. God ſpake unto them out of the cloudy pillar, and Miriam was ſtruck with a leproſy white as ſnow; (Numb. XII.) but upon their ſubmiſſion ſhe was reſtored and made whole again at Moſes's entreaty, ſo that he triumphed over them by his goodneſs as much as by his ſuperior power.

We may be as certain therefore that the miracles of Moſes were really wrought, as that the people received his laws. The latter could not have been accompliſhed without the former; unleſs we ſuppoſe a whole people voluntarily to concur, and unanimouſly to join in a fraud to impoſe upon themſelves and their poſterity: and for what? to lay a heavy burden upon their own and their childrens ſhoulders, and to tranſmit the worſt character of themſelves to the lateſt generations: all which is much harder to be believed than the miracles themſelves.

His conduct alſo plainly manifeſts his divine commiſſion; for no man in thoſe circumſtances would have acted, as he did in ſeveral inſtances, without particular direction from heaven. When he had brought the people out of Egypt, one would imagin, he would hardly have conducted them to the ſea, but would rather have retired into the mountains and faſtneſſes, where Pharaoh with his chariots could not have purſued them. Or if he had intended to march down to the ſea, he would have thought of providing veſſels to tranſport them; for otherwiſe what could he expect (humanly ſpeaking) but either to

be

be ſwallowed up by the waves which were before them, or to be deſtroyed by their enemies who were behind them? You will ſay perhaps (for it hath been ſaid) that he was perfectly well acquainted with the courſe of the tides, and ſo led the people ſafely over that branch of the ſea, while it was low water; whereas the Egyptians through their ignorance of the tides loſt the opportunity, and all unexpectedly periſhed in the waters. But this account not only contradicts the narration of Moſes, and can no ways be reconciled to it; but moreover it was abſolutely impoſſible for ſo large an army, ſix hundred thouſand fighting men beſides women and children and a mixt multitude, to paſs over the ſea in ſo very ſhort a ſpace of time, as the few hours the receſs of the tide continues. And as this was abſolutely impoſſible, ſo it is utterly incredible that in all Pharaoh's army, among the miniſters, officers, and wiſe men of Egypt attending upon the king, there ſhould not have been ſo much as one, who knew the courſe of the tides as well as Moſes, and might have informed and ſaved the reſt. You cannot therefore account for the paſſage of Moſes and the Iſraelites by their ſuperior knowlege of the tides. There muſt have been ſomething more in it than natural cauſes and natural effects.

Moreover after they had paſſed the Red Sea, he led them not directly to the land of promiſe, but round about by ſeveral marches and countermarches in the wilderneſs. You will ſay perhaps, that this was right policy, to form and habituate them to his command, to train and exerciſe them in arms, to diſciplin and inure them to his laws and inſtitutions; and I believe you will ſay juſtly; but what need was there of employing forty years for theſe purpoſes? A much ſhorter term would have ſufficed: and what probability or indeed poſſibility was there of his providing ſuſtenance for ſuch multitudes all that time in the barren and deſolate wilderneſs?

The patrons of infidelity are ſometimes pleaſed to parallel ſome actions of Moſes with others of Alexander's the great. Moſes's pillar of the cloud and fire they conceive to have been nothing more than ſome artificial beacon, ſuch as Alexander had affixed upon a long pole, and

ſet up over his tent, and carried before his army. Moſes's paſſing the Red ſea they compare to Alexander's paſſing of the Pamphylian ſea at low water: and Moſes's conducting the Iſraelites through the wilderneſs is likened to Alexander's marching over the Libyan ſands to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, there to be recognized for the ſon of that god. At the ſame time they do not conſider, that they pay no little compliment to Moſes, and muſt allow him to have been a very extraordinary perſon, whom they can think of comparing to one of the greateſt heroes of antiquity.

But in truth and reality what an inconſiderable handful of men was Alexander's army in compariſon with the whole number of the children of Iſrael? The former are computed at between thirty and forty thouſand, and the latter at between two or three millions: and what a different thing and how infinitely eaſier was it to march through a deſert at the head of a diſciplined army with all convenient ſpeed, than to tarry there, and maintain a nation, old and young, men women and children, for forty years together? Alexander too, beſides gratifying his vanity, had his political views and deſigns in it; his being acknowleged the ſon of a god would ſpread the terror of his name among the barbarous nations: but what ambitious or political ends could Moſes ſerve by haraſſing and fatiguing his people for ſo many years together in the wilderneſs? Nothing but the divine command could have induced him to it, as nothing but the divine power could have ſupported him in it, and have ſupplied them with plenty in the land of want and deſolation.

But he not only detained them all this while in the wilderneſs, but beſides he declared explicitly that for their infidelity and diſobedience the men of war, the flower and ſtrength of the people, ſhould not reach the promiſed land, which was the main purpoſe of their expedition, but ſhould, except a very few, all periſh in the wilderneſs. (See Numb. XIV.) And how can you account for ſuch a procedure as this, by any of the rules of human policy, or even of common ſenſe? He prevails with them to leave Egypt, upon a promiſe of bringing them to a land flowing with milk and honey; inſtead of that, he

wearies

wearies them out by leading them from danger to danger, and from one difficulty to another; and he aſſures them, that after all the principal part of them ſhould not attain what they ſought, they ſhould never arrive at the wiſhed-for end of all their labors, but their carcaſes ſhould fall in the wilderneſs. Was not this the readieſt method that could be deviſed, to provoke the army to mutiny and rebellion, and excite them, if not to deſtroy him, yet at leaſt to deſert him, and return into Egypt? God Almighty indeed might reveal his intention of puniſhing them in this manner to Moſes, and Moſes authorized by God might declare it unto the people, and the people knowing that he ſpake by authority from God might ſubmit to it: but otherwiſe you cannot aſſign any probable reaſon for his declaration, or for their ſubmiſſion. With men theſe things were impoſſible, but with God all things are poſſible.

His laws too, as they were delivered from God, ſo they clearly ſpeak a divine author, a particular and extraordinary providence being required to the execution of ſeveral of them. Of this kind was the law, that obliged all the males to repair three times in a year to Jeruſalem, there to celebrate their three great feſtivals. This was leaving their country naked and defenſeleſs to the invaſions of their enemies: and no man could pretend to anſwer for their ſecurity; nothing but the divine providence could have protected their commonwealth, and have hindered their enemies round about from taking advantage of ſo many opportunities to invade them, as it was particularly promiſed, when this law was injoined. (Exod. XXXIV. 23, 24.) "Thrice in "the year ſhall all your men children appear before the Lord God, "the God of Iſrael. For I will caſt out the nations before thee, and "inlarge thy borders: neither ſhall any man deſire thy land, when "thou ſhalt go up to appear before the Lord God thrice in a year." It is true, when the Romans invaded them, Ceſtius Gallus took eaſy poſſeſſion of Lydda, the men being gone up to Jeruſalem to keep the feaſt of tabernacles; and afterwards Titus ſhut up in a manner the whole nation in Jeruſalem, at the time of the paſſover: but theſe things happened not till after the crucifixion and death of our Saviour,

and they were then no longer the peculiar people of God, they were caſt off for their infidelity, and their whole polity was to be diſſolved, themſelves to be carried captive into all nations, and Jeruſalem to be trodden down of the Gentiles.

Another law, that required the interpoſition of a particular providence, was the inſtitution of the ſabbatic year, (Levit. XXV. 3, 4.) "Six years thou ſhalt ſow thy field, and ſix years thou ſhalt prune "thy vineyard, and gather in the fruit thereof. But in the ſeventh "year ſhall be a ſabbath of reſt unto the land, a ſabbath for the "Lord: thou ſhalt neither ſow thy field, nor prune thy vineyard." But perhaps it will be ſaid, that having notice beforehand of the ſabbatic year, they might provide accordingly, and lay in ſupplies for that defect. But ſuppoſe that one or two of the preceding years ſhould prove barren, they would then be diſappointed of their ſtores, and be liable to the danger of a famin; and in any caſe it was certainly a great diſadvantage to loſe the product of their land for a year together. But to prevent their apprehenſion of any inconvenience, a promiſe was made of an extraordinary bleſſing upon the ſixth year. (ver. 20, 21.) "And if ye ſhall ſay, What ſhall we eat the ſeventh year? be-"hold, we ſhall not ſow, nor gather in our increaſe: Then" (ſaith Moſes in the name of God) "I will command my bleſſing upon you "in the ſixth year, and it ſhall bring forth fruit for three years." He would never have ventured to ſay this of his own head, and without proper authority; for the experience of a few years would have refuted him, and have expoſed the abſurdity of ſuch a law, and the nullity of ſuch a promiſe, if he who hath all nature at command, had not impowered him, and warranted the ſucceſs of it.

But it hath been (3) aſſerted, that it is a fact, generally allowed by the learned, "that this law of the ſabbatic year was never obſerved," being found by uſe and experience to be impracticable, and not to be put in execution without ruin to the ſtate. And it muſt be acknowleged, that the Jews were more negligent of this than of moſt of their other

(3) By Dr. Middleton in a letter to Mr. Warburton, Vol. 2. p. 467.

(4) Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. 11. cap. 8. Sect. 5. p. 504. 1 Mac. VI. 49, 53.

(5) Hor.

other ceremonial inſtitutions: but they were remarkably puniſhed for their neglect of it; for as many years as they neglected to keep theſe ſabbaths, ſo many years they continued in captivity. They continued in captivity 70 years, and from thence it may eaſily be computed that they neglected to keep theſe ſabbaths 490 years, there being 70 ſabbatical years in 490 years: and for this their neglect, as well as for their other ſins, they were carried into captivity (as the author of the books of Chronicles expreſſeth it, 2 Chron. XXXVI. 21.) "to fulfil "the word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah, until the land "had enjoyed her ſabbaths; for as long as ſhe lay deſolate, ſhe kept "ſabbath, to fulfil threeſcore and ten years." Nay Moſes himſelf foretold, (Levit. XXVI. 34, 35.) that "the land ſhould reſt and en-"joy her ſabbaths: as long as it lieth deſolate, it ſhall reſt; becauſe "it did not reſt in your ſabbaths when ye dwelt upon it:" and it was verified accordingly. After their return from the captivity they paid a greater regard to this inſtitution, and it appears from (4) hiſtory, that they obſerved the ſabbatical years in the time of Alexander the great, and in the days of the Maccabees. So that it is contrary to truth to ſay, *that this law of the ſabbatic year was never obſerved*; and their puniſhment for their neglect of it was a farther proof and confirmation of the divinity of the law.

It appears very extraordinary, and not to be juſtified by the meaſures of human policy, to prohibit the kings of Iſrael from multiplying of horſes, eſpecially when all the neighbouring princes were ſtrong in cavalry. One reaſon, you may poſſibly think, was that Judea was ſomewhat like (5) Ithaca, a place unfit for horſes, as abounding with hills, and not with paſtures: but the whole country was not ſo, there was only a part diſtinguiſhed by the name of "the hill-country" of Judea; (Luke I. 39, 65.) in other parts horſes and chariots of war were kept in abundance both before and after, and why ſhould they be prohibited at that time? Another reaſon, you may poſſibly think, was to prevent all commerce and correſpondence with Egypt, from whence they were

(5) Non eſt aptus equis Ithacæ locus, ut neque planis | Porrectus ſpatiis, nec multæ prodigus herbæ.
Hor. Epiſt. I. VII. 41.

(6) See

were uſually ſupplied with horſes, as it is intimated in the text itſelf, (Deut. XVII. 16.) "He" (their king) "ſhall not multiply horſes to "himſelf, nor cauſe the people to return to Egypt, to the end that "he ſhould multiply horſes; foraſmuch as the Lord hath ſaid unto "you, Ye ſhall henceforth return no more that way." But I conceive they were not to multiply horſes, whether they procured them from Egypt or elſewhere; the prohibition was general, but particular with regard to Egypt; and why ſhould any neceſſary or proper means be forbidden of defending themſelves and offending their enemies? That is the very reaſon aſſigned by Moſes why they were forbidden, not that there was any natural or moral evil in keeping of horſes, but that it might the more evidently appear, that their whole ſtrength and deliverance was of God. There might be other as I may ſay collateral reaſons, but this was the principal. (Deut. XX. 1.) "When thou "goeſt out to battle againſt thine enemies, and ſeeſt horſes and chariots "and a people more than thou, be not afraid of them; for the Lord "thy God is with thee, which brought thee up out of the land of "Egypt." The Lord God who delivered them out of Egypt, and deſtroyed the horſes and chariots of Pharaoh, would deſtroy the horſes and chariots of their other enemies, and be to them inſtead of horſes and chariots; and the weaker they were and the leſs they truſted in theſe natural means of ſucceſs, the ſtronger they ſhould be and the more they ſhould prevail by the divine favor and bleſſing. This was much more than *man* could promiſe and fulfil, but you will find the event of things anſwer exactly to the declarations of *God*.

The princes of Canaan confederated againſt Joſhua "with horſes "and chariots very many," (Joſh. XI. 4.) but he prevailed againſt them, and according to the commandment of the Lord, (ver. 9.) "he "houghed," or hamſtringed, "their horſes, and burned their cha-"riots with fire." Siſera, the captain of Jabin's army, "had nine "hundred chariots of iron," (Judg. IV. 3.) but "Barak was ſent "on foot into the valley" againſt him, (V. 15.) "and the Lord diſ-"comfited Siſera, and all his chariots, and all his hoſt, with the "edge of the ſword, before Barak; ſo that Siſera lighted down off "his

" his chariot, and fled away on his feet." (IV. 15.) In like manner Gideon, Jephthah, and Samuel with ſmall forces of foot overcame much greater armies: and of David it is ſaid particularly, that " he " ſmote alſo Hadadezar the ſon of Rheob, king of Zobah," (2 Sam. VIII. 3, 4.) " and David took from him a thouſand chariots, and ſe- " ven hundred horſemen; and David houghed all the chariot-horſes, " but reſerved of them for an hundred chariots," we may reaſonably conclude for ornament in peace, and not for ſtrength in war; ſo that he might ſtill ſay very truly, (Pſal. XX. 7.) " Some truſt in chariots, " and ſome in horſes; but we will remember the name of the Lord " our God."

The firſt who multiplied horſes and chariots was Solomon; for having married a daughter of the king of Egypt, he might eaſily be furniſhed with horſes from thence; and we read (1 Kings IV. 26.) that he " had forty thouſand ſtalls of horſes for his chariots, and " twelve thouſand horſemen." But did he therefore proſper the more? No, for ever after that his kingdom declined; and in the reign of his ſon the king of Egypt, the country which had furniſhed him with horſes, (1 Kings XIV. 25, 26.) " came up againſt Jeruſalem, and " took away all the treaſures:" and the more the ſucceeding kings of Iſrael and Judah ſtrengthened themſelves with horſes and horſemen, the more certainly they were weakened and ruined by their enemies. They were indeed guilty of idolatry and many other crimes beſides this, but for this as well as the reſt they were condemned by the prophets; and Iſaiah in particular complains, (II. 7.) " their land is full " of horſes, neither is there any end of their chariots:" and denounces (XXXI. 1.) " Woe to them that go down to Egypt for help, and " ſtay on horſes, and truſt in chariots becauſe they are many, and in " horſemen becauſe they are very ſtrong; but they look not unto the " holy one of Iſrael, neither ſeek the Lord." All this laid together is not only a ſtrong atteſtation to the divine original of the law of Moſes, but alſo clearly evinces the fitneſs and propriety of our Saviour's riding, like the former deliverers of Iſrael, on an aſs, the ſole of an

aſs, as it hath been ſhown in a moſt excellent (6) diſſertation by a great prelate, who ſtrikes new light into every ſubject that he handles.

Nay what may be thought omiſſions in the law of Moſes, may be turned into proofs and arguments of its divine original. All wiſe and able lawgivers have thought the belief of a future ſtate eſſential and neceſſary to the ſupport of religion and ſociety in the world: but Moſes hath not inculcated the doctrin of a future ſtate, nor made it the ſanction of his religion and laws. So wiſe and able a lawgiver as he was, would not have omitted ſo neceſſary and eſſential a point, if he had not been aſſured of what only could ſupply that defect, the interpoſition of an extraordinary providence in ſupport of his religion and laws: and accordingly an extraordinary providence was actually adminiſtered in the earlier ages of the Jewiſh diſpenſation. But I forbear inlarging upon this topic, as it hath been fully diſcuſſed to the greateſt advantage, with all that richneſs of invention, that force of argument, and that compaſs of learning, which diſtinguiſh the writings of the author of the Divine Legation of Moſes.

The prophecies contained in the books of Moſes are likewiſe an undeniable proof of divine inſpiration. And theſe prophecies not only relate to former times, but ſeveral of them have been fulfilled in later ages, or are fulfilling at this time in the world. God hath "bleſſed" and "inlarged" the poſterity of "Shem" and "Japheth," and "Ca-"naan" in his poſterity, the Canaanites and their deſcendents the Tyrians and Carthaginians, hath been "a ſervant of ſervants unto his "brethren," as Noah foretold. (Gen. IX. 25, 26, 27.) For the true intent and meaning of theſe prophecies was not ſo much to foretel the fate and fortune of ſingle perſons, as of whole nations, their children and deſcendents, which exhibits a much larger and nobler view of the ſcheme of divine providence, and is more worthy of God, as well as more inſtructive to men.

We

(6) See Biſhop Sherlock's fourth Diſſertation in his Diſcourſes on the Uſe and Intent of Prophecy.

(7) See

We ſee Iſhmael's poſterity, the wild Arabians, living in the ſame ſtate and condition, that was predicted of their progenitor, (Gen. XVI. 12.) "And he will be a wild man; his hand will be againſt every "man, and every man's hand againſt him; and he ſhall dwell in the "preſence of all his brethren;" and they ſtill ſubſiſt a rough unconquered race, notwithſtanding the moſt powerful efforts of their enemies to ſubdue them.

The land of Canaan was promiſed to Abraham "four hundred years" before they took poſſeſſion of it, (Gen. XV. 13.) and it was promiſed likewiſe, (Gen. XXII. 17.) that "his ſeed" ſhould be "multiplied "as the ſtars of the heaven, and as the ſand which is upon the ſea-"ſhore;" and his deſcendents only by Iſaac and Jacob were ſoon multiplied into a great nation, and it is computed are as numerous now in the world, as ever they were in the land of their poſſeſſion.

Jacob upon his death-bed informed his ſons "what ſhould befall "them in the laſt days," (Gen. XLIX. 1.) and the genius, the ſituation, and the future condition of the tribes are deſcribed with the greateſt exactneſs; and we ſee the particulars verified in the hiſtory of the nation from the beginning to the end. It was particularly foretold, (ver. 10.) that "the ſcepter ſhould not depart from Judah, nor "a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come:" and the ſcepter and the lawgiver did not depart from the Jews till our Saviour's time, and have been departed ever ſince.

Moſes himſelf foretold, (Deut. XVIII. 15, &c.) that "the Lord "God would raiſe them up a prophet like unto him," and unto that prophet "they ſhould hearken," or "God would require it of them:" and accordingly they have had a prophet like unto Moſes, and only one, a worker of ſuch miracles, and a lawgiver and mediator of a covenant between God and man; and the reſemblance between Moſes and Chriſt is ſo ſtriking, and appears in ſo many inſtances, that you cannot conſider the particulars, as they have been lately laid together by a (7) learned and ingenious hand, without ſurpriſe and pleaſure. But notwithſtanding the great likeneſs they would *not hearken* unto

(7) See Dr. Jortin's Remarks on Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, Vol. 1. p. 196—226.

this prophet, and hath not *God required* it of them? for ſoon after their city and temple were deſtroyed, and they have ever ſince been diſtreſſed and diſperſed over the face of the earth.

In the ſame ſtrain and ſpirit he declared (Deut. XXVIII.) that they ſhould be "bleſſed" or "curſed," as they were obedient or diſobedient to the commandments and ſtatutes which he had given them; and all their ſubſequent hiſtory juſtifies the truth of the prediction: and what can be a ſtronger proof of the divinity of the law of Moſes? In particular he foretold, that "a nation" ſhould come "againſt them from "far, ſwift as the eagle flieth, a nation whoſe tongue they ſhould not "underſtand" (ver. 49.) that this nation ſhould "beſiege them in "their gates, until their high and fenced walls come down," (ver. 52.) that they ſhould be greatly "ſtraitened" and "diſtreſſed" in the ſiege, ſo that "tender and delicate women ſhould eat even their own chil-"dren," (ver. 56, 57.) that they ſhould "be plucked from off their "own land," and "ſold for bond-men and bond-women" into foreign lands, (ver. 63, 68.) that they ſhould "become an aſtoniſh-"ment, a proverb, and a by-word among all nations," (ver. 37.) that they ſhould be "ſcattered among all people, from the one end of the "earth even unto the other, and there ſhould ſerve other gods, even "wood and ſtone," (ver. 64.) that "their plagues ſhould be won-"derful, even great plagues, and of long continuance;" (ver. 59.) all which the world hath ſeen fulfilled, and ſtill ſeeth at this very day. And how was it poſſible for an author, who lived above three thouſand years ago, to foretel ſo many particulars, which are tranſacting in the world even now, unleſs they were ſuggeſted by divine inſpiration? All reaſonable men muſt conclude with St. Peter, (2 Pet. I. 21.) that "prophecy came not in old time by the will of man, but holy "men of God ſpake as they were moved by the Holy Ghoſt."

All theſe arguments ſurely cannot fail of recommending the writings of Moſes to our ſerious peruſal; and the more we peruſe and conſider them, the more we ſhall be convinced of their truth and excellence. Moſt of the objections, which are made againſt them, ariſe from not ſufficiently underſtanding them. And having ſeen thus much of their

character

character in general, let us now examin the particulars; but previously let us beg of God with the good psalmist, (CXIX. 18.) "Open "thou mine eyes, that I may behold wondrous things out of thy "law."

DISSERTATION II.

On the history of the creation, and the fall of our first parents.

GOD at first created, and continually preserves and governs the world. He created it, according to the most approved chronology, about four thousand years before Christ. The reason of creating it at that particular time must be resolved into the reason of the supreme mind: but that it was not created much sooner, the general tradition of the most ancient nations, the concurrent testimonies of the most ancient philosophers and poets, the deficiency of all history preceding that period, the manifold absurdities and contradictions of those few accounts which pretend to an earlier antiquity, the number of the present inhabitants of the earth, the late discovery of several countries, the late invention of the most useful arts and sciences, and many other arguments drawn from reason and nature, all evince with the strongest and clearest evidence.

God was pleased too to create the world in six days; and why not in six days, as well as in any other portion of time? Omnipotence might without doubt have created the world in an instant: but the time employed was six days; perhaps in condescension to the capacities of angels, who were (Job XXXVIII. 7.) spectators of the works of creation; perhaps as typical and significative of future events, to

give to men an example of weekly labor and after that of a holy reſt, to give alſo ſome intimation concerning the duration of the world, an opinion having prevailed from ancient times, that as the world was created in ſix days, ſo it will endure ſix thouſand years, " one day " being with the Lord as a thouſand years, and a thouſand years as " one day."

On the firſt day (Gen. I. 1—5.) God created the heavenly bodies and the earth, of which latter more particulars are recorded, as it more immediately relates to men. When the earth was firſt created, it was a rude and indigeſted maſs, a dark and fluid chaos; and ſo the moſt ancient authors as well as Moſes deſcribe it. Its preſent ſpheroidical form demonſtrates it to have been once in ſuch a ſtate of fluidity. It was all dull, dead, fluid matter: but " the Spirit of God moved " upon the face of the waters," by which may be underſtood either a mighty wind (for ſo the wind is called Pſal. CXLVII. 18. Iſ. XL. 7. Hoſ. XIII. 15.) agitating and clearing the waters, or rather the Spirit of God ſhedding his powerful influence, actuating and impregnating the rude chaos. The firſt viſible effect of the divine operation was the production of light; which in all probability iſſued from the ſun as it doth at preſent, but ſhone at firſt very imperfectly, yet ſufficient to make a manifeſt diſtinction between the day and the night. At the creation of the world, the night preceding the day, the darkneſs the light, it was the practice in the primitive times for men to reckon the day, not as we do from morning to morning, but from evening to evening. As Moſes computes the days by evenings and mornings, ſo the Greeks called the natural day νυχθημερον or *the night-day*, the ſpace of a night and a day. In the ſame manner not only the (1) Athenians, but alſo the Germans, Gauls, and other nations anciently reckoned their time, *ut noctem dies ſubſequatur*, that the day followed the night.

On the ſecond day, (ver. 6—8.) after the production of light or fire, the other element of air was duly poiſed and expanded. God ſtretched

(1) A. Gell. Noct. Attic. Lib. 3. cap. 2. Tacitus de Moribus German. p. 222. Edit. Lipſii. Jul. Cæſ. de Bell. Gall. Lib. 6. Sect. 16. Nic. Damaſcen. de Numidis.

(2) Plato

ſtretched out the atmoſphere (Pſal. CIV. 2.) "like a curtain," to be a kind of barrier between the waters in the earth beneath us, and the waters floting above us in clouds and vapors. This expanſe of the circumambient air or atmoſphere in the Greek and Vulgar Latin, and thence in our Engliſh verſion, is called "the firmament," becauſe the air, though vaſtly extended and fluid, yet continues firm and ſtable in its place. In the margin of our bibles it is more properly rendered *expanſion*; and in ſo ſcanty a language as that of the Hebrews, is alſo called *heaven*, as it is ſometimes in the more copious languages of the Greeks and Romans.

On the third day (ver. 9—13.) God made the ſeparation of the remaining elements, earth and water. The ocean ſunk into its channel, and the dry land appeared. As ſoon as the earth was drained of the water, at the divine commandment it brought forth abundantly all kinds of vegetables, all ſorts of herbs, all ſorts of trees, in their full growth and perfection with their proper ſeeds for the continuance and propagation of their reſpective kinds. Which ſudden maturation of the vegetable world appears the more evidently to be the work of almighty power, becauſe there was as yet no rain (Gen. II. 5, 6.) nor miſt to promote vegetation. The text ſays "But there went up a "miſt from the earth, and watered the whole face of the ground." It ſhould have been tranſlated "Nor went there up a miſt, &c." the Hebrew particle ו *ve* connecting negative as well as affirmative ſentences; and in the Arabic verſion it is ſo rendered *Nec exhalatio aſcendebat, &c. Nor did an exhalation aſcend, &c.* The purport of the place is to ſhow, that God made every plant and every herb of the field, before any natural powers could be any cauſe of their production; "for the Lord God had not cauſed it to rain upon the earth, "and there was not a man to till the ground, Nor went there up a "miſt from the earth, and watered the whole face of the ground." And beſides the ſun had not as yet ſufficient influence to ripen them.

For it was not till the fourth day (ver. 14—19.) that the ſun appeared in full luſtre. The ſun, moon, and ſtars are ſaid to be then made, becauſe they were then made viſible and conſpicuous upon earth.

They

They were created the firſt day, when God created the heavens and the earth; but they did not ſhine forth in all their radiance and glory till the fourth day, the air perhaps or atmoſphere having not been ſufficiently cleared and refined from the groſſer particles before this time. Many are the uſes of the heavenly bodies; and by their motions and revolutions they ſerve particularly for the diſtinction and computation of times and ſeaſons, of days and years. The ſun and moon are not improperly denominated the two "great" luminaries of heaven for their greater uſe to men, in reference to whom Moſes deſcribes the works of creation. For which reaſon we may conclude that Moſes is ſo particular in his account of the formation of the heavenly bodies, in order to ſhow that they are not eternal, nor fit to be made the objects of worſhip and adoration, as they were at that time by the generality of the heathen nations. No particular mention is made of the creation of angels in this hiſtory, neither was there ſo much occaſion for it, the worſhipping of angels being a later invention.

Every kind of fiſh, every kind of fowl (ver. 20—23.) were the product of the fifth day's creation; and the great creator bleſſed them, that they might increaſe and multiply in the waters and on the earth, which were now thoroughly prepared and fitted for their ſuſtenance and accommodation. It is not rightly rendered in our tranſlation, "Let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath "life, and fowl that may fly," &c. for this implies that fowl as well as fiſh were the production of the waters. We ſhould read it as it is tranſlated in the margin of our bibles, "and let fowl fly above the "earth in the open firmament of heaven."

On the ſixth day (ver. 24—31.) God created all kinds of reptiles, and of tame and wild beaſts, and afterwards on the ſame day too man and woman. He created only the firſt pair, and they were enabled to multiply and propagate their kind, and to have ſuperiority over the other creatures. So that a regular gradation was obſerved in the works of creation, which advanced ſtep by ſtep from leſs noble to more noble animals, from fiſhes to birds, and from birds to animals, and from animals to man. Man, yet farther to ſhow the dignity of his

being, is ſaid to be made with ſome kind of counſel and deliberation, and alſo to be made in the image and likeneſs of God. And certainly man, more than any of the creatures of this habitable world, reſembles his maker in ſpirituality and immortality, in underſtanding and free-will, in righteouſneſs and holineſs, and likewiſe in dominion over the other creatures. In the firſt origin of the world, and during the ſtate of innocence, fruits and herbs were the only meats; animals had not yet learned to prey upon animals; man, and beaſt, and fowl, all lived upon vegetables: but the grant appears to be larger to men, not only of "every green herb" as to the beaſts and fowls, but likewiſe "the "fruit of every tree."

All his work God finiſhed in ſix days; and it is a miſtake to ſay (Gen. II. 2.) that "on the ſeventh day God ended his work which he "had made." This is a falſe reading of the Hebrew copy, and plainly contradicts former and ſubſequent paſſages. (Gen. I. 31. Exod. XX. 11. XXXI. 17.) The Samaritan text, and the Greek and Syriac verſions exhibit the true reading, that "on the ſixth day God ended his "work which he had made." Upon a ſurvey of the whole it appeared, every thing that he had made was good and perfect in its kind: and the (2) philoſophers as well as Moſes repreſent God as well pleaſed with his work, anſwering the great idea and archetype of his own mind.

This is the Moſaic account as I underſtand it, and the Moſaic is the only authentic account of the creation of the world. All other different and contradictory accounts are either unintelligible, or if intelligible, are abſurd, falſe, and atheiſtical. This is the moſt conſonant to ſound reaſon, the moſt agreeable to true philoſophy, and deſerves the greater credit and regard, as it is the moſt ancient, and derived moſt immediately from the fountain of tradition, all other writers, even the moſt ancient, falling ſhort of the antiquity of Moſes. But the moſt ancient and beſt writers, poets, philoſophers, and hiſtorians are ſo far from contradicting Moſes, that they confirm his relation in many particulars,

(2) Plato apud Plutarch. Vit. Lycurg. p. 57. Edit. Paris. 1624.

(3) See

ticulars, as (3) Grotius, Stillingfleet, and other pious and learned authors have abundantly proved.

As Moſes hath no where expreſly defined in what part of the year the world was created, various conjectures have been offered, and there is no poſſibility of attaining to any certainty in the caſe. But the moſt probable opinion is that it was created about the time of the vernal equinox; Moſes and the other writers of the old Teſtament conſtantly reckon the firſt month of the year from that time; God himſelf there fixeth the beginning of the Jewiſh year, reſtoring, as it may be preſumed, the true epoch of the creation; and that ſeaſon of the year, with the light of the ſun increaſing, and the fruits of the earth growing, ſeemeth to be beſt accommodated to the new inhabitants of the world. Virg. Georg. II. 336.

Non alios prima creſcentis origine mundi
Illuxiſſe dies, aliumve habuiſſe tenorem
Crediderim. Ver illud erat: ver magnus agebat
Orbis, et hybernis parcebant flatibus euri:
Cum primæ lucem pecudes hauſere, &c.

In this ſoft ſeaſon (let me dare to ſing)
The world was hatch'd by heav'n's imperial king,
In prime of all the year, and holy-days of ſpring.
Then did the new creation firſt appear,
Nor other was the tenor of the year:
When laughing heav'n did the great birth attend,
And eaſtern winds their wintry breath ſuſpend:
Then ſheep firſt ſaw the ſun in open fields, &c. Dryden.

The ſeventh day, (Gen. II. 3.) that is the firſt day after the creation of man and woman, God bleſſed and ſanctified; diſtinguiſhed it from other common days, and appointed it to be kept holy in commemoration of the creation; that as he then ceaſed from the works of

(3) See Grotius de Veritate Religionis Chriſtianæ, Stillingfleet's Origines Sacræ, &c. &c.

(4) See

of creation, ſo men, ceaſing from their uſual work and labor, might devote one day in ſeven more particularly to the worſhip of the great Creator of them and all things. This appears to be the firſt religious inſtitution that ever God gave to mankind. It cannot be doubted, that our firſt parents religiouſly obſerved ſo ſolemn an ordinance, though no expreſs mention is made of it afterwards in the ſhort hiſtory of Moſes: and from hence in the moſt early ages was derived the practice of reckoning their time by weeks. Computing and calling the days after the number and names of the planets was an invention of a later date, when ſome progreſs had been made in the ſtudy of aſtronomy, and when idolatry had prevailed, and the ſun and ſtars were worſhipped.

Man and woman being the principal inhabitants of this globe, their hiſtory is reſumed, (Gen. II.) and after the general account of the creation, a more particular detail is given of their formation as well as of their fall. But in this part of the narration the language is extremely figurative, being taken from the ancient pictures and hieroglyphics, wherein theſe tranſactions were firſt recorded. The (4) firſt, the moſt obvious and natural method of recording things was delineating the forms and images of the things themſelves, and when that could not be done, repreſenting them by ſome ſymbolical characters: and this was the method in uſe among men before the invention of letters. We know very well that it was the practice of the new world, and there is the greateſt reaſon to conclude that it was ſo likewiſe of the old world. It was by this method alone that the Mexicans preſerved the memory of their hiſtory and laws; and there is yet extant a very curious ſpecimen of a picture-hiſtory of the 51 years reign of one of their monarchs. Little doubt, I think, can be made, that the ſame method was obſerved in recording the hiſtory of our firſt parents, and the memorable circumſtances of their fall: and from thence theſe images and ſymbols paſſed into common diſcourſe, and became a part of the current language. It is evidently from them, as things well known and readily apprehended, that Moſes copies his deſcriptions;

(4) See Warburton's Divine Legation of Moſes, Book 4. Sect. 4.

deſcriptions; he repreſents things in words juſt as they were repreſented in figures; his ſtile is a kind of picture, and ſhould be underſtood and explained accordingly.

God formed (Gen. II. 7.) the body of man, as well as of other animals, out of the ground: and (5) man for this reaſon was denominated *Adam*, which in Hebrew ſignifies *red*, from *Adamah* the red earth or clay, whereof he was compoſed. His ſoul was the inſpiration of the Almighty; ſo that man is in one part earthy, in another part divine, in his body akin to the beaſts of the earth, in his ſoul allied to the angels of heaven.

Wherever it was that he was created, he was (ver. 8—15.) conveyed immediately into paradiſe or the garden of Eden; yet not there to live altogether in idleneſs, but to beſtow ſome care and culture upon it. Thither the man was conveyed as ſoon as he was created, but the woman was created there. It is reaſonable to believe, that the firſt inhabitants of this earth would be placed in the moſt convenient and delightful part of it; and paradiſe was a place abounding with all ſorts of delights, though the whole earth was at that time paradiſiacal. Eden, as the very name ſignifies, was a pleaſant country, but paradiſe was the garden of Eden. It contained "every tree that was pleaſant to "the ſight and good for food" together with "the tree of life in the "midſt of the garden, and the tree of knowlege of good and evil," that is as I underſtand it, the man had there the means of living in all true enjoyments and attaining to an happy immortality, but yet with a capacity of ſwerving from his duty and degenerating from good to evil.

It was planted "eaſtward" of the place where Moſes wrote, which moſt probably was in Arabia: and its ſituation was upon the river formed by the junction of Tigris and Euphrates, which river came out of Eden, and watered the garden. The garden conſequently was in the lower part of Eden, and on the lower part of the river; for below the garden, the river was parted into four main ſtreams or branches,

(5) Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. 1. Cap. 1. Sect. 2. Edit. Hudſon.

(6) See

branches, known in the time of Moſes by the names of Piſon, Gihon, Hiddekel, and Perath. Piſon I conceive to have been the weſtern branch, which with a winding courſe waſhed the land of Havilah, that is the eaſtern part of Arabia, which country (6) was famous for fine gold, and *bdellium* that is a ſweet gum or rather pearls, and precious ſtones. This branch retained the ſame name ſo late as in the time of the writer of Eccleſiaſticus, (XXIV. 25.) who lived about 250 years before Chriſt. As Piſon was the weſtern, ſo Gihon I conceive to have been the eaſtern branch, which with a winding courſe waſhed the land of Cuſh, as it ſhould have been tranſlated, the province of Suſiana, or Chuzeſtan as it is ſtill called by the Perſians. Hiddekel was Tigris, the river of Aſſyria, and Perath was Euphrates, as all agree, which was ſo well known as to need no particular deſcription. Of the four branches theſe two ſeem to have been the greateſt, by retaining the ſame names after their ſeparation, as they had before their confluence; and all the four branches, after running ſeveral leagues, emptied themſelves into the Perſian gulf. This appears to me the moſt probable account of the four rivers, though Calvin, Bochart, Huet, and the generality of divines after them, exhibit a different map of theſe rivers, and ſuppoſe two to have been above the garden, namely Euphrates and Tigris before they were joined, and two below the garden, Euphrates and Tigris after they were parted again, for Euphrates and Tigris they were ſtill called by the Greeks and Romans, though the Hebrews gave them the names of Piſon and Gihon.

At this diſtance of time it is very difficult to treat of theſe matters with any degree of certainty, by reaſon of the changes which ſo many ages, and earthquakes, and other accidents produce in any country; more particularly by reaſon of the great alterations, which are known to have been made in the courſe of the rivers of theſe countries by the Aſſyrian, Babylonian, Perſian and other eaſtern monarchs; and more ſtill by reaſon of the contradictory and imperfect accounts of geographers and travelers. But that there were formerly four ſuch rivers

(6) See Bochart.

(7) Arrian.

rivers as I have deſcribed, iſſuing from the common ſtream of Euphrates and Tigris, I think is clear and evident from the relation of Moſes; and though the moſt ancient geographers are modern in compariſon of Moſes, yet there (7) are ancient geographers and hiſtorians, who ſpeak of the many channels of Euphrates, and of the weſtern and eaſtern mouth of the Tigris. All voyagers and travelers, ancient and modern, agree in commendations of the fruitfulneſs and pleaſantneſs of this country, which was therefore very fitly made the habitation of our firſt parents.

It may moſt reaſonably be conceived, that the firſt man, the father of the whole race, and the workmanſhip of an all-wiſe and all-powerful Creator, was indowed with all the corporeal abilities, with all the intellectual faculties, of which human nature is capable. But yet a capacity for knowlege is not knowlege, which can be acquired only by time and experience: and man left to make improvements by himſelf, deſtitute of other helps, would have long wandered in exploring the way, before he could have arrived at a competent degree of truth and happineſs. It pleaſed the divine goodneſs therefore to be his guide and inſtructor in the moſt material points of theology and philoſophy. He was taught (ver. 16, 17.) his duty to God and to himſelf, what he might freely do, and what he ſhould avoid, with the denunciation of death upon his diſobedience. The text ſaith, "Thou "ſhalt ſurely die;" in the original it is, "Dying thou ſhalt die," that is, thou ſhalt become mortal. He was inſtructed too in the knowlege of natural things, as well as of religious duties, ſo far as was requiſite to his comfortable ſubſiſtence. As the beaſts, the birds, and other creatures came in his way, he was (ver. 19, 20.) enabled to judge intuitively of their different natures, and to diſtinguiſh each by its proper name, which (8) Pythagoras thought a point of the higheſt wiſdom, and Plato ſuppoſeth it was ſome power greater than human that firſt impoſed names on things. I ſay, as the creatures came in his

(7) Arrian. de Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. Plin. Nat. Lib. 5 et 6. Ptolem. Geog. Lib. 6. Cap. 3.

(8) Apud Cicero. Tuſ. Diſp. I. 25.—qui primus, quod ſummæ ſapientiæ Pythagoræ viſum eſt, omnibus rebus impoſuit nomina. Plato in Cratylo. μειζω τινα δυναμιν ειναι η ανθρωπειαν, την θεμενην τα

his way, he diſtinguiſhed them by their names; for it is more reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that this was done by degrees as occaſions offered, rather than all at once with the creatures paſſing as it were in review before him.

But amidſt all the creatures (ver. 18, 20, &c.) there was not found a fit conſort for Adam. Other creatures he ſaw living in pairs, but he found no proper companion or aſſociate for himſelf: and it was never the intention of providence in making man, that he ſhould live alone; he was plainly formed and fitted for ſociety. God therefore cauſed a deep ſleep to fall upon Adam: and while he lay in a trance or viſion, the ſame almighty power, that had made man out of præexiſtent matter, made alſo woman in like manner, by taking one of his ribs, and immediately ſupplying the deficiency, ſo forming woman out of man, out of his fleſh and his bone, to ſignify the cloſe intimacy and union that ought be between them. Adam made ſenſible of what was tranſacted, upon ſeeing the woman, readily received her as his wife, acknowleged her to be bone of his bone and fleſh of his fleſh, and by the faculty that he had of giving names to the creatures, called her *Woman*, becauſe ſhe was taken out of man. It is better expreſſed in the original, that ſhe was called *Iſha* woman, becauſe ſhe was taken out of *Iſh* man. He farther added, that for this reaſon a man ſhall forſake his father and mother, and ſhall adhere to his wife, and they ſhall be both united as one fleſh. Moſes attributes this ſaying to Adam. Our Saviour (Matt. XIX. 4, 5.) aſcribes it to God. From whence it may be juſtly inferred, that Adam ſpoke it by divine illumination; and indeed without divine illumination he could not ſo ſoon have framed any notion of the relations of father and mother, of huſband and wife.

In paradiſe and in the primitive ſtate of nature, the ſerenity of the weather and the temperature of the climate were ſuch, that there was no need of cloathing; and (Gen. II. 25.) the man and the woman, though

τα πρωτα ονοματα τοις πραγμασιν. Majorem videlicet quandam extitiſſe potentiam quam humanam, quæ prima illa nomina rebus indiderit. p. 438. Vol. 1. Edit. Serrani.

though both naked, yet were not aſhamed. Having no guilt they had no ſhame, which ariſeth only from a conſciouſneſs of guilt. To be aſhamed of nature muſt be the effect of depravity of nature.

How long our firſt parents continued in innocence and in paradiſe, there is no poſſibility of aſcertaining; but probably a longer term than is commonly imagined, and yet not ſo long as to have children in the ſtate of innocence. In this ſtate they might have lived as free from trouble as from ſin, and after a certain period, without taſting of death, have been (9) tranſlated from an earthly to an heavenly paradiſe. But (Wiſd. II. 24. Rom. V. 12.) "through malice and envy "of the devil ſin entered into the world, and death by ſin." He was (John VIII. 44.) "a lier and a murderer from the beginning." He was (2 Cor. XI. 3.) "the ſerpent who beguiled the woman through "his ſuttlety." He was (Rev. XII. 9.) "the old ſerpent, called the "Devil and Satan, who deceiveth the whole world." That was in ancient times the ſymbol or hieroglyphic, whereby he was uſually repreſented; and under that therefore well-known emblem he is ſpoken of in ſcripture-hiſtory; the language is adapted to the character, and yet in ſuch a manner as to ſhow that a figurative rather than a real ſerpent was intended. How the ſerpent came to be made the ſymbol of the tempter, Moſes intimates in ſaying (Gen. III. 1.) that "the "ſerpent was more ſuttle than any beaſt of the field:" and (1) Ariſtotle and other naturaliſts as well as Moſes extol the ſuttlety and inſidiouſneſs of the ſerpent, which was therefore a proper emblem of the tempter and deceiver of mankind.

Suttle and artful as the tempter was, our firſt parents were indued with wiſdom and ſtrength ſufficient to have reſiſted the temptation; but they were (James I. 14.) "drawn away of their own luſt," as well as inticed by Satan. He firſt attempted the woman, as being (1 Pet. III. 7.) "the weaker veſſel." "Of the woman," (Ecclus XXV. 24.) "came the beginning of ſin, and through her we all die." She "being deceived" (1 Tim. II. 14.) "was" firſt "in the tranſ-
"greſſion;

(9) See Biſhop Bull's Diſcourſe of the ſtate of man before the fall.

(1) Ariſtot.

" greſſion; Adam was not deceived," but complied out of tenderneſs and affection to his wife. What was the particular nature of the ſin of our firſt parents, it is not an eaſy matter to determin. " Eating of the forbidden fruit" is nothing more than a continuation of the ſame hieroglyphic characters, wherein the hiſtory of the fall was recorded before the uſe of letters. It was plainly the violation of a divine prohibition; it was indulging an unlawful appetite; it was aſpiring after forbidden knowlege, and pretending to be wiſe above their condition. So much may be ſafely aſſerted in general; we bewilder and loſe ourſelves in the ſearch of more particulars.

Whatever was the ſin of our firſt parents, it did not terminate there, but drew after it a dreadful train of evils. The firſt and moſt immediate conſequence of their guilt (Gen. III. 7.) was a ſenſe of ſhame and remorſe. Having corrupted themſelves, they became aſhamed of themſelves, and twiſted together the ſmall twigs and leaves of what was afterwards called the Indian fig-tree.

In the evening of the ſame day wherein they had offended, (ver. 8, &c.) the Lord God deſcended to paſs ſentence upon the offenders. Hearing him approach, they fled from his preſence, and hid themſelves among the thickeſt trees of the garden. Not that they could be ſo vain and fooliſh as to think it poſſible to conceal themſelves from an omnipreſent and omniſcient being; but the deity having been uſed to appear to them in a viſible glorious form, they in their fright and confuſion fled from the divine appearance, which they had ever before been accuſtomed to meet with pleaſure. Called forth from their lurking-place, they acknowleged their ſhame and their guilt, the man transferring the blame upon the woman, and the woman upon the ſerpent.

The ſerpent therefore, or rather the tempter under the figure of a ſerpent, as being the moſt criminal, (ver. 14, 15.) was ſentenced firſt; was pronounced curſed above every creature; was condemned to a low, groveling, wretched condition; and notwithſtanding his preſent triumph,

(1) Ariſtot. Hiſt. Animal. Lib. 1. Cap. 1.

(2) Ariſtot.

triumph, and continued enmity to mankind, yet a time would come, when the ſeed of the woman, though with ſome diſadvantage and ſuffering, ſhould finally prevail over him, and abſolutely put an end to his power and dominion. For the ſentence upon the ſerpent is no more to be underſtood of a real ſerpent, than the ſame ſort of figure employed by Iſaiah, (LXV. 25.) when ſpeaking of the triumphs of the goſpel he ſaith, that "duſt ſhall be the ſerpent's meat." It is to be underſtood in the ſame manner, as when the prophet Micah (VI. 17.) ſaith of the enemies of the Lord, that "they ſhall lick the duſt "like a ſerpent."

After the ſerpent the woman (ver. 16.) was ſentenced, as being more culpable than Adam; and was condemned to pain in child-bearing, and to perpetual ſubjection and obedience to her huſband.

Laſt of all (ver. 17, 18, 19.) the ground was curſed for man's offenſe; and he himſelf was condemned to labor and toil in cultivating the earth, out of which he was taken, and unto which he ſhould return.

From this day man became mortal, and he ſoon perceived an alteration in the conſtitution of nature as well as in his own; nor indeed was it fitting that the conſtitution of things ſhould remain the ſame, when the creature was depraved, as when the creature was innocent. The woman is obſerved by (2) Ariſtotle and other naturaliſts to bring forth young with more pain and difficulty than any other animal. We know experimentally that it is ſo now, but it doth not therefore follow that it was ſo deſigned from the beginning; the formation and conſtitution of the woman originally might have been, and in all probability was different from what it is at preſent. Her ſingular caſe is a ſtrong confirmation of the truth of the ſentence. In tranſgreſſing herſelf, and inducing Adam to tranſgreſs, ſhe had affected ſome ſort of ſuperiority over her huſband, and therefore was rightly puniſhed in being ſubjected to his will. Not but the man hath in many reſpects a natural ſuperiority over the woman; but in their primitive

(2) Ariſtot. Hiſt. Animal. Lib. 7. Cap. 9.

(3) Maimon.

mitive ſtate they might have been more upon an equality; the man's authority, as it was requiſite, was more eſtabliſhed after the fall; and in the countries neareſt to the ſcene and remembrance of the fall, this authority hath conſtantly been exerciſed to a degree, that we are wholly ſtrangers to in theſe parts of the earth.

Amidſt all their diſtreſs it muſt have been an unſpeakable conſolation to our firſt parents, to hear that "the ſeed of the woman" ſhould totally ſubdue their grand enemy, who was now exulting in their fall. It is probable, that they might not underſtand this oracle in its full extent. Maimonides himſelf (3) thought it wonderful, that the ſeed of the woman only ſhould be mentioned; but the myſtery that he could not, we Chriſtians are enabled to explain.

Adam might reaſonably have expected inſtant death for the puniſhment of his diſobedience; but finding that execution was reſpited for ſome time, hearing that his wife ſhould be the mother of children, and that her ſeed ſhould triumph over their great enemy and ſeducer, he called (ver. 20.) her name "Eve" or Life, becauſe ſhe was to be the mother of all living of the human race.

Mankind now wanting and expecting a deliverer and redeemer, I think no doubt can be made that together with a new covenant ſome new modes of worſhip were appointed; for there muſt of neceſſity be ſome difference between the religion of a ſaint and the religion of a ſinner. No point of time appears ſo likely as this for the origin and inſtitution of ſacrifices, and the ſkins of the beaſts ſlain for ſacrifices (ver. 21.) might ſerve very well for cloathing. It cannot well be ſuppoſed that the beaſts were ſlain only for their ſkins, or that they died of themſelves. It is much more probable that they were ſlain for ſacrifice, and perhaps for food; and their ſkins were ſo good a covering, that it is ſaid "Unto Adam alſo and to his wife did the Lord God "make coats of ſkins, and cloathed them," that is, it was done by the divine direction and appointment. God made them, as he furniſhed the means of making them. God appointed the beaſts to be ſlain

(3) Maimon. More Nevochim. P. 2. Cap. 30.

ſlain for ſacrifices, and the ſkins of thoſe beaſts were obviouſly a better ſort of cloathing than the foliature of any tree for our firſt parents, who were now to be turned adriſt into the wide world, and expoſed to the viciſſitudes and inclemencies of the weather.

For indeed it was not fitting (ver. 22, 23, 24.) that they ſhould remain any longer in paradiſe. Having forfeited their innocence, they had forfeited alſo their happineſs. Being now become mortal, they were no more worthy to inhabit the region of immortality. For "the "tree of life" is a figurative expreſſion like the reſt; it is an emblem only of a happy immortality; it is no more to be underſtood of a real tree in this place, than it is in thoſe paſſages of the Revelation, (II. 7.) "To him that overcometh will I give to "eat of the tree of life, which is in the midſt of the paradiſe of "God;" and (XXII. 2.) "in the midſt of the ſtreet of it" (the new Jeruſalem) "and on either ſide of the river, was there the tree of "life, and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations;" and again (ver. 14.) "Bleſſed are they that do his commandments, "that they may have a right to the tree of life," from which "tree "of life" Adam for his diſobedience to the commandments was excluded. So the firſt pair were expelled out of paradiſe by the miniſtration of angels. They were expelled on the eaſtern ſide of the garden; and a fiery ſtream iſſuing forth, and darting every way, hindered all approach to it. It is probable it was conſumed by a fiery eruption. As the remains of this fire, the ſoil of Babylonia, or the country about Babylon, where paradiſe was, is proved by (4) Grotius from Pliny and other authors to be of a bituminous and inflammatory nature, like the country about Sodom.

(4) Grotius in Gen. III. 24.

DIS-

DISSERTATION III.

On the hiſtory of the antediluvian world.

ADAM and Eve, notwithſtanding the bleſſing and promiſe of fruitfulneſs, had yet no children in paradiſe, which plainly evinces that the ſtate of innocence was of no very long duration. After their expulſion from paradiſe they had ſeveral children (Gen. V. 4.) both "ſons and daughters:" but hiſtory hath preſerved the memory of only three of their ſons.

Their eldeſt ſon (Gen. IV. 1.) was called "Cain," which name ſignifies *gain* or *acquiſition*, "becauſe," ſaid Eve, "I have gotten a man from "the Lord;" thinking, like many a fond mother, her firſt born ſon to be a great acquiſition; and expecting probably that this would be her ſeed who ſhould cruſh their fatal enemy. Their ſecond ſon (ver. 2.) was "Abel," which word ſignifying *ſorrow* or rather *vanity*, might perhaps not be the name given to him at firſt, but after his untimely end. If it was the name originally impoſed by his parents, they muſt have had ſome ſuch ſenſations, as the royal pſalmiſt felt afterwards, when he ſaid (Pſalm XXXIX. 5.) "Verily every "man at his beſt eſtate is altogether vanity."

When the two brothers were grown up, they applied themſelves differently, moſt probably under the direction of their father, the one to agriculture, the other to the keeping of ſheep, the one to the more active, the other to the more contemplative life: but their diſpoſitions and tempers were far more different than their employments and occupations, the one being as malicious as the other was religious, the one the firſt murderer, and the other the firſt martyr in the world.

It is really a lamentable conſideration, that religion which ſhould be the greateſt bond of union, is the greateſt cauſe of contention; and

the very firſt quarrel that ever ſubſiſted, was upon a religious accou nt In proceſs of time, after ſeveral years, at the ſtated ſeaſon, (ver. 3, 4, 5.) the two brothers brought, as uſual, their offerings unto the place appointed for God's worſhip. Cain's oblation conſiſted of the fruit of the ground, the growth of his tillage; Abel's was of the firſtlings of his flock and the fat thereof, the produce of his paſturage. Their offerings ſeem to be ſuited to their reſpective occupations: but God by ſome viſible token fully manifeſted his acceptation of the one, and his rejection of the other. How this was effected, we cannot be certain; but in all probability it was by a fire from heaven conſuming Abel's oblation. So the Hebrews underſtand it; ſo Theodotion tranſlates it; and in ſucceeding times this was the moſt uſual method of God's teſtifying his acceptance of a ſacrifice.

It was without doubt in conſequence of the different conduct of the two brothers, that this diſtinction was made between their oblations. A general reaſon for rejecting Cain's and accepting Abel's is implied in thoſe words of St. John (1 John III. 12.) " becauſe Cain's works " were evil, and his brother's were righteous." A more particular reaſon is aſſigned by the author of the Epiſtle to the Hebrews, (XI. 4.) " By faith Abel offered unto God a more excellent ſacrifice than " Cain, by which he obtained witneſs that he was righteous, God " teſtifying of his gifts." Abel's faith in the divine being and the divine promiſes was more perfect than Cain's, and rendered his ſacrifice more acceptable to God. His ſacrifice too was more excellent in itſelf. " Cain brought of the fruit of the ground an offering unto " the Lord;" it is not ſaid " of the firſt fruits," the choiceſt and beſt, but only " of the fruit of the ground:" whereas Abel brought " of the firſtlings of his flock, and the fat thereof." Beſides if the doctrin of the ſame apoſtle hold good, (Heb. IX. 22.) that " with- " out ſhedding of blood there is no remiſſion," this is a farther argument in favor of Abel's ſacrifice. He came as a ſuppliant, ſenſible of human infirmity, to ſue for pardon and grace; Cain like " a juſt " perſon who needed no repentance." He vouchſafes indeed to make ſome acknowlegement of God's bounty and goodneſs, but offers

not any atonement for his own tranſgreſſions. The ſaint appears before God with the humility that would well become a ſinner, the ſinner with a confidence that would ill become a ſaint.

Whatever was the excellency of Abel's ſacrifice, or however God teſtified his approbation of it, it raiſed (ver. 5.) the jealouſy and anger of Cain to ſuch a degree, that he formed evil deſigns againſt his brother. But before he had any opportunity of putting theſe deſigns in execution, God, who knoweth the ſecrets of the heart, (ver. 6, 7.) graciouſly condeſcended to ſpeak to him by a voice from the *Shechinah* or divine preſence, expoſtulating and arguing with him upon the injuſtice and unreaſonableneſs of his ſuſpicions; that it was not through any partiality that his offering was not accepted, but the divine favor or diſpleaſure depended entirely upon his own good or ill behaviour. If he did well, he ſhould be favored and rewarded. If he did ill, the fault muſt be charged altogether upon himſelf, and the puniſhment as well as the ſin would lie at his own door. Neither had he any reaſon to conceive evil againſt his brother, who had done nothing to provoke his envy and indignation. For as he was a good man in other reſpects, ſo he particularly abounded in fraternal affection; he had not uſurped or invaded any of the privileges or prerogatives of his birthright, but on the contrary was ever ready to pay him all the regard and reverence that was due to an elder brother. For we muſt ſuppoſe that in early times the power and præeminence of the eldeſt ſon were very great, agreeably to what the patriarch Jacob ſays afterwards of Reuben, (Gen. XLIX. 3.) "Reuben, thou art my firſt born, my might, "the beginning of my ſtrength, the excellency of dignity, and the "excellency of power."

But all this goodneſs was thrown away upon Cain; this expoſtulation had not the leaſt effect upon him; he ſtill cheriſhed but concealed his malice, and (ver. 8.) propoſed to his brother that they ſhould walk out together into the field. In our Engliſh verſion we read that "Cain talked with Abel his brother." Our tranſlators rendered it ſo, becauſe though the true rendering is that "Cain ſaid unto Abel his "brother," yet no mention is made in the Hebrew text of what he ſaid.

ſaid. In moſt editions there is a mark or vacant ſpace to ſhow that ſomething is wanting to complete the ſenſe; but the Samaritan text, the Greek, the Latin, and other verſions ſupply the deficiency by adding the words "Let us go forth into the field." Other additions are inſerted in the Jeruſalem Targum, but without ſufficient authority. As goodneſs never deſigns any evil, ſo it ſeldom ſuſpects any. Abel therefore readily conſented to walk abroad with his brother; and when they were together alone in the field, Cain taking him at an advantage roſe upon him, and ſlew him, and buried his body to conceal the murder, as (1) Joſephus expreſly ſays, and as I think we may infer from ver. 10 and 11 of the ſacred text itſelf.

As God expoſtulated with Cain before the commiſſion of this horrid act, ſo he kindly endevors to bring him to a ſenſe of his guilt afterwards. He interrogates him (ver. 9.) concerning his brother, to lead him as it were gently by the hand to confeſſion and repentance. But Cain had not ingenuity enough to be reclaimed by this gentle treatment, and pretended neither to know nor to care any thing concerning his brother. He could not ſurely be ſo vain, as to hope to conceal the matter from God; but no reaſonable account can be given of the folly and perverſeneſs of wicked men. If he fondly entertained any ſuch hopes, he was miſerably miſtaken. For it was declared unto him (ver. 10.) that notwithſtanding his affected ignorance and indifference, the nature of his crime was fully known; his brother's blood cried from the ground for vengeance, and vengeance it ſhould have. In the original it is *bloods*, becauſe ſay the Hebrew doctors he killed all who ſhould have ſprung from the loins of Abel as well as Abel himſelf, though probably this is nothing more than an uſual idiom in the Hebrew language. It may be preſumed, that Cain's blood was not required in retaliation for his brother's blood, out of regard to the population of the world, that two of Adam's ſons with all their future progeny might not be cut off at once.

Another

(1) Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. 1. Cap. 2. Sect. 1. Edit. Hudſon.

(2) Diod.

Another puniſhment therefore was inflicted upon him. Adam for his tranſgreſſion had been expelled out of paradiſe, and now Cain in like manner (ver. 11, 12.) ſhould be driven from the land which he had defiled with his brother's blood. If he beſtowed ever ſo much culture upon it, its former fruitfulneſs ſhould be turned into barrenneſs. The land would no longer bear him. He was no longer worthy to mix and aſſociate with the reſt of mankind. Baniſhed he ſhould be, and hereby he was baniſhed into a diſtant country. Struck and confounded at this ſentence Cain replied (ver. 13, 14.) "My puniſhment is greater "than I can bear," or as it is better tranſlated in the margin of our bibles, "Mine iniquity is greater than that it may be forgiven." In the former ſenſe he taxes the divine juſtice, in the latter he deſpairs of the divine mercy. But perhaps it may be beſt to read the paſſage interrogatively, "Is mine iniquity greater than that it may be forgiven?" For Cain is now touched with remorſe and horror. He is grieved that he is to be baniſhed from his native country; laments that he is to be driven from the place of God's more immediate preſence, and apprehends that the other ſons of Adam (who by this time were grown very numerous) would all unite againſt him, and every one who met him would ſlay him as a murderer and a common enemy to mankind.

God relieves him from this fear (ver. 15.) by aſſuring him that whoſoever murdered him, ſhould ſuffer "ſevenfold vengeance," ſhould be puniſhed in a very ſevere and exemplary manner: and at the ſame time is graciouſly pleaſed to give him ſome viſible ſign, ſome manifeſtation of his power and preſence, in ratification of his promiſe. It is commonly ſaid that God "ſet a mark upon Cain" and various and ridiculous have been the conjectures of what kind this mark could be: but the true meaning of the text is, that God gave him a ſign or token to confirm his promiſe; ſuch as was frequently aſked, and frequently granted in ſucceeding times, as we read in other parts of ſcripture; and ſuch (whatever it was) as now allayed and quieted Cain's fears and apprehenſions. Thus was Cain (ver. 16.) baniſhed from the Shechinah or divine preſence, from the place of God's worſhip, from the church and congregation of the faithful: and after this he was never

never more favored with any manifeſtations of the divine glory. His father Adam lived at the eaſt of Eden, (Gen. III. 24.) and he removed ſtill farther eaſtward, and went and dwelt in the land, which from him was afterwards called "the land of Nod," the country of the fugitive or vagabond.

The next ſon, whom Eve bare unto Adam after the death of Abel, (ver. 25.) ſhe called "Seth," that is *appointed*; "for God, ſaid ſhe, "hath appointed me another ſeed inſtead of Abel, whom Cain ſlew." It is ſaid afterwards (Gen. V. 3.) that "Adam called his name Seth." We may conclude that the name was given jointly by both parents. It is farther ſaid, that "Adam begat him in his own likeneſs, after his "image." Adam himſelf was made in the image of God, and fell; but Seth was born after the image of his father, as well as all the ſons of Adam. Eve, it now appeared, had been groſly miſtaken in expecting that Cain would have been her ſeed, who ſhould bruiſe the head of their mortal enemy and deceiver. If ſhe conceived, as it is likely ſhe did conceive, the ſame hopes and expectations of this other ſeed, they were much better founded, and came much nearer to the truth. It was in the 130th year of the world and of Adam's age (Gen. V. 3.) that Seth was born. Moſt probably therefore Abel was ſlain in the year preceding, for this ſon muſt be born not very long after, to be conſidered as given to ſupply the place of Abel. Mankind muſt by this time have grown very numerous, according to the uſual rate of multiplication in thoſe days, when there were all births and no burials except only of Abel; ſo that there was room for Cain's fears and apprehenſions of vengeance from the reſt of mankind: and if we follow the chronology of the Greeks, that Seth was born in the 230th year of the world, the number of mankind muſt have increaſed ſo much more in proportion.

Cain, as it was before obſerved, removed eaſtward with his wife, and the firſt ſon born to him there (ver. 17.) was named Enoch. None of his other ſons are ſo much as mentioned, but in proceſs of time his family grew ſo numerous, that he built a city, and called it after the name of his eldeſt ſon Enoch. By a city, I cannot conceive

with

with Joſephus, is meant a city fortified with walls, but only an aſſembly of hutts or cabbins like thoſe of the Indians. Much leſs can I conceive with Monſ. Huet and others, notwithſtanding the ſimilitude of names, that this city was the ſame with *Anuctha* in Suſiana, which we read of after the deluge; for the deluge would hardly leave the traces and veſtiges of any city, and the poſterity of Seth only ſurviving the deluge, they would not be forward to reſtore and rebuild the habitation of Cain. Howſoever or whereſoever this city was conſtructed, it was the firſt city that ever was built, and without doubt was deſigned by Cain to keep his ſons together for their mutual defenſe and ſecurity, for he might be ſtill under ſome apprehenſions of vengeance from Adam's family for the murder of Abel.

Enoch (ver. 18.) was the father or anceſtor of Irad, Irad the father of Mehujael, Mehujael of Methuſael, whoſe names are barely mentioned without any particulars of their lives and actions. Methuſael was the father of Lamech, who (ver. 19.) took unto him two wives in violation of the primary law of marriage, which by God's ordinance ſhould be conſummated with one only, and was the firſt example of polygamy in the world. Adah was the name of one of his wives, and Zillah of the other. By Adah (ver. 20, 21.) he had Jabal and Jubal; Jabal, who firſt practiſed dwelling in tents, and removing with herds of cattle from place to place for the conveniency of paſturage; Jubal, who firſt invented inſtruments of muſic, "the harp and or-"gan," the former word including the ſtringed, the latter the wind inſtruments. By Zillah his other wife (ver. 22.) he had Tubâl-Cain, the firſt artificer in braſs and iron, from whoſe name was probably derived that of *Vulcan*. The invention of muſical inſtruments and the manufactory of braſs and iron, we ſee that Moſes aſſerts to the true inventors, in contradiction to the Egyptians, who as we read (2) in Diodorus did vainly arrogate it to themſelves. By Zillah Lamech had alſo a daughter called Naamah, who the rabbins ſay was the firſt inventor of ſpinning and weaving. By both his wives he had doubtleſs

(2) Diod. Sic. Lib. 1. p 14, 15. Edit. Rhodomani.

leſs many other children, ſons and daughters, whoſe names are not recorded; the number of his ſons according to (3) Joſephus was ſeventy ſeven.

Of this Lamech Moſes hath thought fit to preſerve (ver. 23, 24.) a ſhort fragment, which was handed down by tradition, and appears to have been compoſed in metre, to be ſung perhaps to ſome of his ſon Jubal's inſtruments of muſic. As we know not the occaſion, we cannot be certain of the meaning of this little ſketch of ancient poetry. But what appears to me the moſt probable account of it is, that the family of Cain having long lived under apprehenſions of Adam's family coming and taking revenge for the murder of Abel, and Tubal-Cain having lately invented weapons and inſtruments of war, Lamech therefore proclaims unto his wives, who were more liable to theſe fears and apprehenſions, that they might now reſt in peace and ſecurity. What reaſon is there for theſe fears and apprehenſions? Have I ſlain a man that I ſhould be wounded, and a young man that I ſhould be hurt? For with the Arabic verſion I would read the ſentence interrogatively, which interrogation is equivalent to a negation, as the Chaldee paraphraſes it, "I have not ſlain," &c. If then the murder of Cain who committed the fact ſhall be amply avenged, "avenged ſeven-"fold," as God hath declared; ſurely the murder of Lamech or any of his innocent family ſhall be more amply avenged, "avenged ſeventy "and ſevenfold." Wherefore be of good courage, I have done no violence, and I fear none.

A more particular genealogy is given (Gen. V.) of Seth's family than of Cain's, ten deſcents being enumerated in one line, and ſeven only in the other. In the line of Seth too not only the perſons are regiſtered, but alſo the times of their births and deaths are ſpecified, becauſe from this line the whole race of Iſrael deſcended, and the redeemer of fallen mankind himſelf was to deſcend; the line of Cain and all the reſt periſhed in the deluge. But only one ſon of each perſon is recorded, though each perſon had other children both before and

(3) Joſephi Antiq. Lib. 1. Cap. 2. Sect. 2. Edit. Hudſon.

(4) Joſephi

and after, " begat ſons and daughters," as it is expreſly ſaid, and was bleſſed with a numerous poſterity, ſuitable to the long lives of men in thoſe early ages, and to the bleſſing of fruitfulneſs requiſite for the firſt peopling and repleniſhing of the earth. No catalogue is given of the collateral branches, but only of the principal perſons, by whom the ſucceſſion was continued in a direct line from Adam to Noah, in whoſe family the old world ended, and the new world began.

Adam is a common name to both ſexes, as Moſes himſelf obſerves, (ver. 2.) in the ſame manner as *homo* is in Latin: but the man is properly ſo called. Adam lived, after he had begotten Seth, (ver. 4, 5.) 800 years, and died at the age of 930, about 3074 years before Chriſt. Some of his poſterity, as Jared for inſtance and Methuſelah, lived more years than he, but yet he may be ſaid to have lived as long as they, becauſe they were born infants, whereas he was created at firſt a man in full growth and perfection.

It ſhould ſeem that the firſt of human race would be the longeſt liver, and the Jewiſh doctors tell us a memorable ſtory how Adam's term came to be ſhortened, as I find it related by Mr. Addiſon in the Guardian (N° 138.) " Adam, a little after his creation, was preſented " with a view of all thoſe ſouls who were to be united to human bo- " dies, and take their turn after him upon earth. Among others, " the viſion ſet before him the ſoul of David. Our great anceſtor " was tranſported at the ſight of ſo beautiful an apparition; but to " his unſpeakable grief was informed, that it was not to be conver- " ſant among men the ſpace of one year.

" Oſtendent terris hunc tantum fata, neque ultra
" Eſſe ſinent. Æn. VI. ver. 869.

" This youth (this bliſsful viſion of a day)
" Shall juſt be ſhown on earth, and ſnatch'd away. Dryden.

" Adam, to procure a longer life for ſo fine a piece of human na- " ture, begged that threeſcore and ten years, which he heard would

" be the age of man in David's time, might be taken out of his own " life, and added to that of David. Accordingly, ſay the rabbins, " Adam falls ſhort of a thouſand years, which was to have been the " complete term of his life, by juſt ſo many years as make up the " life of David; Adam having lived nine hundred and thirty years, " and David ſeventy." No mention is made of the age and death of Eve, the women ſeldom having any place in the genealogies of the Hebrews.

Seth was born in the year of the world 130, and had a ſon named Enos. He might have, and had without doubt other ſons before as well as after: but at the age of 105 (ver. 6, 7, 8.) he begat this ſon, lived afterwards 807 years, begat ſons and daughters, and died at the age of 912, in the year of the world 1042, and before Chriſt about 2962 years. Seth and his deſcendents are reported to have led a paſtoral life, and to have been much addicted to the ſtudy of aſtronomy: and mention is made by (4) Joſephus of two pillars which they erected, the one of brick and the other of ſtone, whereon they inſcribed their inventions, with deſign that if the pillar of brick happened to be overthrown by the violence of the flood, that of ſtone might remain a monument to poſterity, and did remain, as he affirms, to his time in the land of Siriad. But no one ever ſaw this pillar, or knoweth where the land of Siriad is. It is all a miſtaken notion founded on the fabulous Egyptian hiſtory of Manetho, who (5) mentions certain pillars in like manner erected before the flood, and in the land of Siriad too, inſcribed in the ſacred dialect by Thoyth the firſt Mercury, and after the flood tranſlated out of the ſacred dialect into the Greek language by Agathodæmon the ſecond Mercury, the improbabilities and impoſſibilities of which account are ſufficiently expoſed by the learned (6) Stillingfleet and others.

What is much more certain and more material is, that in the days of Seth, and not long after the birth of Enos, a great diſtinction was made with regard to religion. It is ſaid (Gen. IV. 26.) that " then " began

(4) Joſephi Antiq. Lib. 1. Cap. 2. Sect. 3. Edit. Hudſon.

(5) Euſebius in Chronico. Syncellus, p. 40. Edit. Paris.

(6) Stilling-

" began men to call upon the name of the Lord:" but this cannot be the meaning of the paſſage, for men could not have lived all this while without religion and the worſhip of God, and we read particularly of Cain's and Abel's ſacrifices. Some therefore more rightly render the paſſage, as it is in the margin of our bibles, that " then " men began to call themſelves by the name of the Lord." Others tranſlate it, that " then men profaned in calling upon the name of " the Lord," the ſame word in Hebrew ſignifying both to *begin* and to *profane*. The former is the better interpretation, and more agreeable to the original language, that " then men began to call them- " ſelves (or to be called) after the name of the Lord:" But whether we take the words in the former ſenſe or in the latter, it is manifeſt that at this time there was a great defection from the true worſhip of God, which in all probability was begun by Cain, who, as (7) Sanchoniathon relates in his Phœnician hiſtory, prayed to the ſun as the lord of heaven; and indeed it is very likely, that Cain being baniſhed from the Shechinah or divine preſence, before which he had uſed to worſhip, might direct his prayers towards the ſun, as the brighteſt object and the beſt repreſentation of the glory of God.

This appears to me the moſt probable and rational account of the riſe and origin of idolatry: and there muſt have been ſome ſuch corruption and depravation of religion, that men ſhould diſtinguiſh themſelves in this manner, that ſome ſhould be " called after the name of " the Lord," be denominated " the ſons of God," as we read afterwards, (Gen. VI. 2.) and others " the ſons of men;" the former the worſhippers of the true God, the latter thoſe who neglected or corrupted his worſhip, and devoted themſelves to the pleaſures of the world. The family of Seth therefore were the ſons and true worſhippers of God: and Moſes afterwards diſtinguiſhes the people of Iſrael, as a peculiar people, from other nations, by the like appellation, (Deut. XIV. 1.) " Ye are the children of the Lord your God."

Enos

(6) Stillingfleet's Orig. Sacræ, B. 1. Ch. 2. Sect. 11.

(7) Apud Euſeb. Præp. Evang. p. 34. Edit. Paris. Vigeri.

(8) See

Enos was born in the year of the world 235, and had a ſon called Cainan. He might have other ſons, and had without doubt before as well as after: but at the age of 90 (ver. 9, 10, 11.) he begat this ſon, lived afterwards 815 years, begat ſons and daughters, and died at the age of 905, in the year of the world 1140, and before Chriſt about 2864 years. Cainan was born in the year of the world 325. At the age of 70 (ver. 12, 13, 14.) he begat a ſon named Mahalaleel, lived afterwards 840 years, begat ſons and daughters, and died at the age of 910, in the year of the world 1235, and before Chriſt about 2769 years. Mahalaleel was born in the year of the world 395. At the age of 65 (ver. 15, 16, 17.) he begat a ſon named Jared, lived afterwards 830 years, begat ſons and daughters, and died at the age of 895, in the year of the world 1290, and before Chriſt about 2714 years. Jared was born in the year of the world 460. At the age of 162 (ver. 18, 19, 20.) he begat a ſon named Enoch, lived afterwards 800 years, begat ſons and daughters, and died at the age of 962, in the year of the world 1422, and before Chriſt about 2582 years. All theſe ſeem to be mentioned only to ſhow the continuation of the ſucceſſion, having left none other memorial behind them than that they were born, begat children, and died.

Next after Seth Enoch is the moſt memorable of the antediluvian fathers. He was born in the year of the world 622, and had a ſon named Methuſelah. He might have other ſons before as well as after, but at the age of 65 (ver. 21, 22, 23, 24.) he begat Methuſelah, lived afterwards 300 years, and begat ſons and daughters. He was a remarkably good man; he led a moſt religious and holy life; he "walked "with God" according to the ſcripture-phraſe, which is twice employed even in this ſhort narration. As a reward of his piety and virtue, he was indued with the gift of prophecy, and was enabled to predict the future judgment, which was then coming upon the world in the general deluge. "Behold, the Lord cometh with ten thou- "ſands of his ſaints; To execute judgment upon all, and to con- "vince all that are ungodly among them, of all their ungodly deeds "which they have ungodly committed, and of all their hard ſpeeches,

"which

" which ungodly ſinners have ſpoken againſt him." Which is cited and applied by St. Jude (ver. 14, 15.) to another judgment, not from any book or writing of Enoch's, (for probably nothing of that kind ever exiſted) but from a tradition preſerved among the Jews. A book indeed hath been vented (8) under the title of *the Scripture* or *the Prophecy* of Enoch, ſome fragments whereof are ſtill remaining; but though ſeveral of the chriſtian fathers entertained a better opinion of it than it deſerved, yet it is in truth a moſt notorious forgery, like *the Life of Adam*, *the Book of Seth*, *the Teſtaments of the Patriarchs*, and other trumpery of the ſame nature. If St. Jude cited this paſſage from any ſuch book, it contained however this truth among many falſities.

As a reward of his piety and virtue too, it is ſaid that " he was " not, for God took him;" by which poſſibly ſome may underſtand nothing more than a natural but untimely death, as if God had been pleaſed to take him early out of the world, that his faith and morals might not be corrupted by the prevalence of ill examples. But if he had died a natural death, the ſame expreſſion would have been uſed concerning him as concerning the other patriarchs: and in the Patriarchal and in the Jewiſh diſpenſations not an early death, but a long life is conſidered and propoſed as the reward of piety and virtue. The text muſt therefore be neceſſarily underſtood, not of a natural death, but of a tranſlation to a better life; as the divine author of the Epiſtle to the Hebrews paraphraſeth it, (XI. 5.) " By faith Enoch " was tranſlated that he ſhould not ſee death, and was not found, " becauſe God had tranſlated him; for before his tranſlation he had " this teſtimony, that he pleaſed God;" becauſe it was teſtified of him that he " walked with God." The Jewiſh church underſtood it in the ſame manner, as appears from the writer of the book of Wiſdom (IV. 10.) " He pleaſed God, and was beloved of him; ſo that " living among ſinners, he was tranſlated:" and from the writer of Eccleſiaſticus, (XLIV. 16.) " Enoch pleaſed the Lord, and was " tranſlated,

(8) See Fabricii Cod. Pſeud. Vet. Teſt.

(9) Bochartl

" tranſlated, being an example of repentance to all generations:" and again from the ſame author, (XLIX. 14.) " But upon the earth " was no man created like Enoch, for he was taken from the earth." He was indeed taken from the earth much ſooner than the other antediluvian fathers, being tranſlated at the age of 365, in the year of the world 987, and before Chriſt about 3017 years, after the deceaſe of Adam 57 years, and 55 before the deceaſe of Seth. The world had before ſeen two kinds of death, a violent one in Abel, and a natural one in Adam; but now Enoch is tranſlated without taſting of death, to be a pledge and earneſt of a happy immortality.

Methuſelah was born in the year of the world 687, and had a ſon named Lamech. He had without doubt other ſons before as well as after: but at the age of 187 (ver. 25, 26, 27.) he begat Lamech, lived afterwards 782 years, begat ſons and daughters, and died the oldeſt of all the patriarchs at the age of 969, in the year of the world 1656, and before Chriſt about 2348 years. His father Enoch being a prophet, and foreſeeing the deluge, (9) is ſuppoſed to have given him the name of *Methuſelah* upon this account. For *Methu* the former part of the word ſignifying *his death*, and *ſelah* the latter part *the ſending forth of waters*, it was hereby intimated that ſoon after his deceaſe the deluge ſhould happen, and accordingly the deluge did happen ſoon after his deceaſe, in the very year wherein he died.

Lamech was born in the year of the world 874, and was the father of Noah. He had without doubt other ſons before as well as after: but at the age of 182 (ver. 28, 29, 30, 31.) he " begat a ſon, and " called his name Noah, ſaying This ſame ſhall comfort us, concern- " ing our work and toil of our hands, becauſe of the ground which " the Lord hath curſed." Various interpretations have been offered of the reaſon aſſigned for this appellation. Some underſtand it of his inventing proper tools and inſtruments for the greater improvement of huſbandry; ſome of his planting the firſt vineyard, and being the firſt maker of wine to cheer the heart of men; others of his obtaining the grant

(9) Bocharti Phaleg. Lib. 2. Cap. 13. (1) Biſhop Sherlock in his fourth Diſcourſe on Prophecy.

(1) Hieron.

grant for eating animal food; others of his being the father of the promiſed ſeed, or the promiſed ſeed himſelf; and (1) one particularly of the earth in his time being delivered from the curſe intailed upon it at the fall, and reſtored to its primitive fruitfulneſs.

Exceptions may well be taken to each of theſe expoſitions; and there is another interpretation which appears to me more natural and obvious than any of them. For the word *Noach* or *Noah* is not derived from *nacham* a verb ſignifying *to comfort*, but from *nuach* a verb ſignifying *to reſt* or *to make to reſt*. So the Greek tranſlators read and underſtand it, and render it accordingly that "this ſame" διαναπαυσει "ſhall make us reſt from our work and toil of our hands," &c. So Jerome alſo, who underſtood Hebrew better than any of the chriſtian fathers, (2) inteprets it: and I conceive the meaning to be, that his name is called *Noah* or *reſt*, becauſe in his time ſhall be a total reſt or ceſſation from work and labor by reaſon of the curſe upon the ground which ſhall be fully executed in the deluge.

Enoch had in general terms denounced the judgment of God in the deluge. Methuſelah's name implied that it ſhould happen very ſoon after his deceaſe: and now Lamech at the birth of his ſon Noah declares that it ſhall fall out in Noah's days, which prophecy is the more remarkable as it was delivered 600 years before the time. Lamech lived after he had begotten Noah 595 years, begat ſons and daughters, and died at the age of 777, in the year of the world 1651, and before Chriſt about 2353 years, and five years before the death of his father Methuſelah. Noah was born in the year of the world 1056. What ſons he had before, or whether any we cannot be certain; but he had attained to the age of 500 (ver. 32.) before he begat his three ſons Shem, Ham, and Japheth, of whom as well as of their father we ſhall have more particular occaſion to treat hereafter.

As mankind multiplied in the earth, (Gen. VI. 1, 2.) wickedneſs increaſed in proportion; and this general corruption of manners was owing principally to the marriages of the virtuous and religious ſons of

(2) Hieron. Liber Quæſt. Hebraic. in Geneſim. p. 513. Tom. 2. Edit. Benedict.

of Seth with the looſe and licentious daughters of Cain. It is ſtrange and abſurd to believe, yet ſtrange and abſurd as it is, it hath been believed by men of almoſt all ages and of all religions, that the gods or angels deſcended in human form to converſe and cohabit with women. It is much more reaſonable to ſay with the Chaldee and Arabic verſions, that "the ſons of God" are the princes and potentates of the earth, and "the daughters of men" are women of ignoble birth and parentage. But by "the ſons of God," according to the diſtinction before noted, are really meant the men of the line of Seth, the worſhippers of the true God, as by "the daughters of men" are meant the women of the impious and idolatrous race of Cain.

At firſt there was great diſtance and coolneſs between the two families. Cain and his immediate deſcendents were not without ſome reaſon apprehenſive of vengeance from the other ſons of Adam for the murder of Abel. When this familiar intercourſe commenced between them, we cannot collect with certainty: but it may reaſonably be ſuppoſed, that their prejudices leſſened by degrees, and that theſe alliances began to be contracted between them before the birth of Enoch, the ſeventh from Adam. For Enoch had the ſame name with Cain's eldeſt ſon, and there was alſo a Lamech of the line of Seth as well as of the line of Cain. Now if we reflect how curious theſe ancients were in the impoſition of names, ſome inſtances whereof have occurred even in this hiſtory, it will appear hardly credible, that the ſame names ſhould have become common to both families, till marriages had been made between them. In Enoch's days too mankind were grown ſo generally corrupt, that he was enabled to propheſy of God's coming to execute judgment upon them.

It may be obſerved of the ſons of Cain, that like true "children "of this world" they were "wiſer in their generation than the chil-"dren of light," the ſons of Seth. They built the firſt city. The manufactory of braſs and iron, and all kinds of muſical inſtruments were of their invention. They firſt taught the arts of life and luxury. As the men were ingenious, ſo the women were fair, and by their charms and their wiles ſoon captivated the ſons of Seth. Beauty pre-

vailed over all other conſiderations; and they choſe them wives, not with any judgment or diſcretion, but merely according to their fancy and inclination. Which thing proved a ſnare to the ſober ſons of Seth, (as the like ſtrange marriages did upon ſeveral occaſions afterwards to the children of Iſrael) and perverted their virtue and religion.

At that time (ver. 4.) there were "giants" in the earth, and likewiſe after that time, the progeny of theſe ſtrange, unhappy, ill-fated marriages. The name in the original is *nephilim*, which is derived from a verb *naphal* ſignifying *to fall*, either from God, or upon men; and it might hold true of theſe people in both ſenſes. In the ſenſe of *falling away*, they were deſerters and apoſtates from the true worſhip of God. In the ſenſe of *falling upon*, they were injurious and oppreſſive, violent and outrageous. As they were rebels to God, ſo they were robbers and tyrants to men. It is a very ingenious conjecture of Le Clerc, that the Centaurs, who ſeem to have been robbers on horſeback, were of this ſort of men; for they are ſaid to have been born of νεφελης a cloud, that is they were of the race of the *nephilim*.

What rendered them ſtill more formidable was the vaſt ſtature and ſtrength of their bodies added to the monſtrous inſolence and cruelty of their minds. For the word is uſed alſo to denote men of great ſtature, as particularly the ſons of Anak, (Numb. XIII. 33.) "And "there we ſaw" nephilim "the giants; and we were in our own "ſight as graſhoppers, and ſo we were in their ſight." Moſt ancient as well as modern verſions therefore render the word by "giants," who were feigned to have been born of the earth, that is were earthly-minded men. But the giants, you will ſay, were nothing more than fabulous beings, creatures only of imagination, and were looked upon as ſuch by the wiſeſt heathens. I can readily admit, and indeed believe, that the ſtature of mankind hath been much the ſame in all ages, neither are we degenerated from our forefathers, nor are the race of men ſince the deluge of a more diminiſhed figure than the race of men before the deluge. But yet in all ages there have been ſome perſons of an extraordinary bulk and ſize; and why might there not at that time as well as in all others? Such inſtances indeed are not

very common; they are ſpoken of as the wonders of their age, and ſo likewiſe are theſe giants, "mighty men, which were of old men "of renown."

It was partly in conſequence of the looſeneſs and licentiouſneſs introduced by theſe ſtrange marriages, and partly by the example of theſe gigantic inſolent oppreſſors, that (ver. 5, 6.) wickedneſs ſpread and prevailed to ſuch a degree, and not only mens practice but alſo their principles were ſo continually evil, that by a figure of ſpeech very uſual in ſcripture (whereby in condeſcenſion to the capacities of men human paſſions and affections are attributed to the divine nature) God is ſaid to have "repented" and to have "grieved at his heart" that he had ever made man. Wherefore he declared, (ver. 3.) moſt probably by the miniſtration of Noah, that "his Spirit ſhould not "always ſtrive with man, for that he alſo was fleſh." Moſt of the ancient verſions render the text as if it had been read ſomewhat (3) differently, that "his ſpirit," the life and ſoul which he had given, ſhould not always "abide" and "continue" in man. But the preſent reading and the preſent tranſlation have a juſter claim to be preferred, that "his Spirit," "by which," as St. Peter ſaith, (1 Pet. III. 19, 20.) "he preached unto the ſpirits in priſon which were diſobedient "in the days of Noah," ſhould not always "ſtrive" or "contend" with man, for he continually reſiſted the good motions of the Spirit, and gave himſelf wholly up to the fleſh, to fulfil the luſts thereof. However he would not deſtroy mankind immediately, he would give them a farther time of trial, and allow them the ſpace of 120 years, by this forbearance to bring them, if it was poſſible, to repentance and reformation. If no change for the better was wrought in all that time, if they ſtill continued hardened and obſtinate, (ver. 7,) he would put an end to this univerſal corruption by as univerſal a deſtruction, by bringing on the earth a deluge of waters, which could not effectually deſtroy mankind without involving at the ſame time all other creatures.

But

(3) ידור *Jador* inſtead of ידון *Jadon.*

(4) Euſeb.

But in the midſt of this wicked and perverſe generation (ver. 8, 9, 10.) Noah was ſtill a ſingular example of goodneſs. He was a juſt and righteous man, and "perfect in his generations," or according to a better reading propoſed by Father Houbigant, "perfect in his ways." For "he walked with God," which is the very ſame character that was given of Enoch: the reſt (in the language of the apoſtle) "were "carnal, and walked as men, walked after the fleſh." It is no wonder therefore that Noah found grace in the eyes of the Lord, and was diſtinguiſhed by peculiar marks of divine favor. He was employed by God as "a preacher of righteouſneſs," (2 Pet. II. 3.) and by his doctrin as well as by his example endevored to reclaim a diſſolute and licentious age. He labored in this work of reformation twenty of the appointed 120 years before he had the eldeſt of his ſons mentioned in ſcripture, Shem, Ham, and Japheth. Theſe ſons he trained up in ſuch a manner as to become fit objects of divine mercy as well as himſelf; and in ſhort was diligent to fulfil all the duties and offices of a good man, a good father, and a good miniſter of God.

But what can a ſingle man avail to ſtem the ſtream and torrent of a wicked world? All his piety, all his preaching were ineffectual. (ver. 11, 12.) Mankind grew from bad to worſe. Their religion was corrupted, their morals were perverted. They were diſobedient to God, and injurious one to another. It was not only a general, but an univerſal defection. "All fleſh had corrupted his way." Irreligion and violence filled the earth. No good fruit therefore appearing of God's lenity and forbearance, and the 120 years drawing near to a concluſion, (ver. 13.) it remained that God's threatnings ſhould be put in execution. The fate of man was now determined. The flood of waters was to be poured out upon the world of the ungodly. All were corrupt, and all were to be deſtroyed from the face of the earth. Noah alone received directions how to ſave himſelf and his family.

This is all that we know with any certainty of the hiſtory of the world before the deluge. Other imperfect accounts there are, not hiſtories, but fragments of hiſtories, Phœnician, Chaldæan, Egyptian: and as far as they agree with Moſes, they may be credited; where

where they differ from him, they differ as much from each other, and are not only deſtitute of all authority, but even void of all probability.

The Phœnician hiſtory (4) is ſaid to have been written by Sanchoniathon, who is ſaid to have lived about the time of the Trojan war. But it may be queſtioned, it hath been queſtioned, whether there ever exiſted any ſuch man or any ſuch writer, neither his age nor his country being known, ſome making him a Tyrian, others a Berytian, ſome accounting him contemporary with Gideon, others with David. But the moſt ſuſpicious circumſtance of all is, that a hiſtory ſo very ancient as this ſhould lie concealed ſo many generations, and never be mentioned by any writer or known in the world, till it was tranſlated out of the Phœnician into the Greek language by Philo Byblius, who lived in the time of the Roman emperor Adrian.

Here was great room for forgery and invention: but allowing, as I am rather inclined to allow, that there was ſuch an hiſtorian, and that he was older than the oldeſt of the Greek writers; yet his hiſtory, as Philo Byblius himſelf acknowlegeth, had been much altered from what it was originally written. It was partly tranſcribed from the commentaries of Taautus or the Egyptian Thoth, which had by the ſucceeding prieſts been turned into fables and allegories: and the copy underwent the ſame fate as the original, it was itſelf changed into fable and myſtery by ſubſequent writers: ſo that there can be no great dependence upon a hiſtory, which hath ſuffered ſuch material alterations. However it was much commended and made uſe of by Porphyry in his writings againſt the Chriſtian religion: but ſome fragments only are now remaining, which are preſerved by Euſebius in the firſt book of his Evangelical Preparation, and are tranſlated into Engliſh with large annotations by the very learned Biſhop Cumberland. Peruſe theſe fragments, and you will find, if ſome curious and uſeful, yet others unintelligible or abſurd, as contrary to reaſon as they are to ſcripture, and only ſo far to be reconciled to the former, as they may be explained agreeably to the latter.

Sanchoniathon

(4) Euſeb. Præp. Evang. Lib. 1. Suidas. Voſſius de Hiſt. Græc. Lib. 1. Cap. 1. Bocharti Chanaan, Lib. 2. Cap. 2 et 17. Stillingfleet's Origines Sacræ, B. 1. Chap. 2. Cumberland's Remarks

Sanchoniathon as well as Moſes ſuppoſeth all things to have been generated out of a turbid chaos, but Sanchoniathon ſuppoſeth them to have been effected without any intervention of the deity. He derives mankind alſo from a ſingle pair, Protogonus and Æon, and Æon found out the way of gathering food from trees, which is a manifeſt alluſion to Eve's firſt eating of the forbidden fruit. As Moſes deduceth the hiſtory of the line of Seth, ſo Sanchoniathon is ſuppoſed to give the hiſtory of the line of Cain, and the generations run well nigh parallel the one to the other. He concurs alſo with Moſes in ſaying, that in thoſe early ages there were men of vaſt bulk and ſtature, that the women of the line of Cain were abandoned proſtitutes and great promoters of the general corruption, that the men of this line were the firſt builders of cities, that they were inventors of iron and the forging thereof, that they were artificers, and much improved the conveniencies of living.

He farther informs us, that in the ſecond generation Genus, who plainly is the ſame with Cain, was the firſt introducer of idolatry by worſhipping the ſun as the lord of heaven; that after the heavenly bodies they proceeded in the fifth generation to worſhip the elements; that in the next generation they conſecrated poſts and pillars to the dead, and kept anniverſary feſtivals to their memory; that in the eighth generation they worſhipped the dead (Vulcan particularly) as gods; that in the tenth generation they erected ſtatues and temples to the dead, and worſhipped their idols; which account of the riſe and progreſs of idolatry is the moſt valuable part of theſe fragments, and may very well conſiſt with the hiſtory of Moſes, although it be not expreſly aſſerted therein, being a principal part of that general corruption which he deſcribes.

Porphyry himſelf, the great recommender of Sanchoniathon, acknowlegeth that Moſes was the elder writer, and eſtabliſheth the credit of Sanchoniathon's hiſtory of the Jews on its conformity to their hiſtory in places and in names; which evidently evinceth that even in the

Remarks on Sanchoniathon's Phœnician Hiſtory. Fourmont ſur les Hiſtoires de anciens peuples. Tom. 1.

(5) Tatianus

the judgment of Porphyry the hiſtory of Moſes was of greater authority as well as of greater antiquity than that of Sanchoniathon.

The Chaldæan hiſtory was written by (5) Beroſus, a Babylonian prieſt, who was born in the time of Alexander the great, and dedicated his hiſtory to Antiochus Theus, the third king of Syria after Alexander, about 260 years before Chriſt. He profeſſeth to have drawn his hiſtory from the moſt ancient records kept with the greateſt care in the temple at Babylon: but unfortunately this work is periſhed, and ſome fragments only are preſerved by Joſephus, Euſebius, and other writers. According to this hiſtorian ten kings reigned in Chaldæa before the flood, of whom Alorus was the firſt, and Xiſuthrus the laſt. Moſes alſo recounts ten generations from Adam to Noah: but whether Alorus was Adam is not ſo certain and evident, as that Xiſuthrus was Noah.

So far he is conſiſtent with Moſes: but farther he deſerves very little credit, as when he aſſerts, that men at firſt were generated, ſome with two wings, others with four and with two faces, ſome having one body and two heads male and female, others having the legs and horns of goats or hinder parts of horſes, with variety of other ſtrangely compounded and miſshapen animals; and alſo when he affirms, that the firſt men were inſtructed in the knowlege of letters and of arts and ſciences, and in the building of cities, erecting of temples, enacting of laws, and in ſhort in all the conveniencies of civil life, by a ſtrange amphibious animal, partly man, partly fiſh, which aroſe out of the red ſea, and converſed with men by day, but at night returned to the ſea, and again plunged in the waters; and moreover when he computes his ten kings to have reigned 120 ſari, each ſarus containing 3600 years, unleſs by 3600 years we are to underſtand ſo many days, which indeed is not improbable, but how then can this reckoning conſiſt with the vain pretences of the Chaldæans, and their contending with the Egyptians for the greater antiquity?

No

(4) Tatianus adverſ. Græcos. Euſeb. Præp. Evang. Lib. 10. et Chronicon. Syncellus, p. 14, &c. Edit. Paris. p. 11, &c. Edit. Venet. Voſſius de Hiſt. Græc. Lib. 1. Cap. 13. Fabricii Bib. Græc. Lib. 6. Cap. 12. p. 175, &c. Vol. 14.

(6) Syncelli Chronograph. p. 16, &c. Edit. Paris.

No nation whatever hath made more arrogant pretenſions to antiquity than the Egyptians. They boaſt of a ſucceſſion of gods and demigods reigning in Egypt before the flood. Manetho, the moſt famous Egyptian hiſtorian, (6) floriſhed ſoon after Beroſus, was chief prieſt and keeper of the ſacred records, and inſcribed his hiſtory to Ptolemy Philadelphus, by whoſe command it was undertaken. His writings, as Syncellus affirms, were full of lies, were fictions in imitation of Beroſus. He reckons ſixteen dynaſties of gods and demigods, and ſays that the reign of the gods continued 1985 years, of whom the firſt, namely Vulcan, reigned 9000 years; ſo that inſtead of 1985 years it is probable that the whole ſum amounted at leaſt to 11985 years. An old Egyptian chronicle, which is ſuppoſed to have led Manetho into ſome errors, carries the ſum yet higher, and contains in 30 dynaſties and 113 generations the vaſt period of 36,525 years. I forbear to take notice of the great difference and variety of the numbers aſſigned by foreign writers, who were not Egyptians, as Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, and other hiſtorians. It is impoſſible ever to reconcile the Egyptian antiquities and dynaſties either to one another, or even to probability. Suppoſe theſe years inſtead of ſolar to have been lunar years, ſuppoſe theſe generations inſtead of ſucceſſive to have been contemporary generations, read all that the moſt learned chronologers have written upon the ſubject from Scaliger down to Jackſon, you will find no certainty or agreement among them, and after all perhaps will think with Petavius, that the whole of theſe dynaſties ought to be rejected as falſe and fabulous.

There is then no certain dependence upon any but ſacred hiſtory: and in treating of ſacred hiſtory, I have hitherto followed the Hebrew rather than the Samaritan or Septuagint chronology. From the creation to the deluge the Hebrew reckons 1656 years, the Samaritan 1307 years, the Septuagint 2262 years. I know very well that good authorities, and what is more, good arguments are urged in ſupport of each

Paris. p. 13, &c. Edit. Venet. Euſeb. Chron. p. 6, &c. Marſhami Chronic. Canon, p. 1, &c. | Voſſius de Hiſt. Græc. Lib. 1. Cap. 14. Petavii Doct. Temp. L. 10. Cap. 17.

each calculation; but all things conſidered, I rather incline to the Hebrew for the following reaſons.

1. Becauſe the original text ought always to be preferred before any tranſlation, unleſs it was evident that the original text was wrong, and the tranſlation was right, which evidence is wanting in the caſe before us.

2. Becauſe the Hebrew copies are more conſiſtent and uniform than either the Samaritan or Septuagint, there being ſome variations in the numbers of the two latter, but none at all in thoſe of the former.

3. Becauſe more of the ancient verſions agree with the Hebrew than with the other computations, as particularly the Vulgar Latin, the Syriac, the Arabic, the Perſic, and alſo the Talmuds, the Targums, and particularly that of Onkelos, which is generally ſuppoſed to have been made about the time or before the time of our Saviour.

4. Becauſe it is poſſible to reconcile the Samaritan chronology of this period with the Hebrew, but impoſſible ever to reconcile it with the Septuagint. For according to (7) St. Jerome the Samaritan copies in his time agreed with the Hebrew in making the age of Methuſelah 187 at the birth of Lamech inſtead of 67 as it is in the preſent copies, and the age of Lamech 182 at the birth of Noah inſtead of 53 as it is in the preſent copies. If this be true, as St. Jerome expreſly teſtifies, it is not very likely that the Samaritan ſhould differ from the Hebrew in the ſingle article of ſubtracting 100 years from the age of Jared at the birth of Enoch; it is much more probable that it was an error of the tranſcriber in ſubſtituting 62 inſtead of 162 years: And thus all the difference is taken away, and the Samaritan and Hebrew computations are perfectly reconciled the one with the other.

5. Becauſe thoſe ancient fathers and writers, who followed the Septuagint chronology, made uſe of the Septuagint tranſlation, having more knowlege of the Greek than of the Hebrew language; whereas thoſe fathers, who were alſo well ſkilled in the Hebrew tongue, and capable of reading and underſtanding the original books of Moſes, as St.

(7) Hieron. Quæſt. Hebraic. in Geneſim. p. 512. Tom. 2. Edit. Benedict. Capelli Chron. Sacr. in Prolegom. ad Bibl. Polyglott. Walton.

(8) See

St. Jerome particularly and St. Auſtin, always gave the preference to the Hebrew before the Septuagint computation.

6. Becauſe the teſtimonies of Philo and Joſephus, which are the ſtrongeſt authorities in favor of the Septuagint chronology, are really, if conſidered, not of that weight and authority as they are repreſented to be. For Philo was an Alexandrian Jew, and no wonder therefore that he followed the Alexandrian, that is the Septuagint tranſlation, which was uſed by all his countrymen. Joſephus profeſſeth indeed to write from the ſacred books, but his chronology is (8) very various, ſometimes agreeing with the Hebrew, ſometimes with the Greek, at other times differing from both, ſo that he cannot be ſaid to confirm either.

7. Becauſe the variations between the Hebrew and the Septuagint computations are moſt of them of ſuch a nature, that they could not poſſibly have happened through miſtake or accident, they muſt on one ſide or other have been made by deſign: but more probable reaſons may be given for the Greek Jews altering their tranſlation, than for the Hebrew Jews altering their original text. The reaſons (9) aſſigned for the Hebrew Jews altering their original text are "to bring "a diſcredit on the Septuagint verſion uſed by the Chriſtians, and "alſo to confound their computations of the time of the coming of "Chriſt." But how the computations of the time of the coming of Chriſt are more confounded by the Hebrew chronology than by the Septuagint, or are more cleared by the Septuagint than by the Hebrew, I have never yet underſtood, nor can underſtand: And whoever heard, in any other inſtance, of a man's altering his own original in order to depreciate another's copy? is it not a more natural ſuppoſition, that the copy ſhould be altered, to give it a higher value than the original? Far better reaſons may be aſſigned, and have been aſſigned ſo long ago as by (1) St. Auſtin, for the Greek Jews altering the numbers in their tranſlation: but the main reaſon I conceive to have

(8) See Dr. Wells's Diſſertation on the Chronology of Joſephus.

(9) Jackſon's Chronolog. Antiq. p. 54. Vol. 1.

(1) Auguſtin. de Civit. Dei. Lib. 12. Capelli Chron. Sacr. ibid.

have been this, that as other nations at that time were boaſting much of their antiquities, and none more than the Egyptians, the Jews who lived among them, in conformity to the prevailing faſhion, to magnify and exalt the origin of their own nation, added ſo many years to their computations.

If theſe reaſons are not ſatisfactory, it is not worth while to have any farther contention about the matter; for nothing is more frivolous and tireſome than engaging in diſputes, where diſputes are endleſs, and there are no means of coming to a certain concluſion. All vain curioſity in theſe matters is beſt repreſſed by the conſideration propounded by (2) Mr. Mede: "Whether there may not be ſome ſe-
"cret diſpoſition of divine providence in this variety of computation,
"to prevent our curioſity in counting the exact time of the day of
"judgment and ſecond appearing of Chriſt: And that as the ambi-
"tious tower of Babel was hindered by the confuſion of languages,
"ſo our curioſity in this particular be not by a like providence pre-
"vented by ſuch a diverſity of computations: For theſe things con-
"cern not matter of ſalvation."

One point of chronology is clear and certain, which is the long lives of the antediluvian patriarchs extending to near a thouſand years: and theſe years muſt neceſſarily be ſolar and not lunar years, for the lunar would be found as much too ſhort as the ſolar are thought too long, and avoiding one ſeeming difficulty we ſhould run into many real abſurdities. But it is not only the ſcripture that beareth witneſs to the longævity of the primitive fathers: Joſephus hath alſo cited (3) the teſtimonies of Manetho who wrote the hiſtory of Egypt, of Beroſus who wrote the Chaldæan hiſtory, of Mochus and Heſtiæus and Jerome the Egyptian, who wrote the Phœnician hiſtory, and among the Greek writers, of Heſiod the poet, of Hecatæus the hiſtorian, and Hellanicus, and Acuſilaus, and beſides of Ephorus and Nicolaus, all affirming that the ancients lived a thouſand years.

Of

(2) Mede's Works, B. 5. p. 895. (3) Joſephi Antiq. Lib. 1. Cap. 3. Sect. 9. Edit. Hudſon.

(4) Biſhop,

Of ſuch an extraordinary event ſeveral cauſes have been aſſigned, as particularly the robuſt conſtitutions of the men of that time, and it is very likely that the fall had not as yet intailed ſo many diſeaſes and infirmities upon mankind; their temperance and ſobriety in eating and drinking, but of theſe particulars we cannot be ſo certain as we are of their being guilty of ſome exceſſes and irregularities in other reſpects; their living upon vegetables without animal food, but neither is this ſo certain, for more probably they partook at leaſt of the creatures which they offered in ſacrifice; the fine temperature of the air, and the deliciouſneſs and excellency of the fruits, but the curſe was inflicted upon the earth, and the change was wrought in nature immediately after the fall, and there is no reaſon for thinking that the fruits or the ſeaſons were better in the old world than they are in the preſent: on the contrary they muſt have been worſe, if as a great prelate (4) maintains, the curſe upon the ground was finiſhed and completed at the deluge, and the earth afterwards was reſtored to its primitive fruitfulneſs and plenty. But allowing the validity of theſe reaſons, yet neither any nor all of them concurring are cauſes adequate to ſuch an effect.

It muſt be aſcribed entirely to the good providence and power of almighty God, who ſo wonderfully enabled a mortal frame to hold out ſo many years, for the greater increaſe of the ſpecies, and for the ſpeedier repleniſhing and ſubduing of the earth. For which ſame reaſon when it is ſaid of Jared for inſtance that "he lived 162 years and "begat Enoch," of Methuſelah that "he lived 187 years and be-"gat Lamech," of Lamech that "he lived 182 years and begat "Noah," we muſt not conclude that theſe were their firſt born ſons, but that they had other children before as well as after; for otherwiſe the main end of prolonging their lives would have been defeated, if they had lived ſo many years in a ſtate of celibacy, and had no better complied with the great command at the creation, "Be fruitful, "and multiply, and repleniſh the earth."

As

(4) Biſhop Sherlock's fourth Diſcourſe on Prophecy.

(5) See

As the lives of men were ſo much longer, the multiplication of mankind muſt have been ſo much greater in proportion. For ſome, as Mahaleel and Enoch, having ſons at 65 and probably before, and others, as Noah, having ſons after 500, it is evident that they continued begetting children for the ſpace of ſeveral hundred years: and theſe children appear to have been born in as quick ſucceſſion as they are uſually at this day, for Abel is ſuppoſed to have been born the year after Cain, and the three ſons of Noah were born within a few years one of another; ſo that the multiplication of mankind muſt really then have been prodigious, it muſt have been at leaſt ten times greater than the preſent increaſe, as the lives of men were at leaſt ten times longer. It is reaſonably (5) computed, that the number of antediluvians amounted to many millions more than the preſent inhabitants of the earth.

Of this vaſt multitude it would be curious and entertaining to trace the governments, arts, ſciences and learning: but the hiſtory of the antediluvian world is too ſhort and conciſe to give us any juſt conception of theſe things. Little doubt, I think, can be made that the firſt government in the world was patriarchal; the father of the family naturally became the prince and governor of it: but it is abſurd to infer from hence that abſolute dominion, which Filmer and Leſly have ſo ſtrenuouſly aſſerted, and Locke and Hoadly have as amply refuted. In all probability there were two great governments, one in the line of Seth, and the other in the line of Cain, which were afterwards divided and ſubdivided into ſeveral branches, as mankind grew more numerous, and nations were more multiplied and diffuſed over the face of the earth.

Some progreſs alſo was made not only in the neceſſary arts, but likewiſe in thoſe which are ornamental to human life. Not only braſs-work and iron-work, but likewiſe various inſtruments of muſic were of their invention: but it was late before they made theſe improvements, and not till the ſeventh generation after Adam. They had before builded cities, we cannot pretend to ſay of what kind of archi-

(5) See Whiſton's Theory of the Earth, B. 3 Chap. 3.

tecture, but we may preſume more for neceſſity and convenience than for beauty and oſtentation. As to their learning and particularly their ſkill in aſtronomy, which Joſephus and others extol, we know nothing but only that the pillars of Seth, the book of Enoch, and the writings of the patriarchs are all forgeries unworthy of any regard or conſideration. It may even be queſtioned whether they had ever the uſe of letters among them, and I would rather maintain the negative than the affirmative ſide of the queſtion.

Of their religion we may remark ſome more particulars, the hiſtory of the bible being principally the hiſtory of religion. Their religion was in ſhort what we call the religion of nature, but to natural reaſon was ſuperadded divine revelation. That in the earlieſt ages God had frequent intercourſe with men is aſſerted by all the moſt ancient writers profane as well as ſacred: and while the lives of men continued ſo long, there was no neceſſity for a written law, oral tradition was ſufficient. God at firſt inſtructed man in his duty, which he could not otherwiſe have learned without long and ſlow deductions of reaſon.

He particularly injoined the ſanctification of the ſabbath, or the dedication of one day in ſeven to the more immediate worſhip and ſervice of the almighty creator of all things. It is a ſtrange miſtaken notion of the learned Spencer and other divines, that the ſabbath was nothing more than a Moſaical rite, inſtituted at mount Sinai to ſeparate and diſtinguiſh the people of Iſrael from all other nations; and that what was ſaid of the conſecration of the ſabbath from the beginning was ſaid only by way of anticipation. But it will appear from hiſtory (Exod. XVI.) that the ſabbath was diſtinguiſhed from other days before ever they arrived at mount Sinai, and was called "the "holy ſabbath unto the Lord," inſomuch that it rained no manna on that day, and a double quantity on the day preceding. The commandment too given at mount Sinai was plainly given not as a new commandment, but to *remind* them as it were of a former obligation, "Remember the ſabbath-day to keep it holy:" and the reaſon therein aſſigned for ſanctifying the ſabbath was, becauſe God had ſanctified it from

from the beginning in commemoration of the creation, " For in ſix " days the Lord made heaven and earth, the ſea, and all that in them " is, and reſted the ſeventh day; wherefore the Lord bleſſed the " ſeventh day, and hallowed it." No reaſonable doubt, I think, can be made that the primitive patriarchs obſerved this inſtitution, as long as the memory of it remained freſh among them; though ſuch obſervation be not expreſly mentioned in the ſhort hiſtory of thoſe times. Afterwards, as religion decayed, the memory of the ſabbath decayed too, and at length grew ſo much into diſuſe among the nations, that God thought fit to renew the inſtitution among the children of Iſrael, and to make it a perpetual ſign of the covenant between him and that people.

As the antediluvians had their ſtated times of worſhip, ſo they had particular places ſet apart for the ſame purpoſe: and indeed no public worſhip can be profeſſed and maintained among men without appointments of both kinds. When it is ſaid of Cain and Abel, that they " brought their offerings unto the Lord," the expreſſion plainly implies that they brought them to ſome common place of worſhip. In this place God chiefly manifeſted his preſence and his glory, ſo that when Cain was baniſhed, it is ſaid that he was " hid from the face " of the Lord," and " went out from the preſence of the Lord." The ſame might have been affirmed of this place, which was afterwards affirmed of another, (Gen. XXVIII. 17.) " How venerable is " this place! this is none other but the houſe of God, and this is the " gate of heaven."

When the firſt human pair had fallen from innocence through the wiles of the tempter, a gracious promiſe was yet made unto them, that " the ſeed of the woman ſhould bruiſe the ſerpent's head, and " the ſerpent bruiſe his heel." This promiſe they might not underſtand in the full ſenſe that we are enabled to do ſince the completion of it: but however they muſt at leaſt have conceived from hence ſome hopes and expectations, that one to be born of woman ſhould ſubdue and triumph over their grand enemy and deceiver, though with ſome ſuffering and diſadvantage to himſelf. One article therefore of their

faith muſt have been the belief of a future ſuffering ſaviour and redeemer; and the nature of theſe ſufferings was typified in the ſacrifices which were then inſtituted, though the uſe and intent of this type were not fully underſtood till afterwards, but (Acts XV. 18.) "known "unto God are all his works from the beginning of the world." The caſe of ſacrifices is juſt the reverſe to that of the ſabbath. No mention is made of the firſt inſtitution of ſacrifices, the ſubſequent practice only is recorded; whereas on the contrary the firſt conſecration of the ſabbath is recorded, but no notice is taken of the ſubſequent obſervation of it till the time of Moſes.

I know very well that the learned Spencer and other great authors maintain that ſacrifices were only rites of human invention, the offerings of pious and grateful hearts ſuitable to the rudeneſs and ſimplicity of the times, and by no means of divine appointment or inſtitution. The ſubject hath been much controverted, but the general opinion is for the divine inſtitution of ſacrifices, and I think the ſcripture, which alone can determin the queſtion, though it doth not poſitively aſſert, yet rather favors the ſuppoſition of their divine origin. When God directed our firſt parents to make coats of ſkins, it is not probable that the beaſts were ordered to be ſlain merely for their cloathing, when they had before provided themſelves with another ſort of covering; it is much more reaſonable to think that the beaſts were ordered to be ſlain for ſacrifices, and the ſacrificers were inſtructed to make uſe of their ſkins for cloathing. Had ſacrifices been only a will-worſhip of human invention, it is not likely that God ſhould have openly teſtified his approbation of Abel's ſacrifice, or have given ſuch a ſanction to ſuch a groundleſs piece of ſuperſtition. It is the very firſt act of religious ſervice, that is ſaid in ſcripture to have been accepted by God; and ſuch honor and reſpect would hardly have been paid to a ceremony only of human appointment. The lower we deſcend, the more we ſhall be convinced of the divine origin of ſacrifices. It will appear that they were appointed by God as vicarious expiations for ſin, as types or prophecies in action, as repreſentations of the one great ſacrifice once to be offered for the ſins of the world: and there

is no reaſon to ſurmiſe, that this was only a ſecondary uſe found out afterwards; it was moſt certainly the primary deſign of the inſtitution.

What were the ſins of the antediluvian world, which merited ſuch an extraordinary puniſhment as the deluge, we cannot ſay in particular. We know in general (Gen. VI. 5.) "that the wickedneſs of "man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the "thoughts of his heart was only evil continually;" not only the practices of men, but alſo their principles were generally evil. "The "earth alſo" (ver. 11.) "was corrupt before God, and the earth was "filled with violence:" the former clauſe whereof is uſually underſtood to relate to the corruptions of religion, and the latter to the depravation of morals. Not only all kinds of injuſtice and violence, but particularly bloodſhed and murder were frequent among them, as I think we may infer alſo from the very ſtrict prohibition of murder immediately after the deluge. Such practices evidently demonſtrate that men are deſtitute of all true ſenſe of religion; and their religion was as corrupt, as their morals were depraved. If credit may be given to the hiſtory of Sanchoniathon, idolatry began as early as in the ſecond generation. It is manifeſt from ſcripture (Gen. IV. 26.) that in the days of Enos, the third from Adam, "men began to call themſelves "by the name of the Lord." They were diſtinguiſhed (VI. 2.) by the name of "the ſons of God," or true worſhippers of God. Others therefore muſt have worſhipped other beings, or there would have been no room for ſuch a diſtinction. And this degeneracy of morals, this perverſion of religion drew down upon the world the judgment of the deluge.

DISSERTATION IV.

On the deluge, and the ſubſequent hiſtory of Noah.

WHEN God in his juſt judgment had determined to bring a deluge of waters upon the earth, he directed Noah (Gen. VI. 14.) how to build a veſſel, not like one of our modern ſhips, but more reſembling an ark or cheſt, for the preſervation of himſelf and his family and other creatures with him: and indeed it is reaſonable to believe, that a veſſel of that particular conſtruction, ſo fitted and prepared for the purpoſe, could not have been begun and completed without divine inſtruction and aſſiſtance.

It was ordered to be built (ver. 14.) "of gopher wood," which being mentioned only in this place of ſcripture, it is not eaſy to ſay what kind of wood it was. The Chaldee paraphraſt tranſlates it *cedar*, the Arabic *box*; but moſt probably (as Fuller and Bochart conjecture) it was what the Greeks call κυπαρισσος, *the cypreſs-tree*. For the termination being taken away, *cupar* and *gopher* differ very little in ſound; the cypreſs-tree is of a firm and durable ſubſtance, and very proper for the building of ſhips; and there was great plenty of them in the countries about Babylonia, in the neighbourhood whereof it is moſt likely that the ark was built. Different neſts and cabins were to be made in the ark for the reception and accommodation of the different creatures; and the better to preſerve it, it was to be thoroughly anointed within and without with pitch or bitumen, of which there was great plenty as well as of cypreſs-trees in the neighbourhood of Babylonia.

The dimenſions of the ark were alſo given, (ver. 15.) that "the "length of it ſhould be three hundred cubits, the breadth of it fifty "cubits, and the highth of it thirty cubits." A cubit according to

the lateſt and moſt accurate obſervations being ſomewhat more than a foot and three quarters, the ark muſt have been conſiderably above 525 feet long, 88 feet broad, and 53 feet high. The roof of it (ver. 16.) was to be raiſed a cubit high, with a gentle deſcent for the rain water to run off. Windows were alſo to be made in the ark for the benefit of light and the freer circulation of air, which windows, we may ſuppoſe, were capable of being ſhut and opened, as occaſions required. The door of the ark was to be ſet in the ſide thereof, at a ſufficient highth, we may conclude, above the waters: and for the conveniency of larger room and better ſtowage the whole fabric was to be divided into three ſtories one above another.

All other creatures under heaven (ver. 17, 18.) ſhould be deſtroyed, but with Noah would God "eſtabliſh his covenant," that he ſhould be preſerved alive, and from him ſhould deſcend the promiſed ſeed. He with his wife, and his three ſons with their wives ſhould enter into the ark, only "eight perſons" (1 Pet. III. 20.) out of all mankind, ſo that polygamy was not practiſed in Noah's family. He was farther ordered (ver. 19, 20, 21.) to bring into the ark with him two pairs at leaſt of every ſort of fowl, and of cattle, and of creeping things, for the preſervation of each ſpecies; and to lay in of all kinds of proviſions a ſufficient quantity for himſelf, and his family, and all the other creatures.

It was more particularly ordered, (Gen. VII. 2, 3.) that of every clean beaſt and fowl he ſhould take "ſeven pairs," of all unclean beaſts and fowls he ſhould take only "two pairs." In the text it is ſaid, "Of fowls alſo of the air by ſevens, the male and the female;" where the Hebrew copies are plainly imperfect; the Samaritan, the Greek and the Syriac ſupply the deficiency, "Alſo of clean fowls of "the air ſeven pairs, of unclean two pairs, the male and the female:" where by *clean* and *unclean* are not meant ſuch as fed not and ſuch as fed upon fleſh, neither are meant ſuch as might and ſuch as might not be eaten, but ſuch as might and ſuch as might not be offered in ſacrifice. Seven pairs of every beaſt and fowl which might be eaten, or ſeven pairs of every beaſt and fowl which were not carnivorous, would have added greatly

to

to the number of creatures to be admitted into the ark. The number is much leſſened by limiting it to ſuch as might be offered in ſacrifice. For we have ſeen that ſacrifices were in uſe before the flood, and when ſacrifices were firſt appointed, at the ſame time without doubt it was appointed what kinds of creatures might and what might not be offered in ſacrifice. After the flood too (Gen. VIII. 20.) "Noah took of every clean beaſt and of every clean fowl, and offered "burnt-offerings." Clean beaſts and clean fowls therefore are plainly ſuch as might have been offered for burnt-offerings: and what theſe were we may learn from the Levitical law, (Levit. I.) namely a bullock, a ſheep, a goat, a pair of turtle doves and two young pidgeons. And would God ſo far have countenanced and encouraged the diſtinction of clean and unclean creatures, if this diſtinction had been merely the effect of human ſuperſtition, and had not been originally made by divine appointment?

Noah (Gen. VI. 22.) diligently obſerved the divine directions: and thus (1 Pet. III. 20.) "the long-ſuffering of God waited in the days "of Noah, while the ark was a preparing." A conſiderable time muſt neceſſarily have been taken up in the preparing and building of ſuch a veſſel, and laying in ſufficient ſtores of all kinds of proviſions: but this forbearance wrought no repentance or reformation; the world neglected or deſpiſed the warning; ſo that God (Gen. VII. 1—4.) ordered Noah with his family and the other creatures to come into the ark, for "yet ſeven days," and the deluge ſhould begin, which ſhould deſtroy every living ſubſtance from off the face of the earth.

Noah (ver. 5—16.) obeyed accordingly; and within the week he with his wife, his three ſons with their wives, and all the other creatures in pairs, ſeven of clean and two of unclean, entered into the ark, as God had commanded. No art or contrivance of Noah could poſſibly have aſſembled ſo many different creatures; the ſame divine inſtinct, whereby (Jer. VIII. 7.) "the ſtork in the heaven, the tur-"tle, the crane, and the ſwallow know their appointed times," and migrate from one country to another, this ſame divine power cauſed

the

the different creatures to convene from different parts, to lay aſide their ferocity, and enter quietly into the ark together.

There they were all ſhut in according to the divine command: nor can you doubt of the capacity of the ark to contain them all, if you reflect that the moſt ſkilful naturaliſts upon examination find the number of the different ſpecies of creatures to be much ſmaller than was imagined; if you conſider alſo the bulk and dimenſions of the ark, that it was between five and ſix hundred feet long, near an hundred feet wide, and three ſtories high, with different cells and apartments in each ſtory for the lodgment of the different creatures; and you may conclude that their appetites were not very eager for want of their uſual air and exerciſe, and by reaſon of the unuſual motion of the ark upon the waves, ſo that leſs provender was required for their ſuſtenance than at other times. It appears evidently from the geometrical calculations of Buteo, Wilkins, and other learned philoſophers and mathematicians, that the capacity of the ark was abundantly ſufficient for all the creatures ſuppoſed to be lodged therein, even when the length of the cubit was reckoned to be no more than 18 inches: but the cubit being really near 22 inches, the ſolid contents of the ark muſt have been almoſt double to the former computation, and conſequently the whole capable of containing almoſt double the number of creatures. Of the two it may ſeem rather that creatures were wanting to fill the ark, than room to contain the creatures, though without doubt the number of the former and the meaſure of the latter were by the divine architect exactly proportioned the one to the other.

On the ſeventh day, (Gen. VII. 10.) as God had before declared, the deluge began, and ſurpriſed the world of the ungodly, who (Matt. XXIV. 38, 39.) "were eating and drinking, marrying and "giving in marriage, until the day that Noah entered into the ark, "and knew not until the flood came, and took them all away." It began (Gen. VII. 11.) in the ſecond month, the ſeventeenth day of "the month," when Noah was "in the ſix hundredth year" of his age. Some copies inſtead of "the ſeventeenth" have "the twenty "ſeventh day of the month," which reading is followed by the Seventy

and

and by Joſephus; but I prefer the common reading for a reaſon that will appear hereafter.

Whether the "ſecond month" is to be reckoned from the vernal or autumnal equinox, that is whether it was the ſecond month of the ſacred or civil year of the Hebrews, or in other words whether the deluge began in May or in November, is a queſtion that hath been controverted among chronologers and commentators. If the world was created in the ſpring, which ſuppoſition (as it was before obſerved) is the moſt agreeable both to reaſon and to tradition, the year muſt originally have commenced from that ſeaſon: but the ancient Egyptians reckoned the beginning of the year from the autumnal equinox; the Hebrews, who ſojourned ſo many years in Egypt, obſerved the ſame reckoning; but before their departure out of Egypt (Exod. XII. 2.) God altered or rather reſtored the beginning of the year from the autumnal to the vernal equinox; and which of theſe reckonings Moſes followed in this place is the queſtion.

Certainty is not to be attained; but it appears more probable, that Moſes made uſe of the computation, to which his kindred and nation had been moſt accuſtomed, and which they ſtill retained in civil affairs. It is alſo more probable, that the flood ſhould begin, and the rains ſhould continue for five months in winter than in ſummer, after Noah had gathered in the fruits of the preceding harveſt: and this too is the more general and prevailing opinion, which is always of ſome weight and authority, where better arguments are wanting. We may conclude therefore that the deluge began in the month of Marcheſvan anſwering to part of our October and part of November; and beginning on the ſeventeenth day of the month, it muſt conſequently have begun about the beginning of November.

Philoſophers have not a little puzzled and confounded themſelves and others in pretending to explain the cauſes of the deluge: but it muſt be reſolved, as the ſcripture reſolves it, into the immediate power of God. "Behold, I" ſaith God, (Gen. VI. 17.) "even I, "do bring a flood of waters upon the earth." It was the act of omnipotency, and we might almoſt as well pretend to work miracles as

to explain them by mechanical cauſes. But the ſcripture not only aſcribes the deluge to the divine power, but alſo deſcribes the means whereby it was effected, (Gen. VII. 11.) " breaking " up all the foun- " tains of the great deep, and opening the windows" or floodgates " of heaven." Here is nothing ſaid or implied of the creation of new waters, nothing of the tranſmutation of one element into another, nothing of the diſſolution of the form of the primæval earth which form never exiſted, nothing of the trajection of a comet which was more likely to produce a conflagration than a deluge. Other means were employed by the Supreme Being, and as we have ſeen were theſe two, the waters in the heavens above, and thoſe in the depth beneath.

The " great deep" is the great ocean and abyſs of waters under the earth communicating with the ocean; and " breaking up the foun- " tains of the great deep" is raiſing up the waters from their ſources, and making large apertures for them to flow out upon the earth. " Opening the windows of heaven" is cauſing all the water ſuſpended in the air or atmoſphere to deſcend in rain, in " cataracts" as the Greek tranſlates it, in ſpouts and torrents of rain, ſuch as ſometimes happen in hot countries, and occaſion a deluge in the places where they fall. How the waters below were raiſed up, and how thoſe above were poured down in ſuch quantities, our philoſophy cannot explain: but we may eaſily conceive and believe, that the ſame waters, which had covered the earth before, might overwhelm it again. The earth was once covered all with water, (Gen. I. 2.) " Darkneſs was upon the " face of the deep, and the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the " waters:" and the ſame hand, which removed them at the creation, might bring them on again at the deluge. For what the pſalmiſt ſaith of the earth is very true, (Pſal. XXIV. 2.) that " God hath founded " it upon the ſeas, and eſtabliſhed it upon the floods." It is an earth, as St. Peter expreſſeth it, (2 Pet. III. 5.) " conſiſting of water and in " the

(1) Sen. Nat. Quæſt. Lib. 3. Cap. 30. Ubi non humorem natura diſpoſuit, ut undique nos, cum voluiſſet, aggredi poſſet? Mentior, niſi eruentibus terram humor occurrit, et quoties nos avaritia aut aliqua cauſa penetrare altius cogit, erumpendi finis unda eſt. Adjice nunc, quod immanes ſunt in abdito lacus, et multum maris conditi, multum fluminum per operta labentium. Undique ergo erunt cauſæ diluvio, cum aliæ aquæ ſubinfluant terras, aliæ circumfluant, quæ diu coercitæ vincent

" the midſt of water." Even the heathens had juſt notions of the poſſibility of a deluge. Seneca (1) hath a very remarkable paſſage, which has often been alleged to this purpoſe. 'Where hath not nature diſ-'poſed moiſture to aſſault us on all ſides, whenever ſhe pleaſeth? 'They who dig up the earth meet with water every where. There 'are huge lakes which we do not ſee, much of the ſea that is hidden, 'many rivers which glide in ſecret places. Every where therefore 'are cauſes of a deluge, when ſome waters flow in under the earth, 'others flow round about it, which being long pent up overwhelm 'it, and join rivers with rivers, marſhes with pools. As our bodies 'diſſolve into ſweat, ſo the earth may melt, and without other cauſes 'may find within itſelf what may drown it. On a ſudden, every 'where, openly, ſecretly, from above, from beneath there may be 'an irruption of waters.' Which words, ſaith a learned commentator, (Biſhop Patrick) are written as if Seneca had been directed to make a commentary upon Moſes.

For forty days together the rain continued violent without intermiſſion, (Gen. VII. 12, 17, 18.) and the ark was lifted up from the ground, and was carried hither and thither, as the winds and the waves directed it. It rained afterwards, but with leſs violence; the ſubterranean waters alſo ſtill flowed out; and the inundation more and more increaſed and prevailed upon the earth. In the Hebrew original and in the Greek tranſlation (ver. 19.) the word is doubled, " the waters " prevailed greatly greatly," and we properly tranſlate it " the waters " prevailed exceedingly," to ſignify the greater and more exceeding increaſe of the waters. They continued indeed increaſing (ver. 20—24.) an hundred and fifty days, when they came to ſuch an highth, as to riſe fifteen cubits or 26 feet and more above the mountains. All the high hills under the whole heaven were covered, and every living creature was deſtroyed from the earth, Noah excepted, and thoſe who

vincent, et amnes amnibus jungent, paludibus ſtagna.—Quemadmodum corpora noſtra ad egeſtum venter exhaurit, quemadmodum eunt in ſudorem vires; ita tellus liquifiet, et aliis cauſis quieſcentibus, intra ſe, quo mergatur, inveniet.—Statim undique ex aperto, ex abdito, ſuperne, ab infimo, aquarum fiet irruptio.

who with him were preſerved alive in the ark. From whence it is evident, both that the earth was not, as ſome have imagined, a plain ſpherical ſurface, there being mountains before the flood; and alſo that the deluge was not partial and confined to a particular diſtrict or region, but univerſal and extended over the whole earth.

At the end of the hundred and fifty days (Gen. VIII. 1, 2, 3.) when the flood was come to the highth, and had fully executed the divine vengeance upon a wicked world, God manifeſted his remembrance of Noah and of the creatures in the ark with him, and his purpoſe of repleniſhing the earth again through their means, by reſtraining the eruption of the waters from beneath, by withholding the rain from above, and by cauſing a ſtrong drying wind to paſs over the earth. By theſe means the waters were abated: and (ver. 4.) in the ſeventh month, on the ſeven and twentieth day of the month, the ark reſted upon one of the mountains of Ararat. I ſay "on the ſeven "and twentieth day of the month," following herein the verſion of the Seventy and the Vulgar Latin, rather than the text, which ſaith "the ſeventeenth day of the month." For the deluge began "in the "ſecond month on the ſeventeenth day of the month;" it continued increaſing "an hundred and fifty days," which make exactly five months, every month at that time conſiſting of thirty days. The deluge therefore was at the highth "in the ſeventh month on the ſeven-"teenth day of the month," and conſequently the ark could not that day have reſted upon one of the mountains of Ararat; it was ten days after, "on the ſeven and twentieth day of the month," when the waters were in ſome meaſure abated. And this was the reaſon, which induced me before to agree with the Hebrew text rather than with the verſion of the Seventy and Joſephus, in placing the beginning of the deluge in the ſecond month *on the ſeventeenth* inſtead of *the ſeven and twentieth day* of the ſame month; as it induces me now to concur with the verſion of the Seventy and the Vulgar Latin rather than with the Hebrew text, in ſuppoſing the ark to have reſted upon

(2) Neque ſcripturâ multum differunt שבע ושמנה et שבע ולשה. Nam *Vau* et *Jod* in veteribus manuſcriptis litteræ ſunt tam ſimiles, ut ſæpiſſime permutentur. Et *Lamed* a *Tſade* fere ſolo cornu differt;

upon one of the mountains of Ararat in the ſeventh month *in the ſeven and twentieth* inſtead of *the ſeventeenth day* of the ſame month.

The mountains of *Ararat* are rendered the mountains of *Armenia* in the Vulgate and Syriac, of *Cardu* in the Chaldee, of *Carda* in the Arabic; and they are generally ſuppoſed to be the *Armenian* or *Gordiæan* mountains, that chain of mountains extending eaſtward from Armenia; nor is the ſuppoſition void of all probability of reaſon. For what wind there was during the deluge may reaſonably be believed to have been ſoutherly or weſterly, ſo that the ark muſt of courſe have been carried to the north-eaſt, but yet not carried very far as it was not of a ſtructure proper for cutting the water, but lay like a hull upon the waves without ſails or rigging. We may infer therefore that this mountain of Ararat was ſituated in the north-eaſtern part of Aſia, from whence Noah and his family deſcending into the plains on the ſouth, ſome of their progeny are ſaid afterwards (Gen. XI. 2.) to have "journeyed from the eaſt to the land of Shinar" or Aſſyria. And this is all that I think requiſite to be ſaid, or that can be ſaid with any probability concerning this mountain of Ararat.

The decreaſe of the waters (ver. 5.) was both gradual and continual, and in the tenth month, on the firſt day of the month, the tops of the mountains became viſible. Forty days after this (ver. 6, 7.) Noah ſent forth out of one of the windows of the ark a raven, a bold adventrous bird, by way of experiment, to ſee whether the waters were ſunk or abated. Forty days the violent rain had continued, and he might think this therefore a likely time for the waters to run off again. In the original text, in the Samaritan, in the Chaldee and Arabic it is ſaid that the raven *returned* to the ark; but the Greek interpreters, the Syriac, the Latin, and moſt of the eminent fathers and commentators ſay that he did *not return* any more. Here are great authorities on both ſides; but the latter reading, though ſo contrary in ſenſe to the other, yet in the Hebrew (2) is not very different in the form of the letters, and appears to be the better reading of the two. For if

fert: quod *Tſade* dextrum habet, et demiſſius; *Lamed* ſiniſtrum, et elatius. Sciunt quid velim, qui Rabbinorum lectioni aſſueverunt. Bocharti Hierozoic. Pars Poſt. Lib. 2. Cap. 13. Col. 212.

if the raven had returned, what occaſion had Noah to ſend forth a dove? or why did he not take the raven in unto him into the ark, as he did afterwards the dove? or why did he not ſend forth the ſame raven again, as he did afterwards the ſame dove again? It is not improperly expreſſed in our tranſlation, that the raven "went forth to and fro," flying hither and thither, "until the waters were dried up from off "the earth." He found perhaps in the higher grounds ſome of the carcaſes of thoſe who had periſhed in the deluge.

The raven not returning, Noah (ver. 8, 9.) ſent forth a dove, a bird of ſwift and ſtrong wing, accuſtomed to light and feed upon the ground, and to return home every evening from the moſt diſtant excurſions: but the dove, finding the earth ſtill covered with water, no place for feeding, none for reſting, returned to the ark, and Noah put forth his hand, and took her in again. "He ſtayed yet other ſeven "days" (ver. 10, 11.) before he ſent forth the dove a ſecond time, which implies that he had ſtayed ſeven days after the ſending forth of the raven before he ſent forth the dove the firſt time. After this ſecond diſmiſſion ſhe returned in the evening, bearing in her beak a ſmall and tender branch of an olive-tree, which tree, (3) it is well known, will bear leaves and floriſh under the water; whereby it became evident, that the flood was conſiderably abated, and had ſunk below the tops of the trees. After another week (ver. 12.) he ſent forth the dove a third time; but ſhe returned no more to the ark; a certain ſign that the earth was ſo far dried, as to afford convenient lodging and ſuſtenance for the birds and fowls.

About a month after this (ver. 13.) in the beginnnig of the enſuing year, in the firſt month, on the firſt day of the month, Noah removed the covering of the ark in order to look all around, and beheld that the waters were generally drained off, though the earth yet continued ſo damp and ſlimy that it was by no means fit and proper for the habitation of mankind. But by the latter end of the next month, (ver. 14—19.) in the ſecond month, on the ſeven and twentieth day of the month,

(4) Theophraſt. Hiſt. Plant. Lib. 4. Cap. 8. Plin. Nat. Hiſt. Lib. 13. Cap. 25. Bochart. ibid. Lib. 1. Cap. 6.

(4) Joſeph.

month, the earth was perfectly dried, ſo as to be fitted for the reception and accommodation of the different creatures. God therefore ordered Noah and his family to leave the ark, and to bring out with him all the other creatures, promiſing a bleſſing to him and to them for the ſpeedy repeopling and repleniſhing of the new earth. They received the order with gratitude and gladneſs, and quitted the ark accordingly. It is ſaid in the text (ver. 19.) that "every beaſt, every "creeping thing, and every fowl, and whatſoever creepeth upon the "earth," but there is a better order of the words which the Samaritan copy exhibits, "Every beaſt, every fowl, and every thing that "creepeth upon the earth after their kinds, went forth out of the "ark."

Such is the hiſtory of the deluge, its beginning, progreſs, highth, decreaſe, and end, the times and dates whereof may be thus ſummed up together. It began "in the ſecond month," that is Marcheſvan anſwering to part of October and part of November, "on the ſeven-"teenth day of the month," that is about the ſecond of November. The violent rain laſted forty days, and the waters continued increaſing "an hundred and fifty days," which are exactly five months, reckoning as the ancients reckoned thirty days to every month; ſo that the flood was at the highth "in the ſeventh month," that is Niſan anſwering to part of March and part of April, "on the ſeventeenth day "of the month," that is about the ſecond of April. From this time the waters decreaſed, and in the ſame month, "on the ſeven and "twentieth day of the month," that is about the twelfth of April, the ark reſted upon one of the mountains of Ararat. The waters decreaſing continually, "in the tenth month," that is Tamuz anſwering to part of June and part of July, "on the firſt day of the month," that is about the ſixteenth of June, the tops of the mountains became viſible. Forty days after this, namely "in the eleventh month," that is Ab anſwering to part of July and part of Auguſt, "on the tenth "day of the month," that is about the twenty fifth of July, Noah ſent forth the raven. A week after this, that is about the ſecond of Auguſt, he ſent forth the dove. After another week, that is about the

the ninth of Auguſt, he ſent forth the dove the ſecond time. After a third week, that is about the ſixteenth of Auguſt, he ſent forth the dove the third time. A month afterwards, namely "in the firſt "month," that is Tiſri anſwering to part of September and part of October, "on the firſt day of the month," that is about the ſixteenth of September, the waters were generally drained off. And "in the "ſecond month," that is Marcheſvan again anſwering to part of October and part of November, "on the ſeven and twentieth day of "the month," that is about the twelfth of November, Noah and his family came out of the ark. So that Noah was in the ark 370 days or ſomewhat more than a year; and entered into the new earth in the ſix hundredth and firſt year of his age, in the year of the world 1657, and before Chriſt about 2347 years.

The very firſt thing that Noah did after his coming out of the ark was to perform the duties of religion, and to return his thanks to almighty God for his wonderful preſervation. For this purpoſe (Gen. VIII. 20.) he built an altar, and offered thereon burnt-offerings of every clean beaſt and of every clean fowl, the ſame we may ſuppoſe which were afterwards appointed for burnt-offerings by the Levitical law, (Levit. I.) a bullock, a ram, a goat, a pair of turtle-doves or two young pigeons. It is a figurative expreſſion of the hiſtorian, ſpeaking of the deity after the manner of men, (ver. 21.) that "the Lord "ſmelled a ſweet ſavor," the plain meaning whereof is, that the ſacrifice was acceptable to God, which is a farther proof of the divine inſtitution of ſacrifices. For ſo good a man as Noah, in the very firſt act of religion, after ſuch a ſignal deliverance, would hardly have been guilty of any will-worſhip or ſuperſtition, would hardly have preſumed to offer ſuch things in ſacrifice of his own accord, and much leſs would God have accepted them, or have teſtified his approbation of them.

God having alſo determined within himſelf (ver. 21, 22.) that he would never more curſe the ground in like manner; though he plainly foreſaw the depravity and corruption of man's nature from his birth, yet he would never more deſtroy the whole race with another deluge,

but

but would cauſe the times of the day and the ſeaſons of the year to return in their regular courſe; having, I ſay, determined theſe things within himſelf, he took this opportunity of declaring them. He bleſſed Noah and his ſons (Gen. IX. 1, 2.) in the ſame manner that he did Adam at the creation, with the ſame fruitfulneſs in the propagation of their ſpecies, with the ſame dominion over the inferior creatures.

He farther granted to them the privilege of feeding upon the fleſh of animals as well as upon herbs and fruits of the earth. At the creation a vegetable diet only was allowed, (Gen. I. 29.) "Every herb "bearing ſeed, and every tree, to you it ſhall be for meat." But after the fall and the conſequent changes in nature, animal food might become in ſome meaſure neceſſary, and might therefore be tacitly permitted, if not expreſly granted. Some think the right implied in the dominion given to man over the inferior creatures. When our firſt parents were directed to make uſe of the ſkins of beaſts for cloathing, it is probable that the beaſts were not ſlain for this purpoſe only, but alſo for food or ſacrifice or both. When ſacrifices were firſt inſtituted, it is reaſonable to believe that they were not all made whole burnt-offerings, ſome parts were reſerved to be eaten by the worſhippers. But whether leave was given or only taken, I make no doubt that the practice of eating fleſh prevailed before the flood: and after the flood, when perhaps it was become more neceſſary, an expreſs grant was made of it to mankind. (ver. 3.) "Every moving thing that liveth "ſhall be meat for you; even as the green herb have I given you all "things." Here is no vain diſtinction of meats, but men are left at liberty to partake of what they think proper.

One reſtriction only is laid upon them, that they ſhould abſtain from eating of blood: (ver. 4.) "But fleſh with the life thereof, "which is the blood thereof, ſhall ye not eat:" by which reſtriction it ſhould ſeem, that before the flood ſome men had even eaten of raw fleſh, as Maimonides and others conceive. Empedocles, Plutarch, Servius, as cited by Grotius, ſpeak in the ſame manner of the blood's being the life; and blood is forbidden, as the firſt ſtep to cruelty and fuel to the paſſions, and as it was to be poured out for an atonement

upon the altar. Being ſet apart for ſuch ſacred purpoſes, it was not to be applied to common uſes. Wholſomeneſs itſelf would prohibit the eating of blood, if there was none other conſideration: but the principal conſideration is to guard againſt cruelty and murder.

Murder having been frequent before the flood, for as we have ſeen (Gen. VI. 11.) "the earth was filled with violence," it was given (ver. 5, 6.) as an univerſal law to mankind, that Whoſoever ſhould commit wilful murder, ſhould be puniſhed with death, no leſs puniſhment being adequate to the crime of deſtroying a creature made in the image of God, and appointed the lord of the inferior creation. Life is required for life, not only at the hand of man, but even at the hand of beaſt. Which was wiſely enacted, to ſhow the value and importance of the life of man, to puniſh the owners of ſuch noxious beaſts, to admoniſh others to be more cautious, and to prevent the like calamities for the future. God was ſo deſirous of the preſervation and increaſe of mankind, that (ver. 7.) he repeated his command to them to multiply in the earth, and bleſſed them for this purpoſe.

Beſides thus ſecuring the life of individuals, a general aſſurance was given to mankind (ver. 8—11.) that there ſhould be no more a flood to deſtroy the whole earth, though ſometimes inundations might happen in particular places. This was as gracious, as it was neceſſary to quiet the fears and apprehenſions, which men after one deluge would naturally have of another, unleſs relieved by ſome ſuch aſſurance; and the benefits of it extended not only to men but even to beaſts, "from all that go out of the ark to every beaſt of the earth," from all who now go out of the ark to all who ſhall hereafter deſcend from them. As a pledge or token of this covenant, (ver. 12—15.) God appointed the rainbow, which appearing in the cloud might revive the remembrance of this promiſe to perpetual generations.

Whether the rainbow appeared before the flood or not, is a diſquiſition of little importance. Poſſibly it might not have appeared, for it is not every ſituation of the ſun, nor every configuration of a cloud that will exhibit a rainbow: but more probably it did appear, the ſame cauſes uſually producing the ſame effects, and yet might very properly

properly be made a ſign or memorial of the covenant between God and man; as a ſtone, that is of no ſignification in itſelf, may yet be placed as a land-mark, and ſerve for the boundary of different mens poſſeſſions. But the rainbow ſhoweth of itſelf, that though it be cloudy and rainy in one part of heaven, it is ſtill bright and clear in another, and is therefore the more proper emblem, that as the rain is but partial, the deluge cannot be univerſal.

At the ſame time that God appointed the rainbow for a ſign or token, he cauſed one to appear in full glory and ſplendor, in confirmation of his promiſe. For what we read (ver. 16.) "And the bow "ſhall be in the cloud, and I will look upon it, that I may remem- "ber the everlaſting covenant between God and every living creature," ſhould rather, according to the juſt obſervation of father Houbigant, have been rendered, "And the bow was in the cloud, and appeared "for a memorial of the everlaſting covenant between God and every "living creature of all fleſh that is upon the earth." This verſe is the narration of Moſes, as appears by the name of *God* uſed in the third perſon. The rainbow appeared at this very time; and then the next verſe follows properly, (ver. 17.) "And God ſaid unto Noah, "This is the token of the covenant, which I have eſtabliſhed between "me and all fleſh that is upon the earth."

You will be the more inclined to believe this account of the deluge, if you reflect that it reſteth not only upon the credit and authority of Moſes, but is alſo confirmed by the concurrent teſtimonies of heathen authors, by the hiſtories and traditions of almoſt all nations. Beroſus, the Chaldæan hiſtorian, following the moſt ancient writings, as (4) Joſephus affirms, hath related the ſame things as Moſes, of the deluge, and of mankind periſhing in it, and likewiſe of the ark, wherein Nochus the reſtorer of the human race was preſerved, being carried to the ſummit of the Armenian mountains. Hieronymus the Egyptian, who wrote the antiquities of the Phœnicians, Nicolaus the Damaſcene, and many others mention theſe things, as the ſame Joſephus

(4) Joſephus contra Apion. Lib. 1. Sect. 19. Edit. Hudſon.

phus (5) teſtifies. A fragment is alſo preſerved of (6) Abydenus, an ancient Aſſyrian hiſtorian, wherein mention is made of the deluge being foretold before it happened, and of the birds being ſent forth three different times to ſee whether the earth was dried, and of the ark being driven into Armenia. He and others agree with Moſes in the main circumſtances, but in leſſer particulars ſometimes adulterate the truth with fabulous mixtures. Alexander Polyhiſtor, another ancient hiſtorian, is cited by (7) Cyril of Alexandria together with Abydenus, and both to the ſame purpoſe. He ſaith that in the reign of Xiſuthrus (the ſame as Noah) was the great deluge, that Xiſuthrus was ſaved, Saturn having predicted to him what ſhould happen, and that he ought to build an ark, and together with the fowls, and creeping things, and cattle, to ſail in it. Plato (8) in his third book of laws mentions the great deluge, wherein the cities were deſtroyed, and uſeful arts were loſt; and in his Timæus ſuggeſts that there was a great and univerſal deluge before the particular inundations celebrated by the Grecians. He plainly thought that there had been ſeveral deluges, but one greater than the reſt. Moreover, it was the tradition of the Egyptians, as (9) Diodorus informs us, that moſt living creatures periſhed in the deluge, which was in Deucalion's time. Ovid's (1) deſcription of Deucalion's flood is ſo well known and remembered by every ſcholar, that it is needleſs to point out its identity with Noah's flood to any one who hath received the leaſt tincture of letters. Plutarch (2) in his treatiſe of the ſagacity of animals obſerves, that a dove was ſent out by Deucalion, which entring into the ark again was a ſign of the continuance of the flood, but afterwards flying away was a ſign of ſerene weather. Homer alſo plainly alludes to the particular of the rainbow, by (3) calling it a *ſign* or *token* to men, τερας μεροπων ανθρωπων.

Lucian mentions (4) more than once the great deluge in Deucalion's time, and the ark which preſerved the ſmall remnant of human kind.

(5) Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. 1. Cap. 3.
(6) Abyd. in Euſeb. Præp. Evang. Lib. 9. Cap. 12. Edit. Vigeri.
(7) Cyril contra Jul. Lib. 1. p. 8. Edit. Spanhemii.
(8) Plato de Leg. Lib. 3. p. 677. Tom. 2. Timæus, p. 23. Tom. 3. Edit. Serrani.
(9) Diod. Sic. Lib. 1. p. 10. Edit. Rhodomani.
(1) Ovid. Metamorph. Lib. 1.

(2) Plutarch.

kind. He deſcribes alſo the particulars of Deucalion's flood after the example of Noah's flood: the preſent race of men was not the firſt, but the former generation was all deſtroyed: this ſecond race ſprung from Deucalion, the former was a wicked and profligate generation, for which reaſon this great calamity befell them: the earth gave forth abundance of water, great ſhowers of rain fell, and the rivers increaſed, and the ſea ſwelled to ſuch a degree, that all things were water, and all men periſhed: Deucalion alone was left for a ſecond generation, on account of his prudence and piety, and he was preſerved in this manner: he built a great ark, and entered into it with his wife and children, and to him ſwine, and horſes, and lions, and ſerpents, and all other creatures which the earth maintains, came in pairs: he received them all, and they hurt him not; on the contrary there was by divine inſtinct great friendſhip among them, and they ſailed all together in the ſame ark, as long as the water prevailed. At the beginning and in the concluſion, he profeſſeth to have received this account from the Grecians, ſo that he cannot be ſuſpected of borrowing it from ſcripture.

As Dr. Hyde informs us (5), the orthodox among the ancient Perſians believed a deluge, and that it was univerſal, and overwhelmed the whole earth. The Americans alſo, the inhabitants of the Weſt as well as of the Eaſt Indies, (6) had ſome tradition preſerved among them of an univerſal deluge: and indeed what nation is there that is without all traces and memorials of it? The hiſtory of moſt nations terminates there, and aſcends no higher, if ſo high. But the ſtrongeſt teſtimony of all is the atteſtation of the whole earth to the truth of the deluge. The highths, the depths of the earth every where exhibit ocular proofs of the remains of the deluge, in the ſhells and bones and ſkeletons of ſea-fiſhes and ſea-monſters, found at the greateſt diſtances from the ſea, in the higheſt mountains as well as in the deepeſt ca-

(2) Plutarch. de Solertia Animalium, p. 968. Tom. 2. Edit. Paris. 1624.

(3) Iliad. XI. 28.

(4) Lucian in Timon, p. 59. De Saltatione, p. 930. Tom. 1. et De Syria Dea, p. 882, 883. Tom. 2. Edit. Benedicti.

(5) Hyde Hiſt. Relig. Vet. Perſ. Cap. 10. p. 171, Edit. Oxon. 1700.

(6) Vide Grotium de Verit. Chriſtianæ Relig. Lib. 1. Sect. 16. J. de Laet. de Orig. Gent. Amer. Lib. 1. p. 105. Edit. Elzevir.

verns; all which afford a demonſtrative argument of an univerſal deluge, as they cannot be ſo well accounted for in any other way and manner.

The mountains of Ararat lying, as we obſerved, to the north-eaſt of Babylonia, I think little or no doubt can be made, that when Noah deſcended from the ſummit where the ark had reſted, he deſcended into the plains on the ſouth, and conſequently ſettled in ſome of the countries which lay eaſtward of the river Tigris and of Babylonia; for afterwards (Gen. XI. 2.) when his deſcendents came into the land of Shinar or Babylonia, it is ſaid expreſly that "they journeyed from "the eaſt." That this country was China, and that Noah was Fohi the firſt king of the Chineſe, is more than I can eaſily admit, though ſeveral learned men have aſſerted it. How much ſoever the learning and antiquities of the Chineſe may have been magnified, yet ſurely little credit and regard ought to be paid to the records and hiſtory of a nation, ſo very ignorant and illiterate, that they have not yet attained to the uſe of an alphabet. Neither have we better authority for adopting the notion of Noah's being the Janus of the ancients, or of Noah and his three ſons being the ſame with Saturn and his three ſons. Learned heads have ſometimes a ſtrong affectation for paradox, ſee great likeneſſes where are little or none, from a ſimilarity of circumſtances preſently infer an identity of perſon, and can even maintain a falſehood with ingenuity.

Wherever was the country of Noah's ſettlement and habitation, there (Gen. IX. 20.) for the better ſupport and comfort of life he applied himſelf to agriculture, and planted a vineyard: but it doth not therefore follow that he was the firſt maker of wine any more than that he was the firſt huſbandman. All that we can allege for certain is, that this is the firſt mention of wine which occurs in hiſtory; and it is ſome proof of the novelty of the liquor, or at leaſt of his inexperience of it, that the good old patriarch was betrayed into a fit of drunkenneſs, and thereby expoſed himſelf an uncommon ſpectacle to his children. (ver. 21—27.) The conſequences of this incident, his ſleeping uncovered within his tent, for probably cities and houſes were not

yet

yet built, the different behaviour of his ſons as he lay in that condition, his juſt reſentment when he was awaked, the divine inſpiration whereby he was enabled to foretel the fates and fortunes of his poſterity, having been largely diſcuſſed in another work, I will not trouble the reader with a repetition of them in this place, but only refer him to the Diſſertations on the Prophecies.

In the country where Noah ſettled, there in all probability he remained; for after this no more mention is made of his name in hiſtory: and the name of ſo conſiderable a perſon as the ſecond father of the human race would hardly have been omitted, if he had had any ſhare in the ſubſequent tranſactions, the tranſmigration from the eaſt into the land of Shinar or Babylonia, the conſtruction of the tower of Babel, and the diſperſion of mankind. He lived (ver. 28, 29.) 350 years after the flood, and died at the age of 950 years in the year of the world 2006 and before Chriſt about 1998 years. And after this we meet with no more ſuch inſtances of longævity, the life of man grew ſhorter and ſhorter by degrees, till it was reduced to the ſtandard where it remains at preſent.

DISSERTATION V.

On the confuſion of language, the diſperſion of mankind, and origin of nations.

IT being the deſign of providence that the whole earth ſhould be peopled by the deſcendents of Noah, let us conſider the method that was taken of haſtening this great event, which otherwiſe would have been more ſlowly accompliſhed. The hiſtory of this event requires

quires to be treated with the greater accuracy, as the confuſion at Babel hath begotten a confuſion of opinions, ſcarce any two writers of note and eminence agreeing entirely in the ſame explanation. Moſes firſt deſcribes the diviſion of mankind into ſeparate nations, and then accounts for it, in what manner and by what means it was brought to paſs; but we will follow the order of time, firſt trace out the cauſe and occaſion, afterwards relate the effects and conſequences.

All mankind were originally of one and the ſame language. In the original it is (Gen. XI. 1.) "The whole earth was of one lip and of "the ſame words." So *the earth* is put for the inhabitants of the earth, (1 Kings X. 24.) "All the earth ſought to Solomon, to hear his "wiſdom;" which is thus expreſſed in the parallel place, (2 Chron. IX. 23.) "All the kings of the earth ſought the preſence of Solo-"mon, to hear his wiſdom:" And ſo *lip* is uſed for *language* ſeveral times in the Old Teſtament, and even by St. Paul in the New; (1 Cor. XIV. 21.) "In the law it is written, With men of other "tongues and other lips will I ſpeak unto this people;" which is a citation from Iſaiah. That the fact was really ſo, that all mankind had at firſt only one language, is atteſted alſo by (1) heathen authors: and indeed it is much eaſier to account for the continuance of one and the ſame language, than for the production of ſeveral different languages.

Adam was inſtructed and enabled by God to form a language, and to give things their proper names; (Gen. II. 19.) "and whatſoever "Adam called every living creature, that was the name thereof." This language, we may be certain, he taught and explained to his children, and they again to their children. Adam lived 243 years after the birth of Methuſelah, Methuſelah lived near 600 years after the birth of Noah; ſo that a language could not well be loſt, which was conveyed in a manner through three perſons from the beginning of the world to the deluge. The ſame language, which Noah and his ſons talked before the deluge, they would alſo talk after the deluge;

(1) Sibylla apud Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. 1. Cap. 4. Sect. 3. Edit. Hudſon. Abydenus apud Euſeb. Præp. Evang. Lib. 9. Sect. 14. Edit. Vigeri.

(2) Beroſus

luge; and they were all living at the time of the confuſion of language, and probably lived many years after. It is no wonder therefore, that the primitive language ſubſiſted ſo many years; it would have been a greater wonder, if it had failed during the longer lives of the patriarchs; ſince there have been languages (the Greek and Arabic for inſtance) which have floriſhed as long, even during the ſhorter lives of men, and amidſt a variety of other languages. No doubt then can poſſibly remain of the continued uſe of the ſame language from the creation to the building of the tower of Babel; and now let us conſider how the change was effected, and divers languages were introduced into the world.

Noah, as we have ſeen before, deſcending from the place where the ark had reſted upon one of the mountains of Ararat in the north-eaſtern part of Aſia, came and ſettled in the country which lay to the ſouth of that mountain. An extraordinary bleſſing having been given to his family for the better repleniſhing of the earth, we may reaſonably believe that they increaſed and multiplied abundantly in virtue of the divine benediction. In proportion as they increaſed and multiplied, they wanted more room, and (ver. 2.) ſpread farther and farther from the eaſt, till at length they came into the land of Shinar or Babylonia. I ſay *the land of Shinar or Babylonia*, becauſe in this very book, in the foregoing chapter (ver. 10.) "Babel" or "Babylon" is ſaid to be in "the land of Shinar." "The land of Shinar" in the Chaldee verſion is "the land of Babylon." In the book of Joſhua (VII. 21.) "a garment of Shinar" is "a Babyloniſh garment." In the Greek verſion of Iſaiah and Zechariah, "Shinar" (Iſ. XI. 11.) is "Baby-"lonia, the land of Shinar" (Zech. V. 11.) is "the land of "Babylon." And in the book of Daniel (I. 1, 2.) Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon is ſaid to have carried the veſſels of the houſe of God "into the land of Shinar to the houſe of his god," that is to the temple of Belus in Babylon, as (2) Beroſus a heathen hiſtorian informs us.

As

(2) Beroſus apud Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. 10. Cap. 11. Sect. 1. Edit. Hudſon.

(3) Strabo

As men came "from the eaſt" to the land of Shinar, the land of Shinar or Babylonia muſt have lain to the weſt of Noah's ſettlement and habitation, but probably at no very great diſtance. It is moſt credible that Noah himſelf with ſome others remained there in the eaſt where he had fixed and ſettled. For if his age would not have hindered him from going upon new expeditions and ſeeking out new adventures, yet we can hardly believe, either that ſuch an eminent preacher of righteouſneſs ſhould ſo little know and regard the will of heaven as to concur with the reſt of mankind in their abſurd and impious project, or that ſuch a venerable father of human race ſhould have ſo little weight and authority among his own children and deſcendents as not to be able to reſtrain them from it.

But though Noah was not of the party, yet it was not a detached colony of Ham's or any other family, but a multitude of all the families of Shem Ham and Japheth, the greater part of mankind that were aſſembled together. For all mankind being ſpoken of in the words immediately preceding, it would be a ſtrange violation of grammar to ſay that "they journeyed" from the eaſt, if only a ſmall party or ſeparate family had gone forth upon this expedition, and not the major part of all families, the bulk of mankind had extended to the land of Shinar.

It is expreſſed with the greateſt propriety, that they found "a plain" in the land of Shinar, for this country was remarkably plain and even, a ſea of land as we may ſay, and is by (3) Strabo and Cicero compared to the ſea, where all things before behind and around are level and open to the proſpect, without hills or woods or any eminences to obſtruct the view and hinder celeſtial obſervations. They were invited alſo by the plenty and abundance of the place, for it was rich and fruitful beyond compariſon. Pliny (4) recommends it as the moſt fertile country of all the eaſt. Herodotus (5) deſcribes its fertility as incredible to thoſe who have never ſeen it. Other authors ſpeak of it in the ſame manner: and Paradiſe, the garden of Eden, the ſeat of our

(3) Strabo, Lib. 2. p. 109. Edit. Amſtel. 1707. Cicero de Divinat. I. 42.

(4) Plin. Nat. Hiſt. Lib. 6. Cap. 30. Edit. Harduin.

(5) Herod.

our firſt parents, having been in this country, it is the leſs to be wondered at, that men ſhould be deſirous again of fixing there and extending no farther.

With this intent (ver. 3, 4.) they ſet about building a city and a lofty tower, and there being no rocks or quarries of ſtone in that low flat country but plenty of clay, they prepared and burned their bricks, and for the cement they made uſe of aſphaltus or bitumen, a ſlimy pitchy ſubſtance, with which the place abounded. The text expreſſeth it, that "they had brick for ſtone, and ſlime had they for morter;" where in the Hebrew the words differ very little, as if we ſhould ſay they had *ſlime* for *lime*, they had חמר *Chemar* natural ſlime for חומר *Chomer* artificial lime or morter. Moſt ancient authors, who have occaſion to ſpeak of Babylon, (6) hiſtorians, poets, geographers, architects, agree with Moſes, that the walls and the famous tower thereof were built with burnt bricks cemented by this aſphaltus or bitumen, which they deſcribe as a liquid ſubſtance, thrown out of the earth together with the ſprings of water, and found floting upon the lakes and rivers, and aſſert that mixed with bricks it rendered them harder and ſtronger than any kind of ſtone and iron.

Not that we ſhould conceive of this city and of this tower, that they were the very ſame which afterwards were ſo celebrated in hiſtory; theſe were built in a ruder manner, when arts and architecture were yet in their infancy; theſe were only the foundation and the beginning. When arts were more advanced, and monarchies were more eſtabliſhed, great alterations and additions, great inlargements and improvements were made, begun probably by Nimrod, carried on perhaps by Semiramis, and completed by Nebuchadnezzar, till at length Babylon became one of the wonders of the world. However theſe were far from being inconſiderable works, ſince the greater part of mankind then born into the world were employed in them, and they propoſed

(5) Herod. Lib. 1. Cap. 192, 193. Edit. Gale.

(6) See Herodotus, Ariſtophanes, Theocritus, Beroſus, Ariſtæus, Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, Dion, Suidas, &c. among the Greeks, Propertius, Ovid, Lucan, Martial, Pliny, Curtius, Juſtin, Vitruvius, Ammianus, &c. among the Latins cited by Bochart. Phaleg. Lib. 1. Cap. 11.

propoſed to build " a city and a tower whoſe top might reach unto " heaven," that is an exceeding high tower, by a figure not unuſual both in ſacred and profane authors. So we read in ſcripture (Deut. I. 28.) of " cities great and walled up to heaven," (IX. 1.) of " cities " great and fenced up to heaven," and (Pſal. CVII. 26.) of ſhips in a ſtorm " mounting up to the heaven, and going down again to the depths." So mention is made in (7) Homer, of a tree " extending to " heaven," and of a rock with its pointed top " reaching to heaven."

If their deſign had been, as (8) Abydenus ſuggeſts, to ſcale heaven, from which ridiculous notion aroſe the fable of the giants piling mountains upon mountains in order to invade the gods; or if it had been, as (9) Joſephus imagins, to get above the reach of another deluge, they certainly took very wrong meaſures, and, we may ſuppoſe, would rather have erected their tower on the top of the higheſt mountain than in a low watry plain.

But they themſelves can beſt inform us of their own intention, and we hear them ſaying one to another, " And let us make us a name, " leſt we be ſcattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth." Some of the rabbins expound it, " Let us make us a god;" having raiſed a temple, they were for making an idol to inhabit it: but the word שם *Shém a name* never ſignifies an idol or falſe god; and when applied to the true God, it is with an article prefixed, or ſome epithet of diſtinction, as (Levit. XXIV. 11, 16.) " the name, the name of the " Lord," and (Deut. XXVIII. 58.) " this glorious and fearful name " THE LORD THY GOD;" but barely *a name* never carries any ſuch ſignification. Neither is there any connection between " Let " us make us a god," and " leſt we be ſcattered abroad," for their making of an idol could never prevent or hinder their diſperſion. Neither is there any reaſon to believe, that all mankind had already lapſed into idolatry, while Noah and his ſons were living. It could not therefore have been their deſign at that time to build a temple and

(7) Homeri Odyſſ. V. 239. XII. 73.
(8) Abydenus apud Euſeb. Præp. Evang. Lib. 9. Sect. 14. Edit. Vigeri.
(9) Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. 1. Cap. 4. Sect. 2. Edit. Hudſon.
(1) Perizonii Origines Babylon. Cap. 11 et 12.

and to make an idol, though the tower might be perverted to that uſe afterwards, and it appears to have been made the temple of Belus, which Belus moſt probably was Nimrod if not ſome one later, but Nimrod was then living and but a young man, and could not be worſhipped as a god till after his death.

But this paſſage is moſt uſually expounded, as if they had a double end in view, the firſt to gratify their vanity and obtain a name of glory and renown, the ſecond to hold themſelves cloſe together and hinder their diſperſion. But if this had been the purport of the ſentence, it would in all probability have been of a different conſtruction; inſtead of "let us make us" it would have been "to make us," and inſtead of "leſt we be ſcattered" it would have been "and to "hinder us from being ſcattered;" "Let us build us a city and a "tower, whoſe top may reach unto heaven, to make us a name, and "to hinder us from being ſcattered abroad upon the face of the whole "earth." There is not a ſufficient connection in this place alſo between the antecedent and the conſequent, between "let us make us "a name," and "leſt we be ſcattered:" and therefore the Greek and Latin interpreters, to improve the conſtruction as they thought, have given a wrong ſenſe to the word *leſt*, and have falſely tranſlated it *before* contrary to its proper ſignification; "and let us make us a name "before we be ſcattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth." Others have propoſed to inſert the words "and let us make us a name" in a parentheſis, and to refer the words following "leſt we be ſcat-"tered," &c. to thoſe going before, as a reaſon for their building ſuch a city and ſuch a tower, "Let us build us a city and a tower, "whoſe top may reach unto heaven, (and let us make us a name) "leſt we be ſcattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth."

But if with (1) Perizonius and other learned men we take the Hebrew word שם *Shêm* in the ſenſe of the Greek word σημα *Sêma* which probably was derived from it, and underſtand by it *a ſign*, *a monument*, *a land-mark*, the ſyntax will be no longer embaraſſed, and the

12. Toſtatus Abulenſis in locum. Lamy de Tabernaculo, p. 222. Biſhop Pearce's Reply to Dr. Middleton, p. 38, &c. Second Reply, p. 37.

the ſenſe becomes clear and obvious. It is true that the word *Shém a name* is never uſed in the ſenſe of *a ſign*, unleſs it be in a text of Iſaiah, (LV. 13.) where both words are joined together as ſynonimous terms, " It ſhall be to the Lord for a name, for an everlaſting ſign " that ſhall not be cut off." Aben Ezra comprehends both words and both ſenſes in his expoſition of this paſſage, for he ſays, ' It was ' their purpoſe and meaning to build a great city for their habitation, ' and a high tower for *a ſign* and *a name* and *a praiſe*; for *a ſign*, ' that going abroad as ſhepherds they might know the place of their ' city again," &c. High towers are often raiſed for marks and directions both by ſea and at land; and we read particularly of Uzziah king of Judah (2 Chron. XXVI. 10.) that " he built towers in the " deſert, for he had much cattle both in the low country and in the " plains," with intent doubtleſs that his herdſmen with the cattle grazing far afield might by the help of theſe towers more eaſily find their way home again, and ſecure a retreat in caſe of any danger.

According to this interpretation, the great object, which the deſcendents of Noah had in view, was to prevent their diſperſion; and for this purpoſe they propoſed to build a city and an exceeding high tower, and to make this tower a ſign and landmark for their direction, that whenever they made any excurſions, whether in feeding their cattle, or in hunting, or upon any other occaſion, they might ſtill ſeeing the tower from every part be the better enabled to return to their own city, the place of their fixed abode, where they had determined to live all together, and not to ſeparate for any long time or to any great diſtance.

But if this was all that was intended, you may perhaps ſay, where was the great offenſe, that their language ſhould be confounded, and they themſelves be ſcattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth? Yes, there was great offenſe; it was, as the Wiſdom of Solomon calleth it (X. 5.) " a wicked conſpiracy;" it was, as I ſaid before, both an *abſurd* and *impious* project: *abſurd*, becauſe it was attempting what was really impoſſible, to hold all mankind together in one government or ſociety; as they increaſed and multiplied, they muſt in time have

ſeparated

ſeparated and divided, whether they would or not: *impious*, becauſe it was in ſome meaſure oppoſing the will of heaven, and diſobeying the great command that had been given them, to "repleniſh the earth." They could not totally fruſtrate or defeat the courſe of nature, but they might greatly obſtruct and retard it; and the matter was certainly worthy of the particular interpoſition of providence, not ſo much to puniſh their fault, as to prevent the evil conſequences of it, and accelerate the population of the whole earth.

It is repreſented indeed as a very particular interpoſition: (ver. 5—9.) "the Lord coming down," with the angels according to the Arabic verſions, "to ſee the city and the tower, which the children of "men builded," not Nimrod, or the family of Ham, or any particular family, but the children of men in general: "the Lord" ſpeaking and declaring his purpoſe to the other divine perſons, with ſomething of the ſame ſolemnity as at the creation: "the Lord confound-"ing their language that they could not underſtand one another's "ſpeech," and thereby compelling them to deſiſt from their building: "the Lord ſcattering them abroad from thence upon the face "of all the earth."

The whole, you ſee, is repreſented as the immediate act of the Lord, and we may be certain the deity would not have been introduced thus upon the ſtage, for the production of any ordinary event, but for the notification of ſome ſignal miracle; and a miracle is never wrought but for ſome great end and deſign. As the main end propoſed by theſe builders was to hold all together in one government or ſociety, ſo it appears to have been the great deſign of providence to divide them into ſeveral colonies for the more ſpeedy repleniſhing of the earth. An additional reaſon, as (2) Joſephus intimates, might be to prevent thoſe quarrels and wars, which would inevitably have riſen among them, when they came to be ſtraitened for room and other conveniences; the more vacant ſpace they poſſeſſed, the leſs opportunity or occaſion they would have to contend about their rights and properties.

A

(2) Joſephi Antiq. Lib. 1. Cap. 4. Sect. 1. Edit. Hudſon. See alſo Le Clerc on Gen. XI. 7.

(3) Clericus

A farther reaſon is implied in the divine declaration in the text, " And the Lord ſaid, Behold, the people is one, and they have all " one language; and this they begin to do," this is their firſt attempt; " and now nothing will be reſtrained from them, which they " have imagined to do;" if they ſucceed in this, they will be reſtrained in none of their own vain imaginations; the greater numbers combine together, the more exceſſive and licentious they will grow; and univerſal empire will ſoon introduce univerſal wickedneſs: and therefore, as it immediately follows, for the prevention of this great evil, " Let us go down, and there confound their language," &c. It was not therefore ſo properly for the puniſhment of the preſent race, as for the general benefit of mankind in all ages, that a miraculous power was interpoſed; and we ſhould next inquire, After what manner this miraculous power was exerted.

Some learned men, as (3) Le Clerc, Vitringa, and others are for expounding the whole paſſage, not of a confuſion of language, but of a diſſenſion of opinions; that all mankind were of one heart and mind, they lived together in the moſt perfect union and harmony; they agreed unanimouſly in building their city and tower, till God ſent forth a ſpirit of diſcord among them that they could no longer act in conſort together; they quarreled, they ſeparated, and went in different parties into different parts of the earth.

But theſe learned critics are very deficient in not alleging ſufficient authorities and parallel inſtances to prove that *one lip* or *language* ever ſignifies unity and conſent of mind. Such an interpretation is not only doing the greateſt violence to the plaineſt words, but is alſo directly contrary to plain matter of fact itſelf. For there was a time when all mankind were of one ſpeech and language, but there never was a time when all mankind were of one heart and mind: and yet this is ſaid before ever they agreed about their building, ſo that that cannot be conſidered as the cauſe of their union. One of the ſons of Adam, we know, was murdered; and we can hardly think it poſſible that

(3) Clericus in Gen. XI. 1. Vitringæ Obſer. Sacræ, Diſſert. I. Lib. 1. Cap. 9, &c.

(4) Vitring.

that ſuch love and harmony ſhould be preſerved ſo many years among all the deſcendents of Noah. Beſides, the following words "Let us "confound their language that they may not hear" as it is in the original, or "underſtand" as it is in the tranſlation, "one another's "ſpeech," evidently relate to ſpeech and language, and cannot with any propriety be applied to difference of opinions; for that could not hinder their hearing or underſtanding, they muſt firſt hear and know ſomething of one another's opinions, before they could differ about them. Yet farther, if theſe critics admit the miracle, as they ſeem to do, they make God, the God of love and peace, the immediate author of diſcord and ſtrife. If they reject the miracle, they cannot account for the Lord's being introduced in this ſolemn manner, and for his ſaying and doing the things which are expreſly and repeatedly aſcribed to him. Neither doth ſuch an event ſo plainly point out a miraculous power. A quarrel might happen among the builders without the divine intervention, but without ſuch intervention it was impoſſible for them of a ſudden to talk new and ſtrange languages.

Vitringa (4) again propoſeth another ſolution, that all mankind did indeed ſpeak one and the ſame language both before and after the building of Babel, that the confuſion of language was only ſome defect of pronunciation, which by the ſingular judgment of God was for a time inflicted upon theſe builders, ſo that they could not commodiouſly explain their thoughts nor underſtand one another: and by theſe means growing weary of the communion and intercourſe which they had hitherto cultivated among themſelves, they were forced to deſiſt from the work which they had jointly undertaken, and being eaſily ſeparated one from another, were diſperſed throughout the world.

Perizonius (5) partly inclines to the ſame opinion, and in confirmation of it relates a ſtory out of Eraſmus his Dialogue of the pronunciation of the Greek and the Latin language. That writer was preſent, when the French embaſſador had an audience of the emperor Maximilian,

(4) Vitring. ibid. cap. 9. Sect. 15, &c. (5) Perizonii Orig. Babylon. Cap. 13. p. 274, 275.

(6) Dr.

Maximilian, and addreſſed him in a good Latin oration, but pronounced it ſo much like a Frenchman that he was thought to ſpeak French not Latin by the Italians and Germans; the perſon, who was employed to return an anſwer according to cuſtom, came from the remoteſt part of Germany, and ſpoke Latin but with ſuch an accent and ſo much like a German, that he was ſtill leſs underſtood by the French. Perizonius too entirely concurs with Vitringa, that this confuſion of language or rather of pronunciation was not perpetual, but applied by God for a time, only to compel men to ſeparate one from another; which being effected, they ſpoke without doubt all again as they were wont, and in the ſame language which they had uſed before, but which at length in tract of time was adulterated by various changes in various nations, and ſo from one was divided into ſeveral languages.

Here the divine interpoſition is allowed, and a miracle is plainly acknowleged, but it had only a temporary influence upon their pronunciation, and no permanent effect upon their language. Conſequently thoſe authors, who contend for this hypotheſis, lay themſelves under a neceſſity of ſhowing how all languages were derived from one, and ſome of them indeed attempt it; but it is ſo far from being probable, that upon examination it will be found to be utterly impoſſible. And the more learned you are in different languages, and the more you know not only of their words but of their form and contexture, the more clearly you will be convinced of the impoſſibility of deriving them all from one mother tongue. A miracle is confeſſed on both ſides, and let it then be conſidered, whether a miracle uſhered in with ſuch pomp and ſolemnity was more likely to conſiſt in producing only a tranſient difference of pronunciation, or in creating a laſting diverſity of languages, and which was moſt proper and efficacious to contribute to the end in view, to promote and to perpetuate the intended ſeparation of mankind.

After theſe really and truly learned men I know not whether it is worth while to make mention of ſome later theologians, who are ready enough indeed to believe and acknowlege a miracle, but conceive

that the effect with regard to theſe builders was not a confuſion of language, but a confuſion of religion; that they deſigned this tower for the temple of their great idol the air or the heavens, and therefore God confounded their confeſſion, and ſplit them into ſeveral hereſies and ſchiſms.

But moſt of the ſame arguments, which were urged againſt explaining the text by a difference of opinions, will hold equally ſtrong or ſtronger againſt explaining it by a difference of confeſſions. If all mankind were of one and the ſame religion, and that religion according to theſe interpreters was idolatry, how came all mankind to be ſo early corrupted, Noah and his ſons as well as all their deſcendents? And how was the matter mended by producing different ſorts of idolatry, and multiplying one falſe confeſſion into many? Is the deity to be introduced with this ſolemnity for the multiplication and propagation of idolatry? Is not this in effect making the God of truth the father of lies? But it is beſtowing too much conſideration upon ſo ſtrange a paradox to take even this ſlight notice of it. Theſe men generally pretend to extraordinary knowlege in the Hebrew language, and thereupon are apt to grow dogmatical; but all their tenets and opinions, whether in philoſophy or in divinity, as far as they differ from thoſe of others and are peculiar to themſelves, are either myſterious and unintelligible, or if intelligible, are falſe and fanatical. They may and indeed I believe they do mean well, but ſtrangely perplex their meaning, and puzzle and confound both themſelves and others.

However theſe writers, whoſe opinions we have hitherto conſidered, may differ as to the matter in queſtion the confuſion of language, yet they all agree as to the manner, that it was effected immediately by the divine power: but there are others who reject all miracle in the caſe, and endevor to account for the diverſity of languages in what they call a natural way. The argument cannot be better propoſed than in the words of (6) Dr. Middleton, who was as capable of dreſſing out an infidel objection to advantage as any man. "As

(6) Dr. Middleton's Letter to Dr. Waterland, p. 38, &c. See alſo his Works, Vol. 2. p. 160, &c.

" As to the ſtory itſelf," ſays he, " every one muſt needs own it " to be a ſtrange one:—but whatever we are to collect from it, 'tis " certain that it has never made any great impreſſion on men of let- " ters, however pious otherwiſe and religious; who in tracing the " origin and antiquity of the ſeveral languages, ſeldom think it ne- " ceſſary to run back to Babel; but find the cauſe to be grounded in " in reaſon and nature, in the neceſſary mutability of human things, " the riſe and fall of ſtates and empires, change of modes and cuſ- " toms, which neceſſarily introduce a proportionable change of lan- " guage. 'Tis from theſe principles, that men of learning have in " fact demonſtrated the cauſes, and deduced the hiſtory of moſt par- " ticular languages from their ſource and origin, not only of thoſe " which now obtain, but of ſuch alſo, as though once floriſhing, are " now no longer in common uſe and practice; as the Greek, Latin, " Italian, French, &c. Many both of the ancients and moderns have " endevored to prove, that the Hebrew was the firſt and common " language of all, till in proceſs of time, through the influence of the " cauſes above hinted at, all other languages ſprang out of it; as na- " turally as many ſhoots from the ſame root, many branches from " the ſame ſtock. As theſe obſervations are grounded on fact, and " the teſtimony of hiſtory; and all the variety of languages, that " have ever obtained in the world, may be accounted for by ordinary " and natural cauſes, which operate in the ſame manner at this day, " and will always continue to do ſo as long as the world laſts; as this, " I ſay, is certain, we cannot but allow that there is ſome color of " reaſon in [Dr. Tindal's] ſuſpicion, that the author of the Pente- " teuch, for want of reflecting on the natural cauſes of this variety, " thought proper to have recourſe to miracle and the immediate in- " terpoſition of God, in order to procure the greater reverence and " dignity to his hiſtory. Eſpecially, ſince without any ſuch miracle, " as all men of ſenſe will allow, the ſame effect muſt neceſſarily have " followed from the very diſperſion and propagation of mankind."

So far Dr. Middleton; and for a fuller and more complete anſwer I would refer the reader to the learned Dr. Chapman's " Remarks on

" a Letter to Dr. Waterland, in relation to the natural account of " languages by Philobiblicus Cantabrigienſis," and to Dr. Wotton's " Diſcourſe concerning the confuſion of languages at Babel," which though written before Dr. Middleton's Letter, yet may ſerve as a moſt ſatisfactory reply to it, and indeed to every thing that can be fairly offered on that ſide of the queſtion.

Moſt reaſonable indeed it is, that we ſhould not have recourſe to a ſupernatural interpoſition, when things can be accounted for by natural cauſes:

Nec Deus interſit niſi dignus vindice nodus
Inciderit:

but the natural cauſes here aſſigned and others are ſo diſproportioned and inadequate to the effect, that we are under a neceſſity of calling in a ſuperior power, to be able to give any tolerable account of the matter. " The neceſſary mutability of human things, the riſe and " fall of ſtates and empires, change of modes and cuſtoms," and added to theſe, the difference of climates, the invention and improvement of arts and ſciences, commerce and intercourſe with foreign nations; theſe cauſes, if you ſuppoſe a variety of languages beforehand, will certainly introduce very great alterations into any language, and in time perhaps oblitterate an old, and ſubſtitute a new one in its ſtead: but when there is only one language in the world, and all mankind ſpeak that one language, all theſe cauſes together can only operate to the adding of ſome words and the changing or altering of others, but can never totally deface and deſtroy all the eſſential marks and characters of the original language; at moſt they can only beget different dialects of the ſame language, but can never produce entirely new and different languages. There is great difference between the two caſes, between the primary cauſe of variety when there is only one language, and the ſecondary cauſes of ſtill farther variety when a variety of languages is already eſtabliſhed. The former was the caſe at Babel, the latter hath been the caſe ever ſince: and all the material changes, which have at any time been wrought in any language, are

owing to conqueſt, or commerce, or ſome communication and intercourſe with other languages; and the leſs of ſuch intercourſe and communication any people have had, the purer and more genuin they have preſerved their native language, as may be ſeen in the inſtances of the midland Africans, the Arabians, and (to come nearer home) our ancient Britons, all whoſe languages have been tranſmitted down from the remoteſt ages to the preſent with little or no variation. It is not true therefore that " the cauſe" of all the variety of languages is " grounded in reaſon and nature;" on the contrary it was plainly grounded on ſomething ſupernatural, and there is no poſſibility of accounting for it without ſome ſuch miraculous intervention as is related by Moſes. Moſes without doubt relates the fact as he received it from hiſtory or the tradition of the faithful, and was ſo far from being to blame " for want of reflecting on the natural cauſes of this variety," which were really no cauſes at all, that he aſſigns the only cauſe which can afford a proper ſolution of the difficulty, the only cauſe which could at firſt create new languages, and thereby occaſion this variety.

Neither is it true that this ſtory " has never made any great impreſſion on men of letters, however pious otherwiſe and religious; " who in tracing the origin and antiquity of the ſeveral languages, " ſeldom think it neceſſary to run back to Babel." For were not the two Scaligers, Bochart and Buxtorf, Biſhop Walton and Selden, Gerard Voſſius and Daniel Heinſius, Huetius and Calmet " men of letters and tracers of languages?" and have they ever given the leaſt indication of diſbelieving the ſcripture hiſtory of Babel? or " in tracing the origin and antiquity of the ſeveral languages" have not they " thought it neceſſary to run back to Babel?" Innumerable paſſages might be cited out of their writings to refute this aſſertion, and to the ſame purpoſe innumerable other authors of the greateſt name and character in the commonwealth of letters. If at any time they have not thought it " neceſſary to run back to Babel," it was only becauſe they were tracing the ſource and origin of ſome modern languages.

Neither

Neither is it true, that " men of learning have in fact demonſtrated " the cauſes, and deduced the hiſtory of moſt particular languages " from their ſource and origin, not only of thoſe which now obtain, " but of ſuch alſo, as though once floriſhing, are now no longer in " common uſe and practice, as the Greek, Latin, Italian, French," &c. For only ſome of the modern languages can be ſaid to be traced up to " their ſource and origin," and that very imperfectly; few or none of the ancient have been or indeed can be without " running back to " Babel." With regard to the Greek, the hiſtory of the letters may have been deduced from Cadmus who firſt imported them into Greece from Phœnicia, but the hiſtory of the language itſelf hath by no means been " deduced from its ſource and origin:" they who have attempted to " demonſtrate the cauſes," have demonſtrated nothing ſo much as the weakneſs and inſufficiency of their own arguments: and two of the greateſt critics in theſe matters, (7) Joſeph Scaliger and Biſhop Walton, are expreſs in ſpeaking of the Greek particularly as one of the mother-tongues or cardinal languages, from which many others are derived, but they themſelves are derived from none. The Latin is alſo reckoned by Scaliger as another of the mother-tongues; and if ſeveral words and phraſes have been ſhown to be borrowed from the Greek, yet the ſubſtance of the language cannot be ſhown to be derived in like manner; if the hiſtory hath been deduced of ſome innovations and alterations, its improvement, its perfection, its decline, yet " its ſource and origin" have not been demonſtrated, nor can the particular cauſes or æra be aſſigned of the ancient and primitive language or languages of the firſt inhabitants of the country, before ever the ſound of Greek was heard among them. The Italian and French are uſually conſidered as dialects or corruptions of the Latin: but how many other languages concur to their compoſition? and if the Latin cannot be traced up to its ſource and origin, how will the other mixtures of the Goths and Lombards, the Franks and Burgundians, and other ancient Italic and Gallic languages? Our Engliſh language is likewiſe compounded

(7) Joſeph. Scaliger de Linguis Europæ. Walton, Prolegom. 1. Sect. 14.

(8) As

compounded of ſeveral others, the Saxon, the Daniſh, the Norman, the Latin, &c. but would you therefore ſay that the Engliſh language is traced up to " its ſource and origin?" or would it not ſtill remain to be inquired what were the ſources of the ſources themſelves? and what was the ancient language of Britain, before ever the Saxons, and before ever the Romans ſet foot in this iland? How then can it be pretended, that " men of learning have in fact demonſtrated the " cauſes, and deduced the hiſtory of moſt particular languages from " their ſource and origin," &c. when they have failed ſo very much in " deducing the hiſtory" even of the modern languages " from their " ſource and origin," and have been ſtill leſs able to " demonſtrate " the cauſes" of the ancient languages, ſome of which perhaps were prior not only to the date of all hiſtory, but even to the uſe and invention of letters themſelves? But if the hiſtory of languages and the cauſes of all their variety could be deduced and even demonſtrated with the greateſt clearneſs and certainty, yet it would be ſo far from overturning that it would confirm the ſcripture-account; for we muſt of neceſſity go back from language to language, and from cauſe to cauſe, till at length we ſhould aſcend up to the firſt cauſe and origin of all at Babel.

" Many" indeed " both of the ancients and moderns have ende- " vored to prove, that the Hebrew was the firſt and common lan- " guage of all:" And it muſt be allowed, that it was one of the firſt and moſt ancient, but that it was the firſt and moſt ancient of all is rather taken for granted than capable of being proved. The derivation of ancient names from the Hebrew is no certain proof; for poſſibly they might be ſo tranſlated from the primitive tongue into the Hebrew, as (8) ſome of them will hold equally in other languages; and others perhaps may be better derived from Arabic than from Hebrew originals.

But if the Hebrew was proved to be " the firſt and common lan- " guage of all," yet it would not therefore follow, that " all other " lan-

(8) As אדם *Adam* from אדמה *Admah* the ground, as אישה *Iſha* woman from איש *Iſh* man; ſo *homo* man from *humus* the ground, and *vira* or *virago* woman from *vir* man.

(9) Vitring.

"languages ſprang naturally out of it through the influence of the "cauſes above hinted at:" for thoſe cauſes, as we have ſeen, could properly be no cauſes at all; and moſt of the learned "ancients and "moderns," who have aſſerted the former, have yet denied the latter, and admitted the miraculous multiplication of languages at Babel. Some few only have endevored to prove, that "all other languages "ſprang out of it, as naturally as many ſhoots from the ſame root, "many branches from the ſame ſtock." Vitringa particularly (9) hath labored this point, and hath endevored to prove, that the Egyptian, the Greek, the Latin, the Perſian, the Scythian, the German and Dutch were all derived from the Hebrew; but he hath really proved nothing but the great extent of his own reading, and leſs judgment in this than in moſt of his other writings; moſt probably he deſigned it more as an exerciſe of his learning than as the reſult of his conviction.

It is nothing ſtrange, that ſome relation and reſemblance ſhould be diſcovered between the Hebrew and other oriental languages, becauſe in all probability they might ſpring out of the ſame common ſtock; or that ſome words ſhould be borrowed from one language, and adopted into another by people who lived ſo near to each other, though which are the copies, and which the originals, it may be impoſſible at this diſtance of time and place to diſtinguiſh and determin. Neither is it any matter of wonder, that ſome Hebrew words ſhould paſs into the Greek and other European languages, if we conſider the different colonies which the Phœnicians (whoſe language was Hebrew or a dialect of the Hebrew) ſent forth into different countries, and the great traffic and commerce which they carried on into the moſt diſtant parts, even here into Britain. But an identity of ſome names and words is far from proving an identity of languages. Several Arabic words are found in the Spaniſh tongue, the remains of the Saracens and Moors who conquered and for many years inhabited Spain; but is the Spaniſh therefore to be conſidered only as one of the dialects of Arabic?

(9) Vitring. Obſerv. Sacr. Diſſert. Prima. Cap. 6, 7, 8.

(1) Revelation

Arabic? We have ingraffed abundance of French words and phraſes into our language; but is the Engliſh therefore to be reckoned as nothing more than one of the "ſhoots and branches" of the French "ſtock?"

If an identity of ſome names and words will not prove an identity of languages, much leſs will forced etymologies and unnatural derivations, ſuch as are many even of Vitringa's, and ſuch as might equally prove any language to be derived from any. Such operoſe trifles cannot be better expoſed than by a familiar example. A learned divine, who was alſo a very great ſmoker, often uſed to divert himſelf with the etymology of his favorite *tobacco*, which he derived from the Hebrew טוב *tob* bonus אח *ach* focus or fumus ו *o* ejus, *good is the fire or ſmoke thereof*; and it was pleaſant enough for what it was intended, a play of the imagination: but is the word therefore proved to be of Hebrew extraction? or would a hundred ſuch inſtances demonſtrate the Indian languages to be "ſhoots" of Hebrew "roots?"

What is much more to be regarded than borrowed names and words, than fanciful etymologies and derivations, is the whole turn and frame, the genius and idiom, the grammar and phraſeology of a language: And herein the Hebrew differs ſo much from many others, and eſpecially from all the Europêan languages, that there is not the leaſt affinity or analogy, the leaſt conformity or reſemblance between them; they are totally of a different form and conſtitution; and (to borrow (1) a ſimilitude) there is as little reaſon to believe, that all languages had their origin from the Hebrew, as that all the variety of foreſt and fruit-trees in the world (the olive-trees of Spain, the vines of France, the pines of Norway, the oaks of England) were originally but ſo many "ſhoots" and "branches" from the palm-tree of Judæa. So far therefore are Dr. Middleton's obſervations from being "grounded on fact "and the teſtimony of hiſtory," that they are falſe in fact, and contrary to hiſtory and tradition, contrary to reaſon and experience: and ſo far was the variety of languages from being "the neceſſary effect "of the diſperſion and propagation of mankind," that the diſperſion of mankind was firſt cauſed by the variety of languages.

If

(1) Revelation Examined, Vol. 2. Diſſert. 3. p. 109.

(2) See

If the Hebrew cannot make out its title to be the mother of all languages, it is certain the Chaldee or Arabic or any other can have no better pretence to lay claim to that prerogative. Some things may poſſibly be found alike in all languages; but this likeneſs for the moſt part is merely accidental; and the many things wherein they differ are of far more force to demonſtrate their different pedigrees, than the few things wherein they reſemble each other are to prove any relation or affinity between them. For conſider the almoſt innumerable multitude of languages in the world, and the great difference of the words whereby they expreſs the ſame common things. New words and names muſt be invented for new things; but why ſhould new names, with ſcarcely a radical letter or a ſingle ſound the ſame, be given to things which always have been, always are, and always will be in continual uſe, and ſpoken of upon every occaſion? The old names, or at leaſt ſomething like them, would certainly have been retained, if men had all derived their language from one and the ſame ſource; but the total difference of the words for the very ſame common things evinces undeniably, that the different languages muſt have ſprung from different ſources. A ſingle inſtance will make my meaning plainer. *Bread* in Engliſh is *lechem* in Hebrew, *artos* in Greek, *panis* in Latin, *bara* in Welſh. Is there the leaſt likeneſs between them, that they ſhould be thought deſcendents of the ſame family? but the French *pain* from the Latin *panis* ſufficiently diſcovers its relation.

Conſider too the different phraſes, idioms, and manners of ſpeaking of different people, which remarkably diſtinguiſh ſome nations from others, and more eſpecially all the oriental from all the weſtern languages. Some of theſe idioms learned men have at times endevored to transfuſe from other languages into their own, for the ſake of enriching it with foreign graces and ornaments; but others are of ſo peculiar a nature, that there is no poſſibility of tranſlating them from one language into another: and it cannot well be conceived, from whence theſe diverſities of phraſeology ſhould ariſe, if one and the ſame language had been the parent and origin of all others.

Beſides the words and phraſes, conſider alſo the grammars of the different languages, and particularly of the Aſiatic and Europêan tongues, and ſee how they differ in almoſt every part of ſpeech from the noun to the leaſt particle, in the caſes and declenſions of their nouns, in the declining and conjugating of their verbs, in the compoſition of their verbs and nouns, in the uſe of their poſſeſſive pronouns, in the three degrees of compariſon of their adjectives, in the uſe of their prepoſitions and conjunctions: and the more you conſider theſe and the like eſſential differences, how invariable they are at all times, how inſeparable from ſome languages, how incommunicable to others; the more you will be convinced of the neceſſity of coming to the ſame concluſion with that able linguiſt (2) Dr. Wotton and other the moſt learned and orthodox divines; " that at Babel, as Mo-
" ſes litterally informs us, there was a confuſion of tongues inflicted
" upon the workmen by the immediate hand of God, ſo that they
" could not underſtand one another's ſpeech; and that upon that
" confuſion there were new languages inſtantly framed, which lan-
" guages have been the roots and originals from which the ſeveral
" dialects that are, or have been, or will be ſpoken, as long as this
" earth ſhall laſt, have ariſen, and to which they may with eaſe be
" reduced."

As this concluſion is the moſt agreeable to reaſon, ſo nothing leſs can come up to the meaning, or ſufficiently anſwer to the words of Moſes. He had before deſcribed the ſeparation and diviſion of mankind " after their families, after their tongues, in their countries, and " in their nations:" but no mention having been made before of their different tongues, he proceeds to give an account, how they who were deſcended from the ſame man and the ſame woman, and were originally " of one language and of one ſpeech," came to be divided into ſeveral tongues and languages: and beſides his frequent interpoſition of the name of the Lord, which he would not have profaned by uſing it in that manner upon any ſlight and trivial occaſion, he repreſents the effect

(2) See Dr. Wotton's Diſcourſe concerning the confuſion of languages at Babel, p. 29. Biſhop Pearce's Reply to Dr. Middleton, p. 53, &c. &c.

(3) See

effect as inſtantaneous as it was miraculous; whereas all changes of language by different dialects or any other natural means muſt be the work of time, and the effects and conſequences rather than the cauſes and occaſions of the diſperſion of mankind. So ſudden and marvelous an alteration could be produced by nothing leſs than the ſame divine power, which at firſt inſtructed man in the uſe of ſpeech, and enabled ſuch illiterate perſons as the apoſtles to ſpeak all kinds of languages. In this manner too moſt or all of the ancient verſions render the text; and thus Joſephus underſtands it, and the generality of the Jewiſh as well as of the Chriſtian commentators, both ancient and modern, expound it. There are alſo (3) heathen hiſtorians, who relate the ſame event, and aſcribe it to the ſame divine power, that all mankind at firſt ſpake the ſame language, but upon the building of this tower were by the gods divided into ſeveral languages. Moreover the place carries in its very name ſome memorial of this tranſaction, being called "Babel" or "confuſion, (ver. 9.) "becauſe the Lord "did there confound the language of all the earth."

Which or what was the primitive and original language of mankind, it being impoſſible to determin, it is frivolous to diſpute. The experiment hath been tried (4) more than once of training up children ſeparate from all ſociety and converſation of men, in order to ſee what language they would ſpeak naturally and of themſelves: but the event hath been that they talked no language at all; they could not ſo much as articulate, nor utter any more diſtinct ſounds than deaf and dumb perſons can do. And indeed it is reaſonable to believe, that without the divine inſtruction at firſt, and human inſtruction and example ſince, men would have continued "mutum et turpe pecus" a mute and baſe herd, little ſuperior to the beaſts of the field; at beſt neceſſity would have taught them the uſe of ſpeech very ſlowly, and by no means ſo ſoon as they now uſually attain it.

What

(3) See Abydenus and the Sibyl, as quoted before.

(4) Herod. Lib. 2. Cap. 2. Purchas, B. 1. Chap. 8. Walton, Prolegom. 1. Sect. 3. Calmet. Dict. under the word *language*.

 (5) Vide

What appears to me moſt probable is, that the primitive and original language was loſt amid the confuſion at Babel, ſome few words perhaps and names only being retained in other languages. It is true many learned men have aſſerted, that this primitive and original language was the Hebrew: but then it will be very difficult to account how the Hebrew came to be the language of Canaan, and why the wicked poſterity of accurſed Ham ſhould be ſuffered to retain their firſt language, and be more exempted from the confuſion at Babel than any other people. For that the Hebrew was the language of Canaan, appears not only from (5) all the remaining monuments of the Canaanitiſh or Phœnician language, but it is expreſly ſo called by the prophet Iſaiah. (Iſ. XIX. 18.) "In that day ſhall five cities in "the land of Egypt ſpeak the language of Canaan, and ſwear to the "Lord of hoſts," that is, becoming proſelytes to the Jewiſh religion, they ſhall learn the Hebrew language, as the Mohammedans of whatever nation, Turks, Tartars, Perſians, Egyptians, all learn Arabic, to read their ſcriptures in the language wherein they were originally written.

The utmoſt that we can allow to the Hebrew is, that it might be a dialect of the primitive language as alſo might the Chaldee, Syriac, and Arabic, which as being the daughters of the ſame parent, have ſome family likeneſs and reſemblance to each other. And hence it came to paſs, that the people of one of theſe languages could at firſt in ſome meaſure underſtand and converſe with thoſe of another, till by degrees theſe dialects deviated more and more from their common original, and by foreign intermixtures became at length totally diſtinct and different languages. Abraham, whoſe native language was Chaldee, was yet able to diſcourſe with the Canaanites, Egyptians, and other neighbouring nations; but in Jacob's time (Gen. XXXI. 47.) the Syriac and Hebrew names for the ſame thing were very different; and Joſeph and his brethren converſed together in Egypt (Gen. XLII. 23.) by the help of an interpreter.

As

(5) Vide Bocharti Chanaan. Lib 2. Cap. 1, &c.

(6) Joſephi

As we cannot by any means determin which or what was the old language before the confuſion at Babel, ſo neither can we pretend to define the exact number of new languages produced at that time. The Jewiſh writers generally reckon 70, that being the number of the heads of families and nations, recited in the foregoing chapter, according to the Hebrew original; moſt of the Chriſtian fathers for the ſame reaſon reckon 72, that being the number of the names in the Greek tranſlation which they uſed; and ſo both Jews and Chriſtians aſſign to each diſtinct family and nation a diſtinct language. But Moſes in the foregoing chapter enumerates the heads of families and nations, as they were in his own time, not as they were at the time of the confuſion at Babel; for the confuſion at Babel and the firſt diviſion of the earth happened about the time of the birth of Peleg, from whence his name was given him; and conſequently all thoſe who were born after the birth of Peleg, particularly his younger brother Joktan and his thirteen ſons, could not poſſibly be heads of families and nations at the time of the confuſion at Babel. Neither doth Moſes enumerate all the heads of familes and nations as they were in his own time; ſome genealogies he omits entirely, others he carries down only to the third, others again he deduces to the ſixth generation; he mentions thoſe only who had ſome kind of relation, or were in ſome meaſure known to his countrymen. In ſome inſtances too it appears, that the ſame language was ſpoken by different families and nations, as the Hebrew by the different nations of the Canaanites and perhaps by ſome of the families of Shem, the Greek by the deſcendents of both Javan and Eliſhah, the Arabic by the ſons of Cuſh and all the ſons of Joktan; and conſequently there is no knowing the number of languages from the number of the heads of families and nations.

It is the leſs wonder that we cannot aſcertain the number of languages which aroſe at that diſtant period, for we cannot tell how many languages obtain in the world at this preſent time. Mr. Chamberlayne made a collection of verſions of the Lord's prayer in more, I think, than 130 languages; but many more yet remain behind, eſpecially in the remote parts of Aſia, Africa, and America, which no man can number. It is moſt probable, that the number of languages

which

which ſprung up at Babel was not ſo great, as it has commonly been imagined; but they afterwards multiplied, and became the parents of other languages; and the more remote people lived one from another, the more they differed in their ſpeech and language, the nearer their habitations, the greater the reſemblance between them. Hence that affinity between the Hebrew, Chaldee, Arabic, &c. if they were not alſo dialects of the ſame mother tongue, the primitive and original language; and hence the oriental languages differ ſo much from the weſtern, and both from the northern, not only in their words, but in their whole form and conſtruction.

When the language of mankind was thus confounded that they could not well underſtand one another, the immediate conſequence was, that they no longer continued their building but ſeparated, and began to ſpread themſelves upon the face of the earth: and theſe ſignal events, the confuſion of language and the diſperſion of mankind, fell out, as it was ſaid before, about the time of the birth of Peleg, the fourth in deſcent from Shem; for the ſacred hiſtorian ſpeaking of Peleg (Gen. X. 25.) ſaith that "his name was Peleg" or "diviſion, "becauſe in his days the earth was divided." By this "diviſion of "the earth," though the word in Hebrew is not the ſame, yet is plainly meant the ſame diviſion, that is mentioned in other parts of the ſame chapter, (ver. 5.) "By theſe were the iles of the Gentiles divided "in their lands;" and again (ver. 32.) "By theſe were the nations "divided in the earth after the flood." Names were uſually given to children ſoon after their birth; and the birth of Peleg, according to the Hebrew chronology, was in the 1011ſt year after the flood. The century before was what the poets call the golden age, when men had lands and all things in common; but upon the confuſion at Babel, and the ſeparation of mankind, different colonies took poſſeſſion of different lands; which diviſion of the earth beginning about the time of the birth of Peleg was gradually advanced ſo that ſeveral nations were in a manner formed and ſettled in his time, and therefore it is ſaid that "in his days the earth was divided." And this is one farther argument for the truth of the Hebrew in preference to the Samaritan

and Greek chronology. For the ſons of Noah and the perſons deſcended from them within the ſpace of one century may be ſuppoſed all to have been collected together in one plain, and all unanimouſly to have concurred in the ſame deſign of building one city and forming one ſociety: but in the courſe of four or five centuries men muſt have grown too numerous to be confined within ſuch narrow bounds, and the cluſtring of ſuch multitudes together like bees in a hive, when they might with more eaſe and convenience have extended themſelves farther, is very incredible, if not utterly impoſſible.

By this diſperſion of mankind we are not to underſtand a tumultuous and diſorderly ſeparation, as ſome of the ancients have expounded it. Some order was preſerved even in confuſion, and by the gracious diſpoſition of providence they divided themſelves "after their tongues, "after their families," thoſe of the ſame family and language adhering together. Moſes in his divine ſong ſpeaketh as if this diſtribution had been made by the immediate direction of God (Gen. XXXII. 8.) "When the moſt High divided to the nations their inheritance, "when he ſeparated the ſons of Adam," &c. St. Paul likewiſe mentions it as the peculiar ordinance and appointment of the great Creator. (Acts XVII. 26.) "God hath made of one blood all nations of men "for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the "times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation." It is moſt reaſonable and natural to ſuppoſe, that the firſt colonies moved to no very great diſtance from the land of Shinar. Afterwards, as mankind increaſed and multiplied, they ſpread farther and farther, till the whole earth was divided and peopled, by the deſcendents of Noah. Some Jewiſh and Arabic writers ſpeak as if Noah had other ſons beſides the three mentioned in ſcripture; but they produce not the leaſt kind of proof or authority for their aſſertion: on the contrary the ſcripture aſſures us (Gen. IX. 19.) that "of theſe three was the whole "earth overſpread."

"Shem, Ham, and Japheth," is the order wherein they are uſually mentioned in ſcripture, but the order of nature appears to have been "Japheth, Shem, and Ham." For when Noah began to beget his ſons,

ſons, (Gen. V. 32.) he was "five hundred years old," which was (VII. 6.) an hundred years before the flood: but Shem (Gen. XI. 10.) was no more than "an hundred years old two years after the flood," and conſequently he could not be the eldeſt ſon. Japheth too is expreſly called (Gen. X. 21.) "the elder," as Ham is (Gen. IX. 24.) "the younger ſon." The *he* prefixed to *gadol greater* plainly directs us to refer the word *greater* or *elder* to the perſon laſt mentioned, that is Japheth. Shem is uſually named the firſt of his brethren, becauſe he was particularly bleſſed of Noah, "was the father of all the "Hebrews," and from him deſcended the choſen people of God. Ham is reckoned next, as he was next in ſituation to Shem, and their families had frequent intercourſe and tranſactions the one with the other. Japheth and his poſterity lay more remote, and therefore he is mentioned in the laſt place.

But in the chapter of the generations of Noah, (Gen. X.) which we have now under conſideration, the uſual order is inverted, and the ſons of Japheth are reckoned firſt, then of Ham, and laſtly of Shem; Japheth being mentioned the firſt as he was the eldeſt, and Shem the laſt as the ſubſequent hiſtory relates principally to his family. By theſe three ſons of Noah and their poſterity the world may be ſaid in general to be divided into three parts, Shem poſſeſſing the more eaſtern, Ham the more ſouthern, Japheth the more northern and weſtern: or in other words Shem was ſeated in Aſia, Ham in part of Aſia and Africa, Japheth in part of Aſia and Europe. If we would inquire more particularly into the ſituation and condition of their reſpective families, ſome we may trace out with ſufficient clearneſs and exactneſs, others are more dubious and uncertain through the great changes of names, the differences of languages, the loſs of ancient records, extinction of families, conqueſt and deſtruction of kingdoms, tranſmigration of nations from one country to another, and various other cauſes: but however from the clearneſs and certainty of ſome we may preſume upon the truth of the reſt, and in ſurveying them we cannot

(6) Joſephi Antiq. Lib. 1. Cap. 6. Sect. 1. Edit. Hudſon.

(7) Bocharti

cannot purſue a better method than by taking them in the order wherein they lie in the chapter.

I. Japheth and his ſons. (X. 1—5.) *Japheth* was called *Iäpetus*, and his ſons *Iäpetionides* by the Greeks, among whom *older than Iäpetus* was a proverbial ſaying to denote the remoteſt antiquity. It is not known where he ſeated himſelf, but his deſcendents ſpread themſelves into the northern parts of Aſia, and from thence into Europe, and from Aſia and Europe in all probability into America, ſo that in his ſeed was remarkably fulfilled the bleſſing given to him by his father Noah (Gen. IX. 27.) " God ſhall inlarge Japheth." His ſons recorded by Moſes were theſe following:

" Gomer and all his bands" being ſeated, as Ezekiel (XXXVIII. 6.) intimates, " in the north quarters," that is, north of Judea, we muſt there look for his habitation. Joſephus (6) ſaith, that the people whom the Greeks call *Galatians*, were formerly called *Gomerites* from Gomer their founder. Galatia therefore according to him was the ſeat of Gomer, before ever the Gauls came into and gave name to that country: but (7) Bochart and the more learned modern divines generally agree in placing him in Phrygia, *Gomer* and *Phrygia*, the one in Hebrew, the other in Greek, being words of the ſame import and ſignifying a burnt and aduſted ſoil. And poſſibly both accounts may be true, for Galatia and Phrygia being neighbouring countries, " Gomer and all his bands" might poſſeſs and occupy the one as well as the other.

" Magog," the next ſon of Japheth, was according to Joſephus the father of the *Scythians*, which opinion is generally followed by the moſt able critics ancient and modern. Ezekiel alſo (Chap. XXXVIII. XXXIX.) mentions " the land of Magog" as being in " the north " parts," and deſcribes the people as " all riding upon horſes, a great " company, and a mighty army with bows and arrows;" all which particulars agree exactly with the Scythians of old, or the Tartars as they are called at preſent. " Gog" too " of the land of Magog" by all

(7) Bocharti Phaleg. Lib. 3. Cap. 8, &c.

all the concurrent marks and circumſtances denotes the Turks, who were originally of Scythian extraction.

It is the general opinion that "Madai" gave name to *Media*, for wherever the word "Madai" is mentioned in ſcripture, and it is mentioned in ſeveral places of ſcripture, it always ſignifies, and is always tranſlated "the Mede, the Medes," or "Media." But this notwithſtanding the learned Mr. Mede, Calmet, and a few others are rather inclined to think, that Madai was ſeated in Macedonia, the ancient name whereof they ſay was *Æmathia*, which they derive from the Greek αια terra and *Madai*, *Aia-Madai*, as much as to ſay *the land of Madai:* but ſurely ſuch forced etymologies are not ſufficient to overturn ſo many expreſs authorities from ſcripture. It is true indeed that Media was the moſt eaſtern and the moſt inland part aſſigned to any of the ſons of Japheth; but yet it was not very remote from ſome others of his brethren upon the Euxin and the Caſpian ſeas; nay Media itſelf, according to Ptolemy and others of the ancients, was bounded on the north by part of the Caſpian or Hyrcanian ſea; and no good reaſon can be given, why ſo many of the ſacred writers, Iſaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, Ezra and others, ſhould chooſe always to call the "Medes" and "Me-"dia" by the name of "Madai," if he had no relation to the people, and his country lay at ſuch a vaſt diſtance as Macedonia.

From the next brother "Javan," as Joſephus aſſerts and indeed as all agree, ſprang the *Iönians* and all the Grecians. The radical letters of his name are *Iön*, and from hence is plainly derived the name of the Iönians and the Iönian ſea, &c. The king of "Javan" in Daniel (VIII. 21.) is tranſlated the king of "Grecia," that is, Alexander the great, king of Macedon as every ſchool-boy knoweth; which is a farther argument, that Macedonia was not the ſeat of Madai, but was firſt planted by Javan or ſome of his deſcendents. "Javan" is alſo repreſented by Ezekiel (XXVII. 13.) as "trading in the per-"ſons of men and veſſels of braſs:" And the Corinthian and Euboic braſs were particularly famous; the Grecian ſlaves alſo were held in high

(8) Joſephus ibid.
(9) Strab. Lib. 14. p. 663. Edit. Paris. p. 979. Ed. Amſtel. 1707. Plin. Lib. 6. Sect. 3. Ed. Hard.
(1) Bocharti Phaleg. Lib. 3. Cap. 12.
(2) Herod.

high eſteem among the ancients, as even at this day the Grecian women are in great requeſt for the Turkiſh Seraglios.

As " Tubal" and " Meſhech" are often joined in ſcripture, ſo they may be conſidered together, and may be preſumed to be near neighbours to each other. With regard to both theſe I know not any opinion more probable than that of (8) Joſephus. *Tubal* or *Thobel*, as he calleth him, was the progenitor of the *Thobeli*, who now, ſaith he, are called *Iberians*. *Meſhech* or *Moſoch*, as he calleth him, was the founder of the *Moſocheni*, who now are called *Cappadocians*; and in this country there is ſtill, ſaith he, a city called *Mazaka* (mentioned alſo by (9) Strabo, Pliny, and others) which ſufficiently diſcovers the ancient name of the nation. There were other Iberians in Spain, who are ſuppoſed to have been a colony from theſe. There was likewiſe another *Meſech* in Arabia, as we may learn from that complaint of the pſalmiſt (CXX. 5.) " Woe is me that I ſojourn in " Meſech, that I dwell in the tents of Kedar." But the nations we are treating of lay to the ſouth of the Euxin or Black ſea, and may ſince have been diſtinguiſhed by variety of names. What farther recommends this opinion of Joſephus is that it may include alſo that of the learned (1) Bochart, that *Meſhech* and *Tubal* were the *Moſchi* and *Tibareni*; for the *Moſchi* are plainly the ſame as the *Moſocheni*, and the *Tibareni* and *Iberians* were at leaſt neighbouring nations. The *Moſchi* and *Tibareni* too are mentioned conjointly in (2) Herodotus, as well as *Meſhech* and *Tubal* in ſcripture, and are repreſented as wearing the ſame arms, and ſerving under the ſame general, a manifeſt proof that they were near neighbours and allies. Moreover it is obſervable, that " Og of the land of Magog" is called by Ezekiel (XXXVIII. 1, &c.) " the chief prince of Meſhech and Tubal," and both theſe nations make a part of the Turkiſh dominions at this day.

" Tiras" or " Thiras," the laſt mentioned of the brethren, was, as almoſt all agree, the father of the people of *Thrace*; and in this country we may trace out ſeveral veſtiges of his name. The very name

(2) Herod. Lib. 3. Sect. 94. Lib. 7. Sect. 78, &c. Edit. Gale.

(3) Liber

name of *Thrax* or the Thracian, as (3) St. Jerome obſerves, is very little changed from *Thiras*. There is a river flowing into the Propontis, which was called *Atyras*, as (4) Pliny teſtifies. *Tereus*, *Teres*, *Tiris*, are names of kings of Thrace mentioned in hiſtory: Mars the god of the Thracians was worſhipped by them under the title of *Thuras*; beſides other remains of his name and memory collected by Bochart and other authors.

The ſons of Gomer were "Aſhchenaz, Riphath, and Togarmah." As Gomer was ſeated in Phrygia Major, it was eaſy for his ſon *Aſhchenaz* to remove into Phrygia Minor and the neighbouring countries, where was a region called *Aſcania*, a lake and a river called *Aſcanius*; *Aſcanius* was alſo a royal name; and it is ſuppoſed by many, that from *Aſhchenaz* the ſea adjoining was firſt called *Axenos*, afterwards *Euxenos*, as a word of better omen, or the Euxin ſea. What may help to confirm this notion of the ſituation of Aſhchenaz is a paſſage in Jeremiah, (LI. 27.) wherein he is reckoned among the auxiliaries who were to join and aſſiſt the Medes and Perſians in the ſiege of Babylon; "Call together againſt her the kingdoms of Ararat, Min-"ni, and Aſhchenaz;" and accordingly the people of Phrygia Minor together with the Armenians and neighbouring nations made a part of Cyrus's army, as (5) Xenophon himſelf informs us.—*Riphath* was anceſtor to the Paphlagonians, who Joſephus ſaith were anciently called *Riphathæans*, and extending themſelves farther northwards might give name to the *Riphæan* mountains, and to the people there whom (6) Pliny and Solinus call *Arimphæans*.—The houſe of *Togarmah* is placed by Ezekiel (XXXVIII. 6.) near his father Gomer "in the north quarters:" and Gomer being ſeated, as we have ſeen in Galatia and Phrygia Major, we muſt look for Togarmah among the neighbouring nations. Togarmah is alſo ſaid by Ezekiel (XXVII. 14.) to have traded in the fairs of Tyre "with horſes and horſemen "and mules:" and the countries in the neighbourhood of Galatia and

(3) Liber Quæſt. Hebraic. in Geneſ. p. 515. Tom. 2. Edit. Benedict.
(4) Plin. Lib. 4. Sect. 18. Edit. Harduin.
(5) Xenophon. Cyropæd. Lib. 7. p. 111. Edit. Henr. Steph. 1581. p. 513, &c. Edit. Hutchinſon. Oxon. 1727.
(6) Plin.

and Phrygia Major, particularly Cappadocia, abounded with theſe commodities. In the Greek tranſlation he is called *Thorgama*, and the name that approacheth neareſt in ſound of any of the neighbouring nations is that of a people upon the confines of Pontus and Cappadocia, called (7) *Trocmi* by Strabo, *Trogini* by Cicero, *Trogmi* by Memnon, and *Trocmeni* by Stephanus Byzantinus.—And thus it appears that Gomer and his ſons had their habitations in Aſia Minor.

The ſons of Javan were " Eliſhah, and Tarſhiſh, Kittim and Do-" danim."—*Eliſhah* gave name not only to the *Æoles*, as Joſephus imagins, but likewiſe to *Hellas* Greece in general, and particularly to *Elis* in Peloponneſus, *Eleuſis* in Attica, and other places. " The " iles of Eliſhah" mentioned by Ezekiel (XXVII. 7.) which furniſhed Tyre " with blue and purple" were Peloponneſus and the Grecian iles, which were famous for theſe ornaments, as (8) Bochart hath amply proved.—*Tarſhiſh*, as Joſephus ſaith, was the ancient name of the people of Cilicia, whoſe metropolis was alſo called *Tarſus*, the birth-place of St. Paul. It was to this place that Jonas deſigned to flee inſtead of going to Nineveh as he was ordered, and for this purpoſe took ſhipping at Joppa. From Cilicia the deſcendents of Tarſhiſh ſent forth colonies, and gave name particularly to *Tarteſſus* in Spain: And when mention is made in ſcripture of " Tarſhiſh," of " the " ſhips of Tarſhiſh," and of " the ſea of Tarſhiſh," it is moſt commonly meant of the one or the other of theſe places, the Cilicians and their colonies being famous for their ſhipping, and maſters of the neighbouring ſea. There was likewiſe another *Tarſhiſh* in the Eaſt Indies. *Tarſhiſh* was not *Carthage*, as the Seventy and ſome others of the ancients have tranſlated it; for the Carthaginians were a Phœnician or Tyrian not a Cilician or Grecian colony.—*Kittim* or *Chittim* and his ſons (as I have had occaſion to ſhow elſewhere) ſettled firſt in Aſia Minor, where were a people called *Cetëi*, and a river called *Cetium*. From Aſia they paſſed into the iland Cyprus, which Joſephus ſaith

(6) Plin. Lib. 6. Cap. 7. Solinus, Cap. 17.
(7) Strab. Lib. 12. p. 567. Edit. Paris. 1620. p. 851. Edit. Amſtel. 1707. Cic. de Divinat. 11. 37. Memnonis Excerpt. apud Photium, Cap. 20. Steph. Byzant. in voce.
(8) Bocharti Phaleg. Lib. 3. Cap. 4.

ſaith was called *Chethima*, and where was alſo the city *Cittium*. From thence they might ſend forth colonies into Greece and Italy: and wherever "the land of Chittim" or "the iles of Chittim" are mentioned in ſcripture, there are evidently meant ſome countries or ilands in the Mediterranean, and particularly Greece and Italy, as is proved more at large in the fifth of the Diſſertations on the Prophecies.—*Dodanim* in ſome copies is *Rodanim*, the two letters D and R in Hebrew being ſo much alike that they may eaſily be miſtaken the one for the other. And this various reading may poſſibly have been the reaſon of Joſephus's omiſſion of this ſon of Javan; and no mention being made of the name in any other part of ſcripture, it is the more difficult to determin who this people were, and where they were ſeated. If we read *Dodanim*, which I prefer, we may conclude with Mr. Mede that they were ſeated in Epirus, where was the city *Dodona*, and the temple and oracle of Jupiter *Dodonæus*, celebrated by all antiquity. If we read *Rodanim* we may ſuppoſe with the Greek interpreters that they were the *Rhodii* or people of the iland of Rhodes, or with Bochart that they ſettled in part of France, and gave name to the river *Rhodanus* and the region *Rhodanuſia* near *Marſeilles*.—And ſo Javan and his ſons are placed principally in Greece, and the countries and ilands in the Mediterranean.

It is remarkable that ſeven of Japheth's ſons, and ſeven of his grandſons and no more are enumerated: and "by theſe," it is ſaid, "the "iles of the Gentiles were divided in their lands" that is they made a partition among them of the regions, countries, and provinces bordering upon the ſea, or to which the uſual paſſage was by ſea; for ſuch the Hebrews called *ilands*, and not only places ſurrounded by the ſea. And accordingly we may obſerve, that of the country poſſeſſed by the ſons of Japheth ſome were ilands properly ſpeaking, others were parts of the continent but extended to the Caſpian, or Euxin, or Mediterranean, or Ægean, or Iönian ſeas. The Hebrew word is ſometimes tranſlated "country" as in Jer. XLVII. 4. and Biſhop

(9) Mede's Diſc. XLIX. p. 272. Edit. 1672.

(1) Shuckford's

Biſhop Patrick ſays, So it plainly ſignifies Job XXII. 30. Iſ. XX. 6. where in the margin we tranſlate it "country." "Neither did the "Grecians," as (9) Mr. Mede juſtly obſerves, "uſe their word νησος only "for a place incompaſſed by the ſea; as we ſee by *Peloponneſus*, "Πελοπος νησος, which joined unto the main land of Epirus; and ſo "likewiſe were their *Cherſoneſi*."

II. Ham and his ſons. (ver. 6—20.) It is uncertain where *Ham* fixed his abode, whether in part of Canaan where we read (Gen. XIV. 5.) of the ſlaughter of "the Zuzims in Ham," or in part of Arabia whither the Simeonites penetrated (1 Chron. IV. 40.) and "where "they of Ham had dwelt of old," or in Egypt which is ſeveral times called by the Pſalmiſt "the land of Ham," and where *Jupiter Ammon* was ſo celebrated, and *No Ammon* or the city of Ammon, known afterwards by the name of Thebes. But that *Ham* was the father of the Canaanites, of ſome of the Arabians, of the Egyptians, and alſo of the other Africans will more fully appear from the ſtate of his ſons.

"Cuſh" was the firſt father of that mixed people the Arabians, and gave the firſt name to that country which from the mixture of people was called *Arabia*. From the eaſtern parts of Arabia he might extend into ſome part of Perſia, for there was a province named *Suſiana* and ſtill *Chuzeſtan* or *the land of Cuſh*. From the ſouthern parts of Arabia he and his ſons ſpread themſelves into Ethiopia: and from hence it cometh to paſs that the word *Cuſh* in ſcripture ſignifies ſometimes *Ethiopia*, but more generally *Arabia*. It would have been better perhaps if the word *Cuſh* had been retained conſtantly in our tranſlation, as it is in ſome few places; (Iſa. XI. 11. Hab. III. 7.) at leaſt it ſhould have been tranſlated ſometimes *Ethiopia*, but more generally *Arabia*, and not as it almoſt always is *Ethiopia*. Dr. Shuckford (1) carries the point beyond the truth in ſaying, there is "a very groſs miſtake which runs through our Engliſh tranſlation of "the bible. We conſtantly render the land of *Cuſh* the land of "*Ethiopia*;

(1) Shuckford's Connection, B. 3. p. 166. ſecond Edit.

(2) Univerſ.

" *Ethiopia*; but there is not any one place in ſcripture, where the " land of *Cuſh* ſhould be ſo rendered. By the land of *Cuſh* is al- " ways meant ſome part of *Arabia*; for there are ſome texts which " cannot poſſibly have any meaning, if we render *Cuſh Ethiopia*; but " the ſenſe of all is clear and eaſy, if we tranſlate it *Arabia*." The authors of the (2) Univerſal Hiſtory are in the ſame miſtake, aſſerting that " by *Cuſh* in ſcripture is always to be underſtood *Arabia*." But *Cuſh*, I ſay, ſometimes ſignifies *Ethiopia*, as in the book of Eſther (I. 1.) where the Perſian empire is deſcribed as extending " from In- " dia even unto Cuſh" meaning *Ethiopia*; for " from India even " unto Cuſh" meaning *Arabia* was not the full extent of the Perſian empire, Cambyſes (3) having ſubdued Egypt and the neighbouring part of Ethiopia, and Darius having conquered India; and theſe Ethiopians made preſents yearly to the king of Perſia, and in the great army of Xerxes (4) marched in the ſame body with the Arabians, and under the ſame commander Arſames, and at the ſame time theſe Ethiopians beyond Egypt are diſtinguiſhed from the other Ethiopians of India. The Pſalmiſt propheſying of the great reſort to the true religion ſaith (LXVIII. 31.) " Princes ſhall come out of Egypt," Cuſh " ſhall ſoon ſtretch out her hands unto God:" but after ſpeaking of " princes coming out of Egypt," the ſentiment would be leſſened by the mention of a country nearer than Egypt, *Arabia*; but is raiſed and improved by the addition of a country beyond Egypt, " Ethiopia " ſhall ſoon ſtretch out her hands unto God." That noted paſſage in Jeremiah (XIII. 23.) " Can the Cuſhite change his ſkin" may be rendered " Can the Arabian change his ſkin," the Arabians being of a tawny ſwarthy complexion: but the character is marked more ſtrongly by tranſlating it, as in our and moſt other tranſlations, " Can the " Ethiopian change his ſkin, or the leopard his ſpots? then may ye " alſo do good who are accuſtomed to do evil." Ezekiel foretells the devaſtation of Egypt from one end to the other, (XXIX. 10.) " from " the tower of Syene" (as it is in our tranſlation) " even unto the " border

(2) Univerſ. Hiſt. B. 1. Chap. 2. Sect. 6. p. 164.

(3) Herod.

" border of Ethiopia :" but this is highly improper, being as much as to ſay *from Ethiopia to Ethiopia*; for Syene, as it is now univerſally acknowleged and agreed, was a city in the extreme part of Egypt, bordering upon Ethiopia, ſo that it was ſomewhat dubious whether it belonged to Egypt or Ethiopia. As the word *Migdol* preceding is taken differently either for *a tower*, or *the name of a place*, ſo the word *Cuſh* ſhould be tranſlated differently either *Arabia* or *Ethiopia*. If *Migdol* be taken for *the proper name of a place* mentioned by Moſes (Exod. XIV. 2.) and by Jeremiah, (XLIV. 1. XLVI. 14.) afterwards called *Magdolum*, a town near the Red ſea at the entrance into Egypt from Paleſtine, then the Hebrew text muſt be corrected, the word עד *to* ſhould be inſerted, and the paſſage be tranſlated —" from Migdol to Syene, even to the border of Ethiopia." If *Migdol* be taken for *a tower*, as it moſt uſually ſignifies, then no correction of the Hebrew text is wanted, and the paſſage is naturally and eaſily tranſlated—" from the tower of Syene even unto the border of " Arabia," that is from the ſouthern to the northern extremity of Egypt. But in moſt other places *Cuſh* can only ſignify ſome part of *Arabia*, and *Arabia* it ſhould be tranſlated. " Cuſhan" and " the " land of Midian" are joined together by the prophet Habakkuk (III. 7.) as neighbouring nations, and " the land of Midian" is well known to have been in Arabia: " I ſaw the tents of Cuſhan" that is of the Scenite Arabians " in affliction, and the curtains in the land of " Midian did tremble." For the ſame reaſon Zipporah the wife of Moſes and daughter of Jethro prieſt of Midian ſhould not have been called (Numb. XII. 1.) an *Ethiopian* but an *Arabian* woman. Egypt is generally ſuppoſed to be deſcribed by Iſaiah (XVIII. 1.) as being " beyond the rivers of Cuſh" or as in our tranſlation " be- " yond the rivers of Ethiopia:" but inſtead of Egypt's being beyond Ethiopia Ethiopia was beyond Egypt, and conſequently *Cuſh* muſt be ſome middle country between Judea and Egypt, and that can be none other than *Arabia*. " Behold ſaith the Pſalmiſt (LXXXVII. 4.) " Philiſtia and Tyre with Ethiopia;" but *Ethiopia* was

(3) Herod. III. 97. IV. 44. Edit. Gale. (4) Herod. VII. 69, 70.

 (5) Joſephi

was too remote to be joined with *Philiſtia and Tyre*, *Cuſh* therefore muſt here alſo ſignify *Arabia*. And whenever we read in ſcripture of the *Cuſhites* with the Philiſtines and other neighbouring nations having wars or alliances with the Jews, by the *Cuſhites* we ſhould underſtand the *Arabians* who were near at hand, and not the *Ethiopians* who lay beyond Egypt at too great a diſtance to do the Jews either much good or harm.

No point of learning is more generally agreed upon, than that *Miſraim* ſettled in Egypt, and gave his name to that country; and it is obſerved that the word is of the dual termination to denote both the upper and the lower Egypt. He is commonly ſuppoſed to be the ſame as the *Miſor* of Sanchoniathon, and the *Menes* of the Greek hiſtorians. In the Hebrew ſcriptures Egypt is moſt uſually called by his name. Joſephus alſo (5) ſaith, that all we call Egypt *Meſtre* and the Egyptians *Meſtræans:* and to this day the Turks and Arabians diſtinguiſh Egypt by the name of *Miſri*.

It appears that *Put* or *Phut* ſettled firſt weſtward of Egypt in *Libya*, and from thence extended into Mauritania and the fartheſt parts of Africa. *Phut*, as (6) Joſephus aſſerts, firſt peopled *Libya*, calling the inhabitants after his own name; there is alſo a river in the country of the Moors, having this ſame name; whence we ſee many of the Greek hiſtoriographers make mention of this river, and of the adjacent country called *Phyte*. Much to the ſame purpoſe (7) St. Jerome ſaith, that *Phut* is the Hebrew name of *Libya*; from whom alſo a river of Mauritania is to this day called *Phut*, and all the region round about *Phyte:* Many writers as well Greek as Latin are witneſſes of this thing: and indeed Strabo, Pliny and other authors might be cited in confirmation of this aſſertion. *Phut* is commonly tranſlated *Libya*, and is often mentioned jointly with Egypt as one of the neighbouring nations: (Jer. XLVI. 9. Ezek. XXX. 5. Nahum III. 9.) nor is there any force in the objection made by Dr. Shuckford and others, that in the army of Gog (Ezek. XXXVIII. 5.) *Phut* is joined with

(6) Joſephi Antiq. Lib. 1. Cap. 6. Sect. 2. Edit. Hudſon.

(6) Joſephus ibid.

(7) Hieron.

with *Perſia* and *Cuſh* or *Ethiopia*; for it doth not therefore follow that *Phut* and *Perſia* are near neighbours, the dominions of Gog are of great extent in Africa as well as in Aſia, and he may aſſemble forces againſt Jeruſalem from Perſia in the eaſt, from Arabia in the ſouth, and from Libya or Mauritania in the ſouth-weſt.

Canaan was the father of the *Canaanites*, and firſt peopled the country, which from him was called *the land of Canaan*, then coming into the poſſeſſion of the Iſraelites under the command of Joſhua was denominated *the land of Iſrael*, and after the return of the Jews from the Babyloniſh captivity was better known under the name of *Judea*. The ſons of *Canaan* are enumerated as are likewiſe thoſe of *Cuſh* and *Miſraim*; but no mention is made of the deſcendents of *Phut*, the reaſon we may ſuppoſe to be, becauſe he lay at a greater diſtance than the reſt of his brethren.

The ſons of *Cuſh* ſeem to have ſettled chiefly in Arabia; but their particular boundaries it is impoſſible to fix and determin with any exactneſs.—*Seba* or *Saba* in *Sabæa*.—*Havilah* in *Havilah* the eaſtern part of Arabia oppoſed to Shur in the weſtern part near Egypt. (Gen. XXV. 13. 1 Sam. XV. 7.)—*Sabtah* not far from the Perſian gulph, where according to Ptolemy was a city called *Saptha*, and another lower down named *Sabatha*.—*Raamah* or *Regma* more ſouthwards upon the ſame gulph, where was a city called *Regma* by Ptolemy and Stephanus de Urbibus.—*Sabtecha* we may ſuppoſe ſomewhere in the ſame country, but it is not known in what part.—*Sheba* and *Dedan*, the ſons of Raamah, and the only grandſons of Cuſh who are mentioned, not far from their father Raamah upon the ſame Perſian gulph. *Sheba* and *Raamah* are joined together by Ezekiel (XXVII. 22.) as merchants to Tyre, as are alſo *Sheba* and *Dedan* in another place (XXXVIII. 13.) by the ſame prophet.

Nimrod was the ſixth and laſt ſon of Cuſh, or was reſerved to the laſt place as deſerving a more particular mention than the reſt of his brethren. His name is generally thought to be derived from *marad*

(7) Hieron. Op. Tom. 2. Quæſt. Hebraic. p. 515. Edit. Benedict.

(8) See

rad a verb ſignifying to *rebell*, and he was the firſt who rebelled againſt paternal authority by aſpiring to ſovran dominion. He laid the foundation of his future greatneſs, as other kings and heroes have ſince done, by training and exerciſing himſelf and his followers in hunting, wherein he diſplayed ſuch uncommon alacrity and vigor, and was ſo beneficial to mankind in clearing the earth from noxious beaſts, that his name became famous and proverbial in after ages, " Wherefore it " is ſaid, Even as Nimrod the mighty hunter before the Lord," the words " before the Lord" being only a phraſe to denote extraordinary eminence and excellence in any kind. So Rachel ſaid (Gen. XXX. 8.) " With wreſtlings of God," that is, " with great wreſtlings have " I wreſtled with my ſiſter, and I have prevailed :" So Nineveh is called, (Jonah III. 3.) " a city great to God," that is, an exceeding great city: So Moſes is ſaid (Acts VII. 20.) to have been " fair " to God," that is, exceeding fair: So " ſinners before the Lord" (Gen. XIII. 13.) are very great ſinners: and there are other ſimilar expreſſions in ſcripture. By theſe extraordinary feats of activity in the hunting of wild beaſts, he greatly increaſed the number of his followers, and by degrees acquired more and more dominion over men: " And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel" or Babylon. Not that he was the firſt builder, or the propoſer of the firſt deſign of building Babel, as Joſephus, Perizonius, and other learned men both ancient and modern have conceived. For it was the united work of all, or much the greater part of mankind; it muſt have been begun ſome time before the confuſion of language; the confuſion of language and the diſperſion of mankind fell out in the 1011ſt year after the flood; but Cuſh the father of Nimrod was not born till after the flood, and conſequently Nimrod himſelf at the time of the building of Babel could not have been of an age ſufficient to exerciſe ſuch power and authority over his brothers, his father, his grandfather, and the reſt of mankind elder than himſelf. The very expreſſion, " the beginning of his kingdom was Babel," plainly implies that it was already built, when he made it the ſeat of his

(8) See the Ninth Diſſertation on the Prophecies.

(9) Compare 2 Sam. VI. 10. with 1 Chron. XIII. 13. 2 Sam. X. 2. with 1 Chron. XIX. 2.

(1) Bochart.

his empire. He muſt either have remained there upon the ſpot after the diſperſion of mankind, or rather after ſome time ſeparating himſelf from the reſt of his family he muſt have returned thither, have diſpoſſeſſed the inhabitants, and have choſen it for the chief place of his reſidence and the metropolis of his kingdom. The very words of the text, "The beginning of his kingdom was Babel," plainly intimate that his kingdom afterwards received a farther inlargement; and it comprehended "Erech," called *Arecca* by Ptolemy, *Arecha* by Ammianus Marcellinus; and "Accad" or *Archad*; and "Calneh" called *Calno* by Iſaiah, (X. 9.) *Canne* by Ezekiel, (XXVII. 23.) *Calneh* alſo by Amos (VI. 2.) from whence the country received the name of *Chalonitis*; all three cities "in the land of Shinar" or Babylonia.

Some very learned men ſay, that not content with his dominions in this country, he invaded the land of Aſſhur or Aſſyria; for they underſtand the text in the ſame manner as I have (8) obſerved elſewhere; not that "out of that land went forth Aſſhur," but that "out of "that land he" (Nimrod) "went forth into Aſſyria," as it is tranſlated by the Chaldee paraphraſt, and in the margin of our bibles. For *Aſſhur* in Hebrew is the name of the country as well as the name of the man; the prepoſition is often omitted, and may very well be underſtood, as it is (9) in other places. Moſes is here giving an account of the ſons of Ham, and it would be foreign to his ſubject to intermix the ſtory of any of the ſons of Shem, as Aſſhur was. Moſes afterwards reccunts the ſons of Shem, and Aſſhur among them, and he would hardly relate his actions, before he had mentioned his nativity, or even his name, contrary to the ſeries of the genealogy and to the order of the hiſtory: neither was it any thing peculiar to ſay of Aſſhur, that "he went forth out of that land," becauſe all mankind "went forth out of that land" as well as Aſſhur.

But notwithſtanding theſe reaſons and ſuch great authorities as (1) Bochart, Hyde, Le Clerc and other learned men, I cannot but prefer the plain and natural conſtruction of the text, without ſuppoſing any omiſſion, or inſerting any addition, as it is tranſlated in our Engliſh,

(1) Bocharti Phaleg. Lib. 4. Cap. 12. Hyde Hiſt. Relig. Vet. Perſ. Cap. 2. Le Clerc in locum, &c. &c.

(2) Bocharti

Engliſh, and in moſt of the ancient verſions, that " out of that land " went forth Aſſhur," being expelled from thence by Nimrod, who ſeiſed upon his poſſeſſions. It is true that " out of that land went " forth" all mankind as well as Aſſhur; but they went forth by divine direction, he by human force and violence; they went forth at the time of the general diſperſion, he remained behind in poſſeſſion till he was diſpoſſeſſed by the ſuperior power of Nimrod, and then to ſecure and fortify himſelf againſt farther incroachments " he builded " Nineveh" and other cities in oppoſition to thoſe which Nimrod had uſurped or founded in the land of Shinar. When mention was made of Nimrod's taking poſſeſſion of the land of Shinar, it was natural enough to relate what became of the former inhabitants, and whither they retreated, which courſe Moſes purſues, though in the order of hiſtory he was not yet come to ſpeak of Aſſhur or his genealogy: and ſuch anticipations are not unfrequent either in ſcripture, or in the beſt heathen hiſtorians. It is not very probable, that in thoſe early days, when kingdoms were ſmall and inconſiderable, one and the ſame perſon, Nimrod, ſhould be maſter of two ſuch capital cities as Babylon and Nineveh, ſhould be the conqueror of the one and the founder of the other. We find it no where elſe ſuggeſted that a Cuſhite, as Nimrod was, went into Aſſyria, and builded Nineveh; on the contrary it appears from the general conſent of the moſt ancient hiſtorians and geographers, that Nineveh was an *Aſſyrian* city, was founded and firſt inhabited by *Aſſyrians*. We may conclude therefore that not Nimrod but Aſſhur was the builder of Nineveh, though afterwards without doubt it received conſiderable additions and improvements from the ſucceeding kings of Aſſyria. Beſides Nineveh Aſſhur founded three other cities in Aſſyria, " Rehoboth, and Ca- " lah, and Reſen between Nineveh and Calah," which latter was the greateſt city of the three: but it is no marvel that we are not able to trace out more particulars relating to theſe cities, ſince even of Nineveh itſelf, which was ſo much more famous than any of theſe, there are no veſtiges remaining, nor can its ſituation be certainly known.

Nimrod having thus gotten poſſeſſion of the land of Shinar, the land of Shinar or Babylonia was afterwards called *the land of Nimrod:* as by the prophet Micah (V. 6.) " They ſhall waſte the " land of Aſſyria with the ſword, and the land of Nimrod in the entrances thereof," the prophets often denouncing the judgments of God againſt Babylonia as well as againſt Aſſyria, and ſometimes againſt both together. But as Nimrod's kingdom was erected by force, it appears to have been of no long continuance; it began and ended probably in him; at leaſt the glory and renown of it died with him. For notwithſtanding all their vain boaſts and pretences to great antiquity, the Babylonian and Aſſyrian empires made no conſiderable figure for ſeveral ages afterwards; the Aſſyrians, as they ſtill retained their own name, it is moſt likely, recovered their own territories which Nimrod had uſurped: and in Abraham's time " the king of Shinar" or Babylonia was no very great king, (Gen. XIV.) he was one of the four kings who fought againſt five, and who were all four defeated and put to flight by Abraham and his three hundred and eighteen trained ſervants. There could not have been any great empire, ſuch as the Babylonian or Aſſyrian, at that time in thoſe countries; they were divided, as moſt countries were at the beginning, into many petty kingdoms.

Miſraim having ſettled in Egypt, we muſt look thereabout for his ſons. *Lud* or *Ludim* are with reaſon ſuppoſed to be *Ethiopians*. Some Ethiopians, as we have ſeen, deſcended from *Cuſh* or the Arabians, and were called by the name of *Cuſh*; but others derived their deſcent from *Lud*, and were therefore called *Ludim*; thoſe I conceive to have been the eaſtern, and theſe the weſtern Ethiopians. *Lud* and *Ludim* deſcended from *Miſraim*; and ſo did theſe Ethiopians from the Egyptians: the great reſemblance between their manners and cuſtoms manifeſtly diſcovers their near relation to each other; and as mankind were ſcattered abroad from the land of Shinar, they muſt of courſe have come into Egypt, before they could have ſpread themſelves into Ethiopia; and according to Feſtus the Ethiopians were ſometimes called *Ægyptini* as being a colony of Egyptians. *Lud* and *Ludim* are mentioned by Iſaiah (LXVI. 19.) and Jeremiah (XLVI. 9.)

as

as " ſkilful in drawing the bow;" and ſo were the Ethiopians, and are celebrated for it by all antiquity. *Lud* and *Ludim* are reckoned with *Cuſh* and *Phut* (Jer. XLVI. 9. Ezek. XXX. 5.) as auxiliaries to the Egyptians, and involved in the ſame deſolation, which implies that they were all near neighbours to the Egyptians; and ſo they were in reality, *Cuſh* or the Arabians to the eaſt, *Phut* or the Libyans to the weſt, *Ludim* or the Ethiopians to the ſouth.—*Anam*, according to (2) Bochart, in the old Egyptian language ſignified *a ſheep*, and *Anamim* are the *Nomades* or feeders of ſheep in *Ammonia*, the region famous for the temple of Jupiter Ammon; and the *Ammonians* are ſaid by (3) Herodotus to have been a colony partly of Egyptians partly of Ethiopians, and to ſpeak a language between both.—*Lehabim* are moſt probably the ſame as *Lubim* mentioned in other parts of ſcripture, the *Liby-Ægyptians* as they are called by (4) Pliny and other authors, that is thoſe Libyans who dwelt neareſt to Egypt, and were deſcended from *Miſraim* or the Egyptians; the reſt were the deſcendents of *Put* or *Phut*. *Put* and *Lubim* are plainly diſtinguiſhed by the prophet Nahum (III. 9.) *Put* being the general name of the Libyans, and *Lubim* the particular name of the Libyans adjoining to Egypt. *Lehaba* in Hebrew ſignifies *flame*, *heat*, &c. and the name agrees very well with the nature of their country, which abounded with hot burning ſands.—*Naphtuhim* or *Nephtuhim* were ſeated on the ſhore of the Mediterranean, for as (5) Plutarch informs us, the extremities of the earth which are mountainous and bordering upon the ſea, the Egyptians call *Nephthys*, and hence probably the name of *Neptune* the god of the ſea.—*Pathruſim* were inhabitants of the land of *Pathros*, which is ſpoken of by Jeremiah (XLIV. 1, 15.) and Ezekiel (XXIX. 13.) as one of the diſtricts of Egypt: and as the *Naphtuhim* were ſeated in the northern parts of Egypt towards the Mediterranean, ſo *Pathros* was in the ſouthern parts towards Ethiopia, and was afterwards better known by the name of *Thebais* from the city of Thebes built therein.—*Caſluhim* ſeem to have

(2) Bocharti Phaleg. Lib. 4. Cap. 30.
(3) Herod. Lib. 2. Sect. 42. p. 106. Edit. Gale.
(4) Plin. Nat. Hiſt. Lib. 5. Cap. 8. Edit. Hardduin.
(5) Plutarch.

have been ſeated near the entrance into Egypt from Paleſtine, about mount *Caſius*, and in the country called *Caſiotis*, which retain ſome reſemblance of the ancient name. They cannot be the *Colchians*, as (6) Bochart imagins; for the *Colchians* in the northern part of Aſia lay too remote to be reckoned among the ſons of Miſraim in the firſt plantation of nations, which was made, as Moſes ſaith again and again, "after their families, after their tongues, in their countries, "and in their nations;" and it is directly contrary to this rule to look for the ſons of Ham at ſo great a diſtance from any of their brethren among the ſons of Japheth. *Caſluhim* might indeed afterwards ſend forth a colony thither, for the *Colchians* by all accounts appear to have been a colony of Egyptians. But whether the *Colchians* did or not, the *Philiſtines* certainly ſprung from *Caſluhim*, for the text ſays "Caſluhim out of whom came Philiſtim;" and in all probability the name of *Caſluhim* was abſorbed and loſt in that of *Philiſtim*, as we read of the one long after the other.—*Caphtorim* ſeem to have been near neighbours to Caſluhim, and their country is called by Jeremiah (XLVII. 4.) "the ile of Caphtor," formed moſt probably by different branches of the river Nile. The ancients were generally of opinion, that *Caphtorim* were the *Cappadocians*; but for the ſame reaſon that *Caſluhim* cannot be the *Colchians*, neither can *Caphtorim* be the *Cappadocians*, becauſe they lie too remote from the reſt of their brethren, and Cappadocia, as we have ſeen, was among the portions of the ſons of Japheth. It appears that the *Caphtorim* were a warlike people, for (Deut. II. 23.) they deſtroyed the Avim, and took poſſeſſion of their country even unto Azzah or Gaza. They ſeem too to have ſubdued the Philiſtines, and to have carried them into captivity, as I think we muſt infer from that paſſage in the prophet Amos, (IX. 7.) where the Lord is repreſented ſaying, "Have not I brought up Iſrael out of the land of Egypt? "and the Philiſtines from Caphtor, and the Syrians from Kir?" Which ſufficiently implies that the Philiſtines were in captivity to Caphtor,

(5) Plutarch. de Iſid. et Oſir. p. 366. Edit. Paris. 1624.

(6) Bocharti Phaleg. Lib. 4. Cap. 31.

(7) Joſephi

Caphtor, as the Iſraelites were under bondage in Egypt, and the Syrians in Kir, whither they were carried captive (2 Kings XVI. 9.) by Tiglath-Pileſer: So that when Jeremiah (XLVII. 4.) calleth the Philiſtines "the remnant of Caphtor," he ſhould be underſtood in the ſame manner as Virgil when he calleth the Trojans "the remnant" or "relics of the Grecians" (relliquias Danaûm atque immitis Achillei) rather than meaning that the Philiſtines were the deſcendents of Caphtor. Neither was it impoſſible, nor improbable, that the Philiſtines ſhould in their turn alſo ſubdue the Caphtorim, for Gaza, which the Caphtorim conquered and took from the Avim, became afterwards a principal city of the Philiſtines.—Theſe were the ſons of Miſraim; and it was a groſs miſtake of Joſephus to ſay that they were all except the Philiſtines deſtroyed in the Ethiopic war, for beſides the diſcovery of the places of their habitations, it is much to be doubted whether there ever was any ſuch Ethiopic war as (7) Joſephus relates; the ſcripture giveth not the leaſt intimation of it; it ſeemeth to have been altogether a fond invention of ſome later Jews to do honor as they fancied to the character of Moſes.

Of the ſons of Canaan *Sidon* was the firſt-born; he built the city *Sidon* upon the coaſt of the Mediterranean; at leaſt it was called after his name, and a very ancient city it was. It is mentioned by the patriarch Jacob: (Gen. XLIX. 13.) in Joſhua's time it was called "great Sidon:" (Joſh. XI. 8. XIX. 28.) in the time of the Judges (XVIII. 7.) the "careleſs and ſecure" manner of living of the Sidonians was almoſt become proverbial. They are celebrated by Homer and other ancient authors for their arts and manufactures of various kinds; and it is ſaid particularly by Solomon (1 Kings V. 6.) that "there is not any that can ſkill to hew timber like unto the Sido-"nians." Sidon was the mother city to Tyre, (Iſ. XXXIII. 12.) but in time the daughter ſurpaſſed the mother, and being near neighbours they are often joined together.—*Heth* was the father of the *Hittites* who dwelt about Hebron (Gen. XXIII.) in the ſouth of Canaan. They

(7) Joſephi Antiq. Lib. 2. Cap. 10. p. 78. Edit. Hudſon.

(8) Hieron.

They were a warlike gigantic race, and the very terror of their name (2 Kings VII. 6.) made the Syrians raiſe the ſiege of Samaria.—The *Jebuſites* (for theſe following are reckoned by their name, not by the name of their father) were ſeated about Jeruſalem, (Joſh. XV. 63.) which was alſo called *Jebus* (Judg. XIX. 10.) probably from the name of their father, and they kept poſſeſſion of the fort of Sion (2 Sam. V. 7.) till the days of David.—The *Emorites* or *Amorites* lay weſtward of the river Jordan, (Joſh. V. 1.) in the mountains of Canaan, (Numb. XIII. 29.) and were of great ſtature, (Amos II. 9.) "high as cedars, ſtrong as oaks."—Some of the *Girgaſites* were remaining in our Saviour's time, and are called in the New Teſtament (Matt. VIII. 28. Mark V. 1. Luke VIII. 26.) *Gergeſenes* and *Gaderenes*, whoſe country was "on the other ſide of the ſea" of Tiberias, "over againſt Galilee."—The *Hivites* dwelt "under mount "Hermon," (Joſh. XI. 3.) which being in the eaſtern part of Canaan, they were therefore called *Kadmonites* (Gen. XV. 19.) that is eaſterlings or orientals. The *Gibeonites* (Joſh. XI. 19.) and the *Shechemites* (Gen. XXXIV. 2.) were alſo colonies of the *Hivites*.—The *Arkites* dwelt in mount Libanus, where was the city *Arca* mentioned by Ptolemy and Joſephus.—The *Sinites* cannot be the *Peluſiots*, as Bochart and others conceive; for *Sin* or *Peluſium* mentioned by Ezekiel (XXX. 15.) rather belonged to Egypt, and was called "the ſtrength "of Egypt," the country thereabout abounding with marſhes, and rendering the approach to Egypt very difficult and dangerous. *Sin* the city of the *Sinites*, according to (8) St. Jerome, was not far from *Arca* the city of the Arkites; and *Sinna* a fortified place in mount Libanus is alſo mentioned by Strabo.—The *Arvadites* or *Aradians* poſſeſſed the ile of *Arvad* as it is denominated in ſcripture, or *Aradus* as in Greek and Roman authors, on the coaſt of Phœnicia; and were both excellent ſailors and ſoldiers, (Ezek. XXVII. 8, 11.) and as ſuch were joined to Sidon and aſſiſted Tyre.—The *Zemarites* were ſeated in *Zemaraim* (Joſh. XVIII. 22.) a city that was afterwards allotted

(8) Hieron. Quæſt. Hebraic. in Geneſim. Tom. 2. Col. 516. Edit. Benedict. Strab. Lib. 16. p. 755. Edit. Paris. 1620. p. 1096. Edit. Amſtel. 1707.

(9) Joſephi

allotted to the tribe of Benjamin.—The *Hamathites* in *Hamath* (Numb. XIII. 21.) and *the entrance of Hamath* (XXXIV. 8.) which was the northern boundary of the promiſed land.—Theſe were the eleven families or nations of Canaan, and their borders were "from Sidon" in the north "by Gerar unto Gaza" in the ſouth-weſt, and ſo "by "Sodom and Gomorrah and Admah and Zeboim even unto Laſha," which ſeemeth to have been a city of Arabia in the ſouth-eaſt. Theſe families or nations were afterwards inlarged and diffuſed, ſo that ſome of them were diſtinguiſhed by different names as *Kenites*, *Kenizzites*, *Perizzites*, &c. and though all in general were *Canaanites*, yet ſome were ſo denominated in particular, (Numb. XIII. 29. Deut. I. 7.) thoſe who "dwelt by the ſea and by the coaſt of Jordan," and were enabled by their ſituation to carry on the greater traffic and commerce, and became more eminent and renowned than the reſt of their brethren. They traded and ſent forth colonies into moſt parts of the earth then known, not only Aſia, Africa, Greece, and the neighbouring ilands, but likewiſe Italy, Spain, Britain, and the fartheſt parts of Europe, as Bochart hath proved at large in a moſt learned work intitled *Canaan* of the colonies and language of the Phœnicians.

III. Shem and his ſons (ver. 21—31.) are reſerved to the laſt place, the ſubſequent hiſtory, as it was hinted before, relating moſtly to his poſterity, and to his poſterity by Eber, for which reaſon he is emphatically ſtiled "the father of all the children of Eber. As Ham, though he had ſeveral other ſons, was yet called "the father of Ca-"naan," (Gen. IX. 22.) becauſe the curſe denounced on Ham was executed principally on his ſeed by Canaan in particular: So Shem, though he had alſo ſeveral other ſons was yet called "the father of "the children of Eber," becauſe the bleſſing promiſed to Shem was fulfilled to his ſeed by Eber in particular, and to that branch of Eber's ſeed by Abraham. Abraham is therefore called (Gen. XIV. 13.) "the "Hebrew," and his children by Iſaac "the Hebrews, the children "of

(9) Joſephi Antiq. Lib. 1. Cap. 6. Sect. 4. p. 19. Edit. Hudſon.

(1) See Diſſert. on the Prophecies X. Marſhami Chron. Sæc. XVIII. p. 564. Bocharti Phaleg. Lib.

" of the promiſe" (Rom. IX. 8.) being properly " counted the ſeed." Shem, if he did not remain with his father in the eaſt, yet after the confuſion of language and the diſperſion of mankind from Babel, moſt probably retired back into the eaſt again, and from thence his ſons ſeem to have ſpread themſelves, but all fixed their habitations in Aſia.

Elam, as (9) Joſephus truly ſaith, was the progenitor of the *Perſians*. There was " a king of Elam (Gen. XIV. 1.) ſo early as in the days of Abraham. *Elam* was an ancient name for Perſia or a province of Perſia, and is often joined with Media, as the kingdoms were alſo joined. Iſaiah thus ſtirreth up the Medes and Perſians againſt Babylon, (XXI. 2.) " Go up, O Elam; beſiege, O Media." Jeremiah denounceth judgments (XXV. 25.) among other nations " upon all " the kings of Elam, and all the kings of the Medes." Shuſhan according to Daniel (VIII. 2.) was " in the province of Elam." The name of Perſia (1) firſt occurs in Ezekiel, nor was it generally known till the time of Cyrus. We read of *Elamites* even ſo late as in the Acts of the Apoſtles, (II. 9.) " Medes and Elamites and the dwellers " in Meſopotamia."

Aſſhur, as all know and as all agree, was the father of the *Aſſyrians*.

Arphaxad, ſome ſay after (2) Bochart, was ſeated in that part of Aſſyria called *Arraphacitis* by Ptolemy. Others follow the opinion of (3) Joſephus, that *Arphaxad* gave name to the *Arphaxadæans* now called *Chaldæans*; and this account appears the more probable of the two. For the Hebrew word *Chaſdim*, which the Greeks have ſoftened from *Chaſdæi* into *Chaldæi* by changing the *s* into *l*, is itſelf formed from the word כשד, the three radical letters whereof are (4) the three final letters of the word *Arphaxad* or *Arpachſhad*. It is contrary to chronology and hiſtory to ſuppoſe that the *Chaſdim* derived their name and deſcent from *Cheſed* (Gen. XXII. 22.) the ſon of Nahor Abraham's brother; becauſe the *Chaſdim* were ſo called before *Cheſed* was born, (Gen. XV. 7.) and before Terah Abraham's father (Gen.

Lib. 4. Cap. 10. Col. 224.
(2) Bocharti Phaleg. Lib. 2. Cap. 4.
(3) Joſeph. ibid. p. 20.
(4) Lightfoot's Works, Vol. 1. p. 13.
(5) Bocharti

(Gen. XI. 31.) left " Ur of the Chaſdim" or " Chaldees," and before Haran died (ver. 28.) in the land of his nativity, in " Ur of the " Chaſdim" or " Chaldees," the force of which argument cannot be eluded by way of prolepſis or anticipation, for which there is not the leaſt foundation.

Lud was the father of the Lydians, and gave name to *Lydia*. There were alſo *Ludim* (ver. 13.) deſcendents of Ham as well as of Shem; and thoſe, as we have ſeen, were ſeated in Africa in Ethiopia, theſe in Aſia in Lydia. What Greek authors relate, of the *Lydians* being firſt called *Mæonians* from *Mæon* an ancient king of the country, and afterwards *Lydians* from *Lydus* the ſon of Atys another king, is all a fable, as indeed is the greateſt part of the ancient Greek hiſtory; or it ſhould be underſtood as (5) Bochart explains it, that *Mæon* in the Greek is a word of the ſame import and ſignification as *Lud* in the oriental languages.

Aram gave his name to the country and to the people, which the Greeks inſtead of *Aram* and *Aramæi* called *Syria* and *Syrians*. The name of *Arima* was not wholly unknown to the Greeks; mention is made of the *Arimi* by (6) Homer, Heſiod, and other authors: and *Arima*, as Strabo teſtifies, was *Syria*, the *Arimi* or *Arami* were *Syrians*. *Aram* or *Syria* being a country of large extent, the different parts were diſtinguiſhed by different names, as Aram-Naharajim, (Gen. XXIV. 10. Deut. XXIII. 4. Judg. III. 8.) Padan-Aram (Gen. XXVIII. 2.) Aram-Zoba (2 Sam. X. 6.) Aram-Damaſcus, (2 Sam. VIII. 6.) Aram-Bethrehob, (2 Sam. X. 6.) Aram-Maachah (1 Chron. XIX. 6.) There was another *Aram*, ſon of Kemuel, and grandſon of Nahor Abraham's brother; (Gen. XXII. 21.) he might probably be the father of ſome tribe of the Syrians, but not of the whole nation, which was older.

After the mention of Aram his four ſons are enumerated. *Uz*, it is generally agreed, built Damaſcus, and gave name to the country about it. There was another *Uz*, (Gen. XXII. 21.) who was the eldeſt ſon of Nahor Abraham's brother, and a third, (Gen. XXXVI. 28.) who was of the race of Edom: and both their countries were called

(5) Bochart. ibid. Cap. 12.
(6) Hom. Il. II. 783. Heſ. Theog. 304. Strab. Lib. 13. p. 627. Ed. Par. 1620. p. 930. Ed. Amſtel. 1707. p. 784. Edit. Paris. p. 1131. Edit. Amſtel.

(7) Ammianus

called " the land of Uz;" the former in Arabia, the country of Job, (I. 1.) " There was a man in the land of Uz whoſe name was Job;" the latter in Idumea, mentioned by Jeremiah, (Lam. IV. 21.) " Re- " joice, and be glad, O daughter of Edom, that dwelleſt in the land " of Uz."—*Hul* or *Chul*, it may be, took poſſeſſion of that part of Armenia, which was called *Cholobetene*, the ſame as *Cholbeth* in Hebrew, the houſe or ſeat of *Chol*.—*Gether* is ſuppoſed to have given name to the river *Getri* or *Centrites* as it was called by the Greeks, which ſeparates Armenia from the country of the Carduchi.—*Maſh* or *Meſhech* (1 Chron. I. 17.) is thought to have ſettled about the mountain *Maſius* and the river *Maſca* flowing from it, which mountain and river ſeem to have derived their names *Maſius* from *Maſh*, and *Maſca* from *Meſhech*; and the inhabitants of this country are called by Stephanus *Maſieni*.

After Aram's family the genealogy returns to his elder brother Arphaxad, in whoſe line chiefly is continued the thred of ſacred hiſtory. Araphaxad was the father of *Shelah* or *Salah*, who is ſaid to have fixed in the province of Suſiana, where was a famous city of the name of *Sele*, as (7) Ammianus Marcellinus informs us. There may have been other cities of the ſame name in other places, but this lieth not too remote from the reſt of his family.

Selah was the father of *Eber*, whom we may ſuppoſe to have lived ſomewhere in Chaldæa, as there we find ſeveral of his deſcendents. From *Eber* the *Hebrew* nation derived their name as well as their pedigree; not from (8) *eber* a prepoſition ſignifying *beyond*, and *beyond* ſignifying *beyond the river Euphrates*, a manner of ſpeaking not to be found in ſcripture or any where elſe: Neither could they properly be called *Hebrews* or *men beyond the river*, when they dwelt on this ſide the river, and only their father Abraham had come from beyond it. They are not only called *Hebrews* and *the ſons of Eber*, but even *Eber* (Numb. XXIV. 24.) as the deſcendents of Aſſhur are called by the name of *Aſſhur*. It is true that not all the ſons of *Eber* were called

(7) Ammianus Marcell. Lib. 23. p. 372. Edit. Valeſii. Paris. 1681

(8) See Diſſert. on the Prophecies V.

(9) Bocharti

called *Hebrews*, neither were all the ſons even of Abraham or of Iſaac, but only thoſe who were of the faith and religion of Abraham and Iſaac, and uſed the ſame and which from them was called the *Hebrew* language.

Eber had two ſons, the elder of whom was *Peleg*, which name ſignifying *diviſion*, he was ſo named by his father, becauſe about the time of his birth mankind began to be divided firſt in language afterwards in habitations. He and his deſcendents in the right line to Abraham ſeem to have lived in ſome part of Meſopotamia; Terah the father of Abraham, we know, dwelt (Gen. XI. 28.) " in Ur of " the Chaldees."

Eber's younger ſon was *Joktan*, who by his thirteen ſons became the father of as many tribes or families of the Arabians. From him many of the Arabians themſelves derive their own original; they call him *Cahtan*, (9) (as Bochart, Pocock, and others obſerve) and this *Cahtan*, they ſay expreſly, was the ſon of Eber, the ſon of Selah, &c. *Joktan* is alſo rendered *Cahtan* in the Arabic verſion: and as the name of *Cahtan* was preſerved in that of the people called *Catanites* mentioned by Ptolemy, ſo the name of *Joktan* or *Jektan* is ſtill retained in that of a city in the territory of Meccha called *Baiſeth Jektan* the ſeat or habitation of Jektan. It may be impoſſible to determin the particular lot or portion of each of the thirteen ſons of Joktan; but in the general it is agreed that they dwelt in Arabia Felix, and extended from *Meſha* a port on the Red ſea in the weſt to *Sephar a mount of the eaſt*, where was alſo a city of the ſame name, and a people called *Sepharites*. We ſee then that ſome of the Arabians deſcended from *Joktan* and his ſons, as others before did from *Cuſh* and his ſons, and others afterwards from *Abraham* and his ſons, and *Iſhmael* and his ſons. Not only the nation in general, but alſo the particular tribes had a mixture of originals. The Sabæans for inſtance, who reached, as (1) Pliny ſays, to both ſeas, the Arabian and Perſian, had four different progenitors; ſome were the ſons of " Seba the ſon " of

(9) Bocharti Phaleg. Lib. 2. Cap. 15. Poccckii Specimen Hiſt. Arab. p. 39, &c.

(1) Plin.

" of Cuſh," (Gen. X. 7.) ſome again of " Sheba the ſon of Raamah," (ver. 7.) others of " Sheba the ſon of Joktan," (ver. 28.) others again of " Sheba the grandſon of Abraham;" (Gen. XXV. 3.) ſo that it was with the greateſt fitneſs and propriety that the Arabians had the name of *Arabians or the mixed people.*

In this manner the three parts of the world were peopled by the three ſons of Noah and their poſterity, the better part of *Aſia* by *Shem*, *Africa* by *Ham*, *Europe* and the northern part of *Aſia* by *Japheth*, all three by degrees ſpreading farther and farther into countries more than were known or named in the time of Moſes. But a queſtion ſtill remains, From whence did *America* the fourth part of the world, receive its inhabitants? Was that exempted from the general deluge, or how were men conveyed thither? That it was not exempted from the general deluge, the ſcripture is plain and clear, for " all the high hills that were under the whole heaven were covered, " every man and every living ſubſtance was deſtroyed, Noah only re- " mained alive and they that were with him in the ark:" but as to the manner of peopling it, the ſcripture is altogether ſilent, the ſacred writers in all probability having never known or heard any thing of America, notwithſtanding what is ſaid of Solomon's voyages performed once in three years. The ſcripture ſaith in general, that " of " them," that is of the three ſons of Noah, " was the whole earth " overſpread," and thoſe nations only, which were in ſome meaſure known to Moſes and his countrymen, are particularly ſpecified. Neither hath any other author, ancient or modern, given us any certain account of this matter, ſo that nothing can be propoſed upon this ſubject better than probability and conjecture.

What upon examination appears to me moſt probable is, that America, though peopled long ago, yet was not peopled till after many other countries, as it lay at a greater diſtance from the land of Shinar, from whence mankind were firſt diſperſed, and conſequently men were longer in paſſing thither: and the preſent ſtate and face of the country,

(1) Plin. Nat. Hiſt. Lib. 6. Sect. 32. Edit. Harduin.

try, the want of culture in many parts, the want of many uſeful arts and manufactures, the want of all ancient hiſtory and learning, greatly corroborate and confirm this ſuſpicion; though ſome traditions are ſtill retained among them of an univerſal deluge, of a few only being preſerved alive to repleniſh the earth, of the confuſion of language and the diſperſion of mankind; which manifeſtly prove, that having the ſame traditions, they muſt have ſprung from the ſame common root or ſtock as the reſt of mankind. But though they ſprung from the ſame common root or ſtock, yet they ſeem to have grown from different branches; ſo many different nations with ſo many different languages could not well have deſcended from one and the ſame people, but muſt have arrived at different periods from different countries. The Phœnicians Egyptians and Carthaginians in former times, the Welſh Chineſe and other nations in later ages, are ſaid to have found the way to America, and to have planted colonies there; and ſome ſimilitude and affinity of manners cuſtoms and languages have been obſerved between theſe nations and thoſe of America. Whether theſe things were ſo or not, it is eaſy to conceive, that ſome may have paſſed from Europe to the weſtern ilands, and from the weſtern ilands to the continent on this ſide; and others again may have paſſed from Aſia to the eaſtern ilands, and from the eaſtern ilands to the continent on that ſide; driven perhaps in ſmall veſſels by ſtreſs of weather, not knowing whither they went, or how to return, and ſo may have ſettled there, and in proceſs of time their poſterity may have utterly loſt all memory of their anceſtors, who they were and from whence they came.

But the principal ſources of the peopling of America ſeem to have been the north-eaſtern parts of Aſia, and the north-weſtern parts of Europe, where they had only ſtraits or narrow ſeas to croſs without much difficulty or danger, which too are frozen up a great part of every year, ſo that they might croſs them drawn in ſledges as well as carried in boats; and if the continents are not continuous now, (for theſe parts are not ſufficiently known) yet they may have been joined formerly, and the ſea may ſince have gained upon them. It is certain,

the ſtature complexions and perſons, the genius manners and languages of the Americans bear a much greater reſemblance to the barbarous northern than to the more civilized nations of Aſia and Europe: and having firſt arrived in America without ſhipping, either by land or over the ice, or in ſmall boats, and having either never known, or long forgotten the uſe of better veſſels than ſmall boats and canoes, they might well be aſtoniſhed at the ſize and bulk the guns and ſails of the Spaniſh ſhips, when they came firſt to invade them. When America was firſt diſcovered by the Spaniards, no horſes were found there, but the inhabitants made uſe of rein-deer inſtead of them, which is a farther confirmation, that they came originally from the moſt extreme northern parts of Aſia or of Europe, for there alſo the natives have no horſes, but are drawn by rein-deer, horſes not being able to ſubſiſt in thoſe extreme cold regions. Governor Pownall in his treatiſe of *the Adminiſtration of the Colonies*, ſpeaking of the three different ſpecies or race of men, the white, the red, the black, obſerves that "it is not barely the color of the two firſt which diſtinguiſhes them, the form of their ſcull and their hair, where there has been no mixture, is ſpecifically different from each other, and a true Indian will not judge by any other diſtinction; the black race has wool inſtead of hair, as alſo a form of ſcull different from each:" and aſſerts that "the Americans are of the ſame race and family as the Tartars, preciſely of the ſame color, of the ſame form of ſcull, of the ſame ſpecies of hair, not to mention the language and their names."

The greateſt difficulty of all is to give any probable account, how ſo many noxious beaſts and ſerpents came into America, which it cannot well be ſuppoſed that men would be at the trouble or the hazard of conveying thither: and yet we ſee men often do convey wild beaſts and noxious creatures from one country to another, for curioſity, for hunting, or one purpoſe or other. But if there are ſuch ſtraits or narrow ſeas as we have mentioned, they might ſwim over them, as tigers and bears are known to ſwim ſeveral leagues; or when thoſe ſeas were frozen up, they might walk over the ice, hunger impelling

them; or if the continents are or ever have been continuous, the thing is naturally accounted for, they might paſs from continent to continent without interruption: And indeed if there be not at preſent, yet that there might have been once ſome continuity, ſome neck of land which joined the continents together, and that afterwards a diviſion might be made by the ſea ruſhing in between them, is neither impoſſible, nor improbable, nor more than hath been done in other places: though I can by no means agree with (2) Bengelius, that this was "the diviſion of the earth" made "in the days of Peleg," from whence he received his name; for that would imply a greater degree of knowlege of theſe diſtant countries than fell to the ſhare of thoſe early ages, and we do not find that natural knowlege ever made a part of divine revelation. Neither can mankind be reaſonably ſuppoſed to have multiplied ſo faſt, nor to have ſpread ſo far as into America "in "the days of Peleg," in the courſe of 300 years; for after that ſome of the fineſt parts of Aſia were ſo thinly peopled (Gen. XIII. 9.) that Abraham and Lot had "the whole land before them," and they were at liberty to go "to the right hand or to the left," as they pleaſed, to chooſe their habitation. Neither can Plato's iland of Atlantis, an iland beyond the pillars of Hercules, bigger than all Aſia and Africa together, which was ſunk and loſt in the ocean, be properly alleged as a proof that the continents were once continued and afterwards were divided; for that was ſtill but an iland, and no part of the continent; that was deſtroyed by the deluge, and we are inquiring into an event after the deluge; and neither was the Atlantic ocean made innavigable by the ſlime and ſands of the immerſed iland, as Plato deſcribes it; ſo that there was plainly more of fable than of fact in that tradition.

Thoſe who are deſirous of ſearching more into particulars, I would refer to the authors who have written expreſly and at large upon this ſubject, and particularly to Joſeph D'Acoſta de Nat. Nov. Orb. Lib. 1. Geor. Hornius de Orig. Gent. American. Harris's Introduction to his Collection of Voyages and Travels 1705, a Diſſertation upon the peopling of America by the authors of the Ancient Univerſal Hiſtory, and

(2) See Bengelii Ordo Temporum, p. 54. and Mr. Catcott on the Deluge, p. 90, &c.

and to what has given me as much ſatisfaction as any of them, Joannis de Laet Antwerpiani Notæ ad Diſſertationem Hugonis Grotii de Orig. Gent. American. et Obſervationes aliquot ad meliorem indaginem difficillimæ illius Quæſtionis. Amſtel. apud Lud. Elzevir. 1643. The more this point is conſidered, the more clear and indubitable will appear the truth of St. Paul's aſſertion (Acts XVII. 26.) that "God hath "made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face "of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and "the bounds of their habitation."

DISSERTATION VI.

On the hiſtory of Abraham.

SACRED hiſtory, which is the only hiſtory of theſe ancient times that can be depended upon, deduceth no farther the genealogies of Japheth and Ham; the genealogy of Shem is ſtill carried on (Gen. XI.) to ſhow the true origin and deſcent of the Hebrew nation. But of the generations from Shem to Abram little more is recorded than their fathers ages and their own, when they were born and when they died, which is in ſhort the hiſtory or epitaph of the greater part of mankind. Abram was much more famous in his generation, and his name is ſtill held in high veneration in all the eaſt among Mohammedans as well as among Jews and Chriſtians.

He was the tenth in deſcent from Noah, was the ſon of Terah, born 352 years after the flood, in the year of the world 2008, and before Chriſt 1996. Beſides Abram Terah had other ſons, Nahor and Haran. Haran, though reckoned the laſt, was yet plainly the eldeſt; as Abram was probably the youngeſt of the three, though mentioned

mentioned the firſt for his greater dignity. For Terah was 70 years old when he had the firſt of theſe ſons, but was 130 when Abram was born; for Abram was 75 years old (Gen. XII. 4.) when he departed out of Haran upon the death of his father, and his father died at the age of 205, conſequently was 130 at the birth of Abram. Haran muſt certainly have been much older than either of his brothers, for his ſon appears to have been of near the ſame age as Abram, his two daughters were old enough to be wives to his two brothers, and Abram marrying his younger daughter was in all probability his younger brother. Haran died before his father in the place of his nativity, in Ur of the Chaldees; and left a ſon named Lot, and two daughters, the one called Milcah the other Sarai or Iſcah. Terah then in a manner became their father; and it being cuſtomary in theſe early ages for men to marry within their own families and among their own kindred, Nahor took Milcah, and Abram took Sarai to wife. Milcah bore ſeveral children to Nahor; (Gen. XXII. 20.) but Sarai was barren, ſhe had no child.

As Ur of the Chaldees was the place of Haran's nativity and deceaſe, ſo was it likewiſe the birth-place of Abram, Terah and his family having long ſettled and reſided there among the deſcendents of Arphaxad. The Chaldæans from the firſt and earlieſt accounts of them appear to have been a very ſuperſtitious people; they had by this time lapſed into idolatry: and Terah and his anceſtors by living among them became tainted with the general infection; for as Joſhua ſaid unto the people of Iſrael, (Joſh. XXIV. 2.) "Your fathers dwelt "on the other ſide of the flood in old time, even Terah the father "of Abraham and the father of Nahor; and they ſerved other gods." Some writers, as (1) Epiphanius and others have aſſerted, that Serug, Nahor, and Terah Abram's father were ſtatuaries and carvers of images: but it may be queſtioned whether image-worſhip was of ſuch an early date, much more whether it was advanced to ſuch a degree. The Chaldæans, like moſt other nations, degenerated by degrees; they firſt worſhipped

(1) Epiphan. adverſ. Hæreſ. Lib. 1. Sect. 6. p. 7, 8. Suidas in voce Σερυχ, &c.

(2) Euſeb.

worſhipped the ſun and the hoſt of heaven, afterwards the element of fire as the brighteſt emblem of the heavenly luminaries, and even departed kings and heroes, before ever they ſunk into ſuch groſs idolatry as to worſhip images of clay wood and ſtone. *Ur*, the very name of the city of the Chaldees, ſignifies *light* or *fire*; and this was probably at this time the great object of their adoration.

Idolatry prevailing thus in the world, and being likely to ſpread and prevail more, it pleaſed almighty God to ſelect a certain man, and in him a certain family, a certain nation, to be witneſſes of the unity of the Godhead, depoſitaries of his laws, and inſtruments of his providence in preſerving his true religion and worſhip upon earth, and in conveying the bleſſing down to the lateſt generations. He who knoweth perfectly the hearts and diſpoſitions of all men, could not fail of making the fitteſt and propereſt choice in chooſing Abram for theſe important ſervices. Abram was called immediately by God himſelf, while he dwelt in Ur of the Chaldees, before he removed to Haran or Charran, as St. Stephen expreſly informs us, (Acts VII. 2.) "The God of glory appeared unto our father Abraham when he was "in Meſopotamia, before he dwelt in Charran." He was called to quit this ſcene of growing ſuperſtition and idolatry, to leave his native country, and to go into the land of Canaan. He preſently imparted the matter to his father Terah and his family, and his father ſo far approved of the motion, that he determined to accompany him: and accordingly he and his family "went forth from Ur of the Chal-"dees to go into the land of Canaan."

This was the firſt calling of Abram, and it is with good reaſon ſuppoſed to have been in the 70th year of his age. It is ſaid upon the authority of the apocryphal book of Judith, (V. 8.) that the Chaldæans expelled Abram and his anceſtors out of their country becauſe of the difference of their religion. Melo, a heathen hiſtorian cited by (2) Euſebius, and an enemy to the Jews, affirms the ſame: But Melo was too late and too prejudiced an author for his teſtimony to be

(2) Euſeb. Præp. Evang. Lib. 9. Sect. 19. p. 420. Edit. Vigeri.

(3) See

be much regarded in a point of ſuch antiquity; and the book of Judith is a mere fable and romance, which, though Prideaux and others have attempted it, yet cannot poſſibly be reconciled to any chronology or hiſtory whatever. Canonical ſcripture is ſo far from giving any ſuch intimation, that it plainly implies the contrary. For where was the great merit of Abram's faith and obedience in leaving his native country, and why is he ſo particularly commended for it in ſcripture, if it was not an act of choice but of neceſſity and compulſion? His calling was not owing to the violence of men, but to the peculiar grace and favor of God. His faith and obedience were more than paſſive, were active; and "he went out," as the apoſtle ſaith, (Heb. XI. 8.) "not knowing whither he went," not knowing the nature of the country or the people, or in what places he ſhould make his abode.

But at this time he did not enter into Canaan; he proceeded no farther than into *Haran* or *Charran*, a place in Meſopotamia, not called ſo before, but ſo named at this time after *Haran* the ſon of Terah and father of Lot, known afterwards to the Romans by the name of *Carræ*, and famous for the defeat of Craſſus by the Parthians. Here Abram with his father and his family dwelt ſome time; he might think it proper to gather more ſtrength and ſubſtance before he entered into a ſtrange country, or Terah might find himſelf through age and infirmities unable to purſue his journey any farther. Five years after their removal from Ur of the Chaldees, Terah died in Haran at the age of 205 years.

As ſoon as his father was dead (Acts VII. 3, 4. Gen. XII. 1—5.) God a ſecond time called Abram to come into the land which he would ſhow him, and promiſed to make of him a great nation, and a bleſſing to all families of the earth. Abram obeyed accordingly; and when he was 75 years old, as the text ſaith, "he departed out "of Haran and took Sarai his wife, and Lot his brother's ſon, and "all their ſubſtance that they had gathered, and the ſouls," the perſons, "that they had gotten in Haran; and they went forth to go "into the land of Canaan, and into the land of Canaan they came."

No

No mention is made of Nahor; he remained behind (Gen. XXIV. 10.) in Meſopotamia, moſt probably continued to dwell in Haran, for there we find afterwards ſome of his family.

Canaan, as well as moſt other countries, at the time that we are treating of, did not abound with abundance of people; there was ample room for many more inhabitants: neither was it ſubject to any great monarchy, but was divided into ſeveral little ſtates and principalities; which were favorable circumſtances to a new comer, and would enable him more eaſily to procure a ſubſiſtence in a ſtrange country. Abram traveling through the land (Gen. XII. 6—10.) came firſt unto Sichem in the plain of Moreh. There for his greater comfort and encouragement the Lord appeared unto him, and promiſed to give this land unto his poſterity; and there Abram builded an altar unto the Lord who had appeared unto him. From thence he removed unto a mountain having Bethel on the weſt and Hai on the eaſt, where he pitched his tent, and builded another altar, as he did in every place where he continued any time. He ſtill kept moving on towards the ſouth, when a grievous famin happened in the land. Hereupon he went down to ſojourn for a time, and to ſeek for ſuſtenance in Egypt, which was then as it is now one of the moſt fruitful countries, inſomuch that it was called by the ancients the granary of the world.

In Egypt a ſtrange adventure befel him. (Gen. XII. 11—20.) Sarai his wife was a woman of exquiſite beauty as well as of conſummate virtue; and Abram foreſeeing the dangers to which her charms might expoſe both him and her among looſe and licentious men, when they were leaving Ur of the Chaldees, (Gen. XX. 12, 13.) had deſired it of her as a particular kindneſs, that wherever they came, ſhe would not acknowlege herſelf to be his wife, but only ſay ſhe was his ſiſter: As indeed ſhe was, for Terah by the death of Haran became her father as he was his, and ſhe might as juſtly be called his ſiſter, as Lot was his brother, the terms *brother* and *ſiſter* in the oriental languages including more diſtant relations. Abram with good reaſon ſuſpected that if ever there would be occaſion for employing this ſtratagem, there would among ſo ſenſual and corrupt a people as the Egyptians. When

therefore they were drawing near unto Egypt, he forewarned her again of their danger, that if ſhe was underſtood to be his wife, the Egyptians would certainly "kill him" but "ſave her alive" for the purpoſes of their pleaſure; there was no better way of preſerving her honor and his life than by owning her only to be his ſiſter.

As Abram ſuſpected, ſo it happened. The people were ſtruck with the woman's beauty, the princes were in admiration of her, and like ſervile flattering miniſters to their maſter's pleaſure commended her before Pharaoh, and ſhe was ſoon taken into Pharaoh's houſe. It is not certainly known, who was this king of Lower Egypt at this time; he is only called by the general name of *Pharaoh*: but whoever he was, he acted in open violation of the plaineſt dictates of honor, hoſpitality, and juſtice. However to ſoften and pacify Abram, and to make him ſome amends for the loſs of his ſiſter, he entreated him kindly for her ſake, and made him preſents of ſheep and oxen, aſſes and camels, men-ſervants and women-ſervants, added to thoſe which he poſſeſſed before. But ſtill God was not pacified, but inflicted grievous plagues upon Pharaoh and Pharaoh's houſe for their detention of Sarai Abram's wife. It may be preſumed that ſhe was not immediately preſented unto the king; poſſibly ſhe was to be purified and prepared for him in ſome ſuch manner as Eſther (II. 12.) was for Ahaſuerus: and in the mean time theſe judgments of God fell upon Pharaoh and his houſe, and the truth was diſcovered of Sarai being Abram's wife.

Upon this diſcovery Pharaoh ſent for Abram, and reprimanded him ſeverely for deceiving him in this manner, and for expoſing his wife to ſo much danger. And it muſt be admitted that the good patriarch hath here furniſhed us with a ſtriking inſtance of human frailty; it was not conſiſtent with his uſual faith and confidence in God; it was an act of fear and diſſimulation unworthy of his character; it was ſhowing more ſollicitude for his own ſafety than for his wife's honor; and if it ſucceeded happily at laſt, yet that was owing more to the divine interpoſition than to his prudence and diſcretion. For Pharaoh laboring under ſome grievous diſeaſe or calamity, and dreading worſe, did Abram no farther damage, but reſtored to him his wife, and diſ-

miſſed

miſſed him out of Egypt with all that he had, giving order at the ſame time to his ſervants to ſuffer him to paſs without any injury or moleſtation.

Though Abram made but a ſhort ſtay in Egypt, yet he returned out of it much richer than he went down into it. (Gen. XIII.) He came firſt "into the ſouth" of Canaan, which lay in his courſe coming from Egypt, and then went on unto the place, where he had before pitched his tent and builded an altar, between Bethel and Hai, and there he ſolemnly thanked God for his deliverance and for the great wealth that he had gotten; for he was very rich not only "in "cattle," but likewiſe "in ſilver and in gold." Lot alſo, who had accompanied him in all his travels, was grown very opulent, "and "had flocks and herds and tents," for they lived in tents, being only ſojourners, and having no fixed place of abode.

Both Lot's and Abram's ſubſtance was now increaſed to ſuch a degree, that it was no longer poſſible for them to dwell together; the ſame country would not ſuffice for their maintenance: and ſome contention at the ſame time having happened between their herdmen, Abram took occaſion to ſpeak to Lot, that as they were brethren, there might be no diſpute between them, and to prevent any farther difference he propoſed a friendly ſeparation, and freely offered to Lot to chooſe firſt in what part of the country he would make his habitation; there was room enough for them without incroaching upon the property of the inhabitants of the land. "Let there be no ſtrife, I pray thee, "between me and thee, and between my herdmen and thy herdmen; "for we are brethren. Is not the whole land before thee? ſeparate "thyſelf, I pray thee, from me: if thou wilt take to the left hand, then "I will go to the right; or if thou depart to the right hand, then I "will go to the left." Nothing could be more fair and generous than this offer, or more condeſcending in a ſuperior towards an inferior. Lot readily agreed to the propoſal, and made choice of the plain of Jordan, which appeared to him to be as well watered as Meſopotamia, in which he had lived, the ſeat of Paradiſe "the garden of the Lord," or as Egypt, into which he had lately traveled; and as thoſe countries

owed their fruitfulneſs to the overflowings of the rivers, ſo did the plain of Jordan to the overflowing of that river (Joſh. III. 15.) at ſtated ſeaſons. But a promiſing appearance, as it often doth, betrayed him into real difficulties; and he found reaſon afterwards to repent of the choice that he had made.

In this manner Lot and Abram ſeparated from each other. Abram ſtill remained " in the land of Canaan" properly ſo called, but Lot journeyed eaſt, and pitched his tent near unto Sodom, not knowing the nature and diſpoſition of the people; for " the men of Sodom " were wicked and ſinners before the Lord exceedingly," a phraſe, as we before remarked, to denote that they were exceeding great ſinners. After Lot was gone away, the Lord, to ſupport and comfort Abram for the loſs of his friend and companion, commanded him to take a view of the country all around, and promiſed him again to give it " to him and to his ſeed," to his ſeed for his ſake, and farther engaged to multiply his ſeed as the duſt of the earth, to make the one as innumerable as the other. Then Abram removed his tent, and pitched it among the oaks of Mamre, ſo named from " Mamre the " Amorite" (XIV. 13.) afterwards called " Hebron," and " built " there an altar unto the Lord," making every place of his abode a place of worſhip.

It happened ſome time after this that he was enabled to perform a ſignal ſervice to the kings of this country. (Gen. XIV. 1—16.) Chedorlaomer king of Elam, a province of Perſia, had made excurſions as far as into the land of Canaan, and had there reduced the five kings of Pentapolis or the five cities, Bera king of Sodom, Birſha king of Gomorrah, Shinab king of Admah, Shemeber king of Zeboiim, and the king of Bela or Zoar, to be his tributaries. Twelve years they continued in this ſtate of ſubjection: but in the thirteenth year they ſhook off the yoke, and refuſed to pay tribute any longer. Hereupon Chedorlaomer and the kings in alliance with him, Amraphel king of Shinar, Arioch king of Ellaſar, and Tidal king of nations or rather king of Goim, a place or people ſo called, marched with their armies into Canaan; and having ſubdued ſeveral of the neighbouring nations, they joined

joined battle, four kings with five, in the vale of Siddim. The vale of Siddim was very full of ſlime-pits; and the five kings ſeem to have choſen this ſpot for the field of battle, that knowing the nature of the ground and the ſituation of the ſlime-pits they might have that advantage over their enemies: but the event proved otherwiſe, the four kings gained a moſt complete victory, the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah were precipitated into the ſlime-pits into which they hoped to puſh their enemies, and the reſt who eſcaped fled to the mountains. After ſo total a route the conquerors found an eaſy prey at Sodom and Gomorrah, made ſpoil of all their goods, carried off all their proviſions, led the people into captivity, and among them Lot and his family, who were now become inhabitants of Sodom, and ſo ſhared in the common calamity.

News of this defeat and of Lot's captivity one who had eſcaped ſoon brought to Abram, who dwelt, as we ſaid before, among the oaks of Mamre the Amorite, brother of Eſhcol, and brother of Aner. Theſe three being confederate with Abram, he ſoon deſired and obtained their aſſiſtance with what number of men they could muſter together. He likewiſe armed his own trained ſervants three hundred and eighteen, and with theſe joint forces he went immediately in purſuit of the enemy, came up with them by night, divided his forces to attack them from different parts, fell unexpectedly upon them fatigued and ſleeping, killed many, put the reſt to flight, purſued them unto Hobah on the left hand of Damaſcus, and by theſe means recovered all the ſpoils, and reſcued his brother Lot with the women and the people alſo from their captivity.

This was not only a preſent relief, but a laſting benefit to the people of this country; for we hear nothing more of theſe kings ever invading them again. It was not impoſſible that they might fall undiſtinguiſhed in the common carnage; and as much ſeemeth to be intimated in that expreſſion of Abram's returning "from the ſlaughter "of Chedorlaomer and of the kings that were with him." Chedorlaomer is no where named in profane hiſtory, nor in any hiſtory but that of Moſes. Thoſe who contend for the great antiquity of the

Aſſyrian

Aſſyrian empire aſſert, that Ninyas the ſon of Ninus and Semiramis was the Chedorlaomer of Moſes, and that the other kings were his deputies over ſome of the adjacent countries. But if Chedorlaomer had been king of Aſſyria, it would have been as eaſy, and more proper to have called him king of *Aſſhur* than king of *Elam.* And how doth it appear that the other kings were only his deputies? There is no diſtinction in their titles; they are called *kings* as well as he; and when they are firſt introduced, "Amraphel king of Shinar," and "Arioch king of Ellaſar," are placed before "Chedorlaomer king "of Elam." Chedorlaomer appears indeed to have been the principal in this war, but the others were rather his allies and auxiliaries than his deputies and ſubjects. Not any the leaſt mention being made of the king of Aſſyria in this whole tranſaction, it is a ſtrong preſumption that there was no ſuch mighty king at that time, no great empire that extended over all the neighbouring countries, but leſſer ſeparate independent kings and kingdoms in every country, as the king of Shinar, the king of Elam, and others. If the Aſſyrian had been then ſo great an empire as ſome chronologers imagin, and if Chedorlaomer had been Ninyas, and Ninyas had been ſo powerful a monarch, he would never have ſuffered ſuch a ſhameful affront and indignity from a handful of men to paſs unrevenged, this incident having happened, as the ſame chronologers agree, four years before Ninyas his death.

As Abram was returning from the ſlaughter of the kings, (Gen. XIV. 17—24.) with the ſpoils which he had retaken, and with the captives whom he had ſet at liberty, the king of Sodom went out to meet and congratulate him. Melchizedek alſo king of Salem brought forth bread and wine to refreſh and entertain him and the people with him. This Melchizedek was like Virgil's Anius,

Rex Anius, rex idem hominum Phœbique ſacerdos,

both king and prieſt, which characters were often joined in ancient times. As prieſt of the moſt high God, he bleſſed Abram, and thanked God for his great victory and happy return; and Abram

"gave

" gave him tithes of all," that is the tenth of all the ſpoils of their enemies. This is the firſt mention of *tithes* in hiſtory; ſo that they were plainly a very ancient appointment, and if not of divine, yet at leaſt of patriarchal inſtitution. After the tithes were deducted, the king of Sodom generouſly deſired Abram to take the reſt of the goods to himſelf, and only to give him the perſons. But Abram, agreeably to a ſolemn vow which he had made, refuſed to accept of the leaſt particle; it ſhould not be ſaid that he had acted upon mercenary views, or that he was grown rich at the expenſe of the country wherein he lived; he would give up and reſtore every thing but what the young men had eaten, and only requeſted that his three confederates, Aner, Eſhcol, and Mamre, who had joined and aſſiſted him in this expedition, might have their portion. This king of Sodom was moſt probably the ſon of him who periſhed in the ſlime-pits: but Who was Melchizedek is a queſtion that hath been much controverted, and yet I conceive the whole truth to lie within a narrow compaſs.

He was one of the kings of Canaan, " king of Salem," which was afterwards called Jeruſalem, as Jeruſalem is ſometimes called Salem, (Pſal. LXXVI. 2.) " In Salem is his tabernacle, and his dwelling in " Zion." He was alſo, we ſee, " the prieſt of the moſt high God," for the Canaanites were not yet grown to the full meaſure of their iniquity; there were ſtill ſome profeſſors of the true primitive religion, like lights ſhining in the world; he and Abram both worſhipped the ſame God (ver. 19 and 22.) " poſſeſſor of heaven and earth," and Abram acknowlegeth his ſuperiority and the legality of his prieſthood by paying tithes unto him. Being thus both king and prieſt, or having a royal prieſthood, he was a proper type of the Meſſiah, who is ſaid by David (Pſal. CX. 4.) to be " a prieſt for ever after the order " Melchizedek:" and we may juſt remark that as Melchizedek brought forth " bread and wine" for the refreſhment of Abram and his company, ſo Chriſt hath appointed alſo " bread and wine" for the ſpiritual entertainment of his faithful diſciples.

The apoſtle in his epiſtle to the Hebrews, in order to ſhow the great dignity and excellence of our Saviour's prieſthood, again and

again

again recites this ſaying of the pſalmiſt, " Thou art a prieſt for ever " after the order of Melchizedek," and farther explains (Heb. VII. 2, &c.) in what reſpects Melchizedek was a type of Chriſt, and wherein the ſimilitude and reſemblance between them conſiſted. The name of " Mechizedek" interpreted is " king of righteouſneſs" or juſtice, and " king of Salem" is " king of peace." No mention being made of his genealogy, of his birth or of his deceaſe, of the beginning or of the end of his prieſthood, of his predeceſſor or of his ſucceſſor, he is therefore ſaid to be " Without father, without mother, " without deſcent, having neither beginning of days, nor end of life; " but made like unto the Son of God, abideth a prieſt continually." From Melchizedek's bleſſing Abram, and from Abram's paying tithes unto Melchizedek, the apoſtle infers the ſuperiority and præeminence of the prieſthood after the order of Melchizedek above that after the order of Aaron: For " without all contradiction the leſs is bleſſed of " the better. And here men that die receive tithes; but there he " receiveth them of whom it is witneſſed that he liveth. And, as I " may ſo ſay, Levi alſo who received tithes, payed tithes in Abram: " For he was yet in the loins of his father when Melchizedek met " him."

It was this ſuperiority of Melchizedek over Abram, that induced ſome learned rabbins among the Jews to imagin that Melchizedek was *Shem*; the truth is, they envied ſuch honors to a ſtranger and alien, they would not willingly allow ſuch privileges and prerogatives to a king of Canaan, nor indeed to any one who was of a different line from themſelves. Some learned Chriſtians alſo, both ancient fathers and modern doctors, have adopted the ſame notion: But how utterly improbable is it, that Shem ſhould have his portion and ſettlement, ſo remote from his own family, among the ſons of Canaan? and why in a plain narration ſhould he be called by another name than his own? Beſides how could Shem be ſaid to be " without father," when we are certain that Noah was his father; or " without deſcent," when we are able to trace the deſcent from Adam to him and from him to Jeſus Chriſt; or " having neither beginning of days nor end of life," when

when we can prove that he was born 98 years before the flood, and died 502 years after the flood; or "made like unto the Son of God "and abide a prieſt continually," when we know that he died at the age of 600 years? Melchizedek was ſo far from being of the ſame pedigree and deſcent with Abram, that he is expreſly ſaid to be of a different deſcent; "He whoſe deſcent is not counted from them, re- "ceived tithes of Abram, and bleſſed him that had the promiſes." Abram might indeed be the prieſt as he was the head of his own family and houſehold, but Melchizedek was both the king and the prieſt of a nation, and Abram without doubt was glad of an opportunity of teſtifying his regard and reverence for a ſuperior prieſt of the ſame religion as his own.

After theſe things (Gen. XV.) the Lord appeared unto Abram in a viſion by night, and bad him not be afraid, for he was his mighty defenſe and his exceeding great reward. Abram however, ſomewhat dubious and ſomewhat anxious to know more, ventured to reply that it was to little purpoſe to give him any thing, ſince he had no ſon to inherit it, but one born in his houſe, Eliezer the ſon of a woman of Damaſcus, his head ſervant and ſteward of his houſehold, was likely to be his heir. But the Lord aſſured him, that not Eliezer but a ſon of his own ſhould be his heir; and leading him forth into the open air, and bidding him look up to heaven, he promiſed him that his poſterity ſhould be as numerous as the ſtars which he ſaw and was not able to number. Though Abram had no child nor proſpect of any, himſelf and his wife advancing in years; yet contrary to all human appearances he firmly believed in the divine promiſes: which act of faith was ſo pleaſing to God, that "he counted it to him for righte- "ouſneſs," accepted him as a juſt and holy perſon, and rewarded his faith by farther diſcoveries. For not long after the Lord repeated to him the promiſe that he had given him of inheriting the land of Canaan, ſaying that for this very purpoſe he had brought him out of his native country of Chaldæa.

But Abram, after ſo many promiſes, ſeeing no probability of the thing at preſent, deſired to receive ſome farther token and aſſurance of

it; "Lord God, whereby ſhall I know that I ſhall inherit it?" by which inſtance of Abram like other holy men (Judg. VI. 17. 2 Kings XX. 8.) requiring ſome ſign in confirmation of his faith, it appears that he was not over credulous, nor inclined to believe any thing without ſufficient authority. God almighty graciouſly condeſcends to his requeſt, and in compliance with the ceremonies then in uſe orders him to make ſuch a ſacrifice as was wont to be made on ſuch ſolemn occaſions. For it was the practice in ancient times for perſons entring into covenant together to provide a ſacrifice, to divide the beaſts in the middle, and to paſs between the parts: and ſeveral traces of this cuſtom may be found in profane as well in ſacred authors. Abram having accordingly prepared a ſacrifice, and diſpoſed the parts in order, waited for the divine manifeſtation; and when any birds of prey came down upon the carcaſes, he chaſed them away.

But as the ſun was ſetting, a deep ſleep fell upon him, and "an "horror of great darkneſs," from the foreſight of the calamities and ſervitude of his poſterity, ſurrounded him. "God at ſundry times "and in divers manners ſpake in time paſt unto the fathers:" (Heb. I. 1.) and as the former revelation was made unto Abram in a viſion, ſo now it was revealed unto him in a dream—That "his ſeed ſhould "be a ſtranger in a land that was not theirs, and ſhould ſerve them, "and they ſhould afflict them four hundred years:" and accordingly his children were "ſtrangers" even in Canaan which was promiſed them, (Pſal. CV. 12, 13.) "went from one nation to another, from "one kingdom to another people, (Heb. XI. 9, 13.) "ſojourning "in the land of promiſe as in a ſtrange country, confeſſing themſelves "to be ſtrangers and pilgrims on the earth;" in Egypt were held under bondage, and grievouſly afflicted; and the whole time of their affliction in Canaan and in Egypt was 400 years in round numbers, 400 from the birth of Iſaac, 430 from the firſt calling of Abram out of his native country of Chaldæa—That "the nation whom they "ſhould ſerve God would judge, and afterward they ſhould come "out with great ſubſtance:" and accordingly ſore plagues and judgments were inflicted upon the people of Egypt, and afterwards the

children of Iſrael came out with their armies, with flocks and herds, with ſilver and gold, the ſpoils of the Egyptians—That he himſelf "ſhould go to his fathers in peace, and be buried in a good old age:" and accordingly he ſaw none of theſe afflictions, but died in peace at the age of 175 years, and was buried by his ſons Iſaac and Iſhmael in the ſame cave with Sarah his wife—That "in the fourth generation "they ſhould come hither again:" and accordingly the fourth generation of thoſe who went down into Egypt came up into Canaan again, as for inſtance, Kohath with his father Levi went down into Egypt, his ſon Amram was the father of Aaron, his ſon Eleazar entred into Canaan, and was aſſiſtant to Joſhua in dividing the land among the children of Iſrael—The reaſon for their not taking poſſeſſion ſooner is aſſigned in the next words, "for the iniquity of the Amorites was not "yet full:" the *Amorites* are particularly mentioned for the *Canaanites* in general, becauſe Abram at this time lived among them, Mamre the Amorite, and his brothers Aner and Eſhcol being his neighbours and confederates; and the Canaanites having not yet filled up the meaſure of their iniquity, God would not cut them off before they were ripe for exciſion; he plainly foreſaw their great wickedneſs, but would not anticipate their fate, nor inflict the deſerved puniſhment before the world alſo might ſee and be convinced of the juſtice of his judgments.

When the ſun was ſet, and it was now grown dark, Abram awaked, and beheld a miraculous fire, the token and emblem of the divine preſence and glory, paſſing between the pieces of the victims and conſuming them; which was the ratification of God's covenant with Abram, that "unto his ſeed," as he then declared, "he had given "this land from the river of Egypt unto the great river the river Eu-"phrates;" Which was at length accompliſhed, and it was the fault of the people themſelves that it was not accompliſhed ſooner, than in the days of David and Solomon; for (1 Chron. XIII. 5.) "David "gathered all Iſrael together from Shihor of Egypt even unto the en-"tring of Hamath," and Solomon (2 Chron. IX. 26.) "reigned "over all the kings from the river Euphrates even unto the land of "the Philiſtines and to the border of Egypt."

No doubt can be made that ſo good a huſband would communicate ſuch important tranſactions to his wife: but notwithſtanding theſe promiſes of a numerous poſterity to inherit the land of Canaan, Sarai ſtill continued barren, and being more poſſeſſed with the deſire of children than troubled with the ſpirit of jealouſy, (Gen. XVI.) ſhe recommended her handmaid, Hagar, an Egyptian, to her huſband to be his ſecondary wife or concubine; "it may be," ſaith ſhe, "that "I may obtain children by her;" ſhe ſhould eſteem her huſband's children by her maid as her own children. This was too much the practice in thoſe times and countries; it was the leſs wonder therefore that Abram complied with the cuſtom, and took Hagar to be his concubine, after he had ſojourned ten years in the land of Canaan.

In due courſe of time ſhe proved with child, and thinking that ſhe had now ſome advantage and ſuperiority over her miſtreſs, ſhe behaved with haughtineſs and inſolence towards her. But Sarai not brooking ſuch indignities from a ſlave whom ſhe had preferred, made grievous complaints to her huſband: and her huſband, whoſe affection to her was no ways impaired, gave her full permiſſion to do with her maid as ſhe pleaſed. Hereupon Sarai treated her with ſuch ſeverity, that ſhe fled away into the wilderneſs, where the angel of the Lord found her by a fountain of water "in the way to Shur," which is in the direct road to Egypt, (Gen. XXV. 18. 1 Sam. XV. 7.) ſo that probably ſhe meant to return into her own country. But the angel of the Lord called her by her proper name, "Hagar Sarai's maid," to remind her of her condition and of the wrong that ſhe had done; and perſuaded her by all means to return to her miſtreſs, acknowlege her fault, and behave with more ſubmiſſion for the future.

At the ſame time the better to induce her to a compliance, he promiſed her, that ſhe ſhould be the mother of a moſt numerous race; that ſhe ſhould bring forth a ſon, and ſhould call his name "Iſhmael be-"cauſe the Lord had heard her affliction," the word "Iſhmael" ſignifying "the Lord hath heard;" that he and his deſcendents ſhould be fierce wild men, ſhould live almoſt in a ſtate of war with the reſt of the world, "their hand againſt every man and every man's hand

"againſt

" againſt them," but yet ſhould preſerve their liberty and independency, " and dwell in the preſence of all their brethren:" than which there cannot be a more remarkable prophecy or more remarkably fulfilled, but as it hath been made the ſubject of a particular (3) diſſertation in another work, I would not trouble the reader with any repetition of it in this place.

Hagar called the name of the divine being, who had appeared and ſpoken unto her, " Thou God ſeeſt me," or rather " Thou art the " God of viſion," the God appearing to me viſibly; for ſhe ſaid " Have I alſo here looked after him that ſeeth me," or rather " Do " I alſo here ſee after the viſion?" alluding to the common notion, that whoever ſaw a god or angel, he was ſtruck blind or dead; which notion is expreſſed plainer by Jacob (Gen. XXXII. 30.) " I have ſeen " God face to face, and my life is preſerved." Gideon was under the ſame apprehenſion, when he ſaid, (Judg. VI. 22, 23.) " Alas, " O Lord God; for becauſe I have ſeen an angel of the Lord face to " face. And the Lord ſaid unto him, Peace be unto thee, fear not, " thou ſhalt not die." In like manner when Manoah ſaw the angel of the Lord aſcend in the flame of the altar, he ſaid unto his wife (Judg. XIII. 22, 23.) " We ſhall ſurely die, becauſe we have ſeen " God: But his wife ſaid unto him, If the Lord were pleaſed to kill " us, he would not have received a burnt-offering and a meat-offering " at our hands, neither would he have ſhowed us ſuch things as theſe." Wherefore the well was afterwards called " the well of the living vi- " ſion," to perpetuate the memory of the divine appearance and of Hagar's living after it. When ſhe was delivered of her ſon, Abram according to the appointment of the angel called his name " Iſhmael," and he was then fourſcore and ſix years old.

Thirteen years afterwards, when Abram was ninety and nine years old, (Gen. XVII.) the Lord again appeared unto him, declaring himſelf to be " the almighty God." Abram in reverence fell upon his face, while God was talking with him, and repeating his gracious promiſes

(3) See Differt. II. on the Prophecies.

(4) Hom.

promiſes to make his covenant with him, and to multiply him exceedingly: neither ſhould his name any more be called "Abram" or "great father," but "Abraham" or "father of a great multitude," for he would make him the father of many nations, and kings ſhould ſpring from him: he would eſtabliſh his covenant alſo with him and his ſeed after him for "an everlaſting covenant," as he would give them the land wherein he was a ſtranger (if their own faults did not prevent or obſtruct it) for "an everlaſting poſſeſſion." This was the covenant on God's part, but then on Abraham's part it was required, that he ſhould walk before God, and be perfect; and as a token of the covenant, and for the farther trial and manifeſtation of his faith, he and all the males in his family ſhould be circumciſed, and hereafter every man-child in his generations when eight days old ſhould be circumciſed, and whoever remains uncircumciſed, he ſhould be cut off from God's people, as a breaker and deſpiſer of his covenant.

Moreover God was pleaſed to change his wife's name from "Sarai "my princeſs" to "Sarah princeſs" abſolutely, and engaged to bleſs her, and to give him a ſon alſo of her; "ſhe ſhould be a mother of "nations, kings of people ſhould be of her." Abraham thought this ſo very wonderful, that he could not forbear laughing at it; he could hardly conceive how it was poſſible, for him at the age of 100 years and for his wife at the age of 90, to have a ſon; he could not reaſonably aſk or wiſh for any thing more, than that Iſhmael might live and inherit the promiſed bleſſings. But God aſſured him, that Sarah his wife ſhould bear him a ſon indeed, and he ſhould call his name "Iſaac," which ſignifies "he has laughed" or "ſhall laugh," becauſe Abraham had laughed at the ſtrangeneſs and incredibility of the promiſe: that with regard to Iſhmael he had heard his petition, and would bleſs him, render him exceeding fruitful, and would make him the father of twelve princes and head of a great nation, as he was afterwards (Gen. XXV. 12, &c.) the progenitor of twelve tribes of Arabians: but his covenant he would eſtabliſh with Iſaac, whom Sarah ſhould bear at this ſet time in the next year; he ſhould be heir of the promiſes and his ſeed after him. God no ſooner diſappeared,

than

than Abraham inſtantly ſet about executing the divine commands; and he himſelf when he was 99 years old, and his ſon Iſhmael when he was 13 years old, were circumciſed in the ſame day; and all the males of his family, whether born in it, or bought into it, were circumciſed with him.

Soon after theſe occurrences the Lord appeared again unto Abraham, (Gen. XVIII.) and it was in this manner. He ſtill continued to dwell at Mamre, and as he was ſitting at his tent-door, in the heat of the day, he ſaw three men approaching toward him, and taking them to be travelers he advanced to meet them, made his obeyſance to them, and addreſſing himſelf to him who ſeemed to be the principal of them invited them to refreſh and reſt themſelves a little, and to partake of ſuch a repaſt as the time would allow him to prepare for them, ſince they were come thither. They conſented, and he haſtened into the tent unto Sarah, ordered her to make ready quickly ſome cakes of fine meal, ran himſelf unto the herd, and fetched from thence a calf tender and good, which he gave unto a young man to dreſs with all poſſible ſpeed, and having butter and milk for the ſauce he ſet it before his gueſts, and ſtood under the tree waiting upon them while they partook of it. They inquired where Sarah his wife was, and he who ſeemed to be the chief of them aſſured him, that according to the time of life ſhe ſhould bear him a ſon. Sarah, who ſtood behind him in the tent-door and heard him, laughed within herſelf; and he to ſhow his knowlege of futurity by his knowlege of the thoughts of her heart aſked Abraham, "Wherefore did "Sarah laugh? Is any thing too hard for the Lord?" She denied that ſhe had laughed, for ſhe was afraid; but he affirmed that ſhe did laugh, which certainly was not a right ſenſation, but it was worſe to deny it. Iſaac therefore was doubly intitled to the name of "Iſaac" derived from the "laughter" of both his parents.

The three men then roſe up and looked as if they intended to go toward Sodom, and Abraham courteouſly went with them to conduct them on the way, in this inſtance as in all the former exhibiting a moſt amiable pattern of hoſpitality and reſpect to ſtrangers. As they

were

were on the way, the Lord diſcovered himſelf unto Abraham, and knowing his fidelity and obedience and alſo his readineſs to inſtill the ſame good principles into his children and his houſhold after him, he was pleaſed to diſcloſe to him his purpoſe of deſtroying Sodom and Gomorrah and the cities of the plain for their monſtrous and abominable wickedneſs, but would firſt try and convict them of their guilt. The other two therefore, men in appearance, but angels in reality, departed from thence, and went toward Sodom; but the Lord ſtill remained communing with Abraham. For Abraham was admitted to the privilege of converſing with God, and of interceding for the few righteous in Sodom that they might not be deſtroyed with the wicked; "That be far from thee to do after this manner, to ſlay the righteous "with the wicked, and that the righteous ſhould be as the wicked; "that be far from thee; ſhall not the judge of all the earth do "right?" He firſt implores that the city may be ſpared, if fifty righteous are found therein; that obtained, if forty and five; that obtained, if forty; then if thirty; then if twenty; then if ten; and the Lord allows his plea, "I will not deſtroy it for tens ſake." It is one of the moſt beautiful and affecting paſſages in ancient hiſtory, and the benevolence and generoſity of Abraham can be ſurpaſſed by nothing but the condeſcenſion and goodneſs of God. If he thought, as in reaſon he might, of his kinſman Lot, he did not however preſume to mention him; but the Lord had mercy in ſtore for him. As ſoon as this conference was ended, the Lord departed, and Abraham returned unto his place at Mamre.

The two angels before mentioned, who were going to Sodom, (Gen. XIX.) arrived there in the evening. In ancient times, before caravanſaries or kanes or inns were erected for the reception of travelers, pious and hoſpitable men were wont to invite and receive them into their houſes. For this purpoſe (4) Homer's Axylus, who was a friend to mankind and loved and entertained all, dwelt in a houſe by the road-ſide. For this ſame purpoſe Lot ſat in the gate of Sodom, and

(4) Hom. Il. VI. 14.
——φιλος δ' ην ανθρωποισι, | Παντας γαρ φιλεεσκεν, οδω επι οικια ναιων.

——a

and ſeeing the two angels, whom he took for two travelers, he kindly invited them in the ſame hoſpitable manner as Abraham had done, to enter into his houſe, to waſh their feet which was a neceſſary eaſe and refreſhment to foot-travelers eſpecially in thoſe hot countries, and to reſt under his roof until the morning. They declined his offer at firſt, and were rather for abiding all night in the ſtreet; but after ſome preſſing they accepted his invitation, and he made an entertainment for them.

But before they lay down to reſt, ſuch was the degeneracy and ſo predominant and univerſal was the corruption of Sodom, that the men of the city, both old and young, from every quarter, ſurrounded the houſe, and demanded the two handſome ſtrangers to be delivered up to them to ſatisfy their luſt. Lot went out to expoſtulate with them, and begged and entreated of them to deſiſt from their great wickedneſs; nay he even offered to give up his own two virgin daughters to their pleaſure, rather than they ſhould compel him to violate the ſacred laws of hoſpitality. But they ſtill perſiſted in their wickedneſs, and not only treated him with contumelious language reproaching him for an impertinent cenſor of manners, but alſo preſſed hard upon him to do him violence, and to break open the door. The two men therefore reſcued him out of their hands by pulling him into the houſe, and ſtruck the wanton rioters who were about the door, both ſmall and great, with blindneſs, ſo that they wearied themſelves in groping for the door, and as the Wiſdom of Solomon intimates (XIX. 17.) could hardly find " the paſſage to their own doors."

Then the two men admoniſhed Lot, to take his ſons and his daughters and what other relations he had, and to leave the city; for it was devoted to ſudden deſtruction, its abominable wickedneſs cried aloud for divine vengeance, and the Lord had ſent them with a commiſſion now to deſtroy it, by theſe words ſufficiently manifeſting who they were. So juſt and true is the precept of the apoſtle, (Heb. XIII. 2.) " Be not forgetful to entertain ſtrangers, for thereby ſome have " entertained

——a friend to human race.
Faſt by the road, his ever-open door
Oblig'd the wealthy, and reliev'd the poor.
See Pope's tranſlation with the note.

" entertained angels unawares;" as was the caſe of Lot and Abraham both in one day. Lot went forth to perſuade his ſons in law as the angels had directed, but to no purpoſe, they would not believe his words, they thought that he ſpake to them only in deriſion, and ſo choſe to periſh in their infidelity.

When the morning aroſe, the angels haſtened Lot and his wife and his two daughters who were in the houſe with him to depart immediately, leſt they ſhould be conſumed in the iniquity of the city: and while he lingered and was dilatory in collecting his ſubſtance together, the angels took them by the hand and led them forth out of the city, and then charged them to eſcape for their lives, not to ſtay in all the plain nor ſo much as to look behind them, but to fly in all haſte to the mountain, leſt they ſhould be deſtroyed in the general deſtruction. But Lot fearing how he might be able to ſubſiſt in the mountain, preferred an humble petition, that to the mercies which he had already received this alſo might be ſuperadded, that Zoar (it was but a little city) might not be involved in the general ruin, and that he might be permitted to eſcape thither in ſafety. His requeſt was granted, but with a ſtrict order that he ſhould make all poſſible haſte to eſcape thither, for the vials of divine wrath could not be poured out till he was arrived: and the ſun was now riſen upon the earth, when Lot entered into Zoar. It was before named " Bela," (Gen. XIV. 2.) and was the leaſt of the five cities; it received the name of *Zoar* which ſignifies *little*, becauſe Lot had called it a *little* city.

As ſoon as Lot was ſafe arrived at Zoar, the Lord rained brimſtone and fire from heaven upon Sodom and Gomorrah, Admah and Zeboim; (Deut. XXIX. 23.) and the ſulphur and lightning from above falling upon and kindling the bituminous and igneous matter below with which the ſoil of the country was impregnated, overthrew thoſe cities and all the land of the plain, with all the inhabitants of the cities and every thing that grew upon the ground. Lot's wife looking behind, contrary to the expreſs order of the angel, and lingring on the plain, was overtaken by the ſhower, ſo that her body was all incruſted over with a mixture of ſalt and ſulphur, and was left ſtanding there

there like a pillar. Abraham curious to know the ſucceſs of his interceſſion and the fate of Sodom, roſe up early in the morning, and went to the place where the Lord had communed with him; and looking from thence toward Sodom and Gomorrah, and toward all the land of the plain, beheld the ſmoke of the country aſcending like the ſmoke of a furnace.

Such was the fatal end of wicked Sodom and the neighbouring cities, wicked in other reſpects, but more particularly infamous for the deteſtable crime which ſtill retains its name: and if God thought fit to puniſh it ſo ſeverely in Heathens, of how much ſorer vengeance ſhall they be thought worthy, who commit it and yet profeſs themſelves Chriſtians? "It ſhall" certainly (Matt. XI. 24.) "be more tolerable "for the land of Sodom in the day of judgment than" for ſuch perſons. Of all ſins it is the moſt monſtrous and abominable. It is even worſe than beaſtly. Nature ſtarts and ſhudders at the thought of it. Human laws cannot be too ſevere againſt it, and inſtead of the pillory death or ſomething more terrible than death ought to be the puniſhment. "God," as St. Peter ſaith, (2 Pet. II. 6.) "turning the cities "of Sodom and Gomorrah into aſhes, condemned them with an "overthrow, making them an enſample unto thoſe that after ſhould "live ungodly." "Sodom and Gomorrah," as St. Jude ſaith, (ver. 7.) "and the cities about them in like manner giving themſelves over "to fornication, and going after ſtrange fleſh, are ſet forth for an "example, ſuffering the vengeance of eternal fire:" And "fire and "brimſtone" are in ſcripture (Rev. XIV. 10, 11. XX. 10.) the types of the puniſhment of the damned, "and the ſmoke of their torment "aſcendeth up for ever and ever." Not only the cities were involved in this deſtruction, but the country alſo was laid waſte, and left as a monument of divine vengeance, to deter future ages from ſuch abominations. Moſes intimates (Deut. XXIX. 23.) that "the whole "land of Sodom and Gomorrah, Admah and Zeboim, which the "Lord overthrew in his anger and in his wrath, is brimſtone and ſalt "and burning, that it is not ſown, nor beareth, nor any graſs groweth "therein." The ſoil originally and before this dreadful calamity

abounded with ſalt and ſlime or bitumen; "the vale of Siddim" particularly (Gen. XIV. 10.) "was full of ſlime-pits:" and the ſhowers of ſulphur and lightning inflaming theſe combuſtible materials, and at the ſame time moſt probably a ſubterraneous fire burſting forth with a violent earthquake overthrew the cities, and turned the vale of Siddim into the lake Aſphaltites, or the Salt ſea, or the ſea of Sodom, or the Dead ſea, as it is now more uſually called.

Joſephus (5) giveth much the ſame account in his Antiquities, and in another place he deſcribes the lake Aſphaltites as ſalt and uncapable of feeding fiſh, yet whatever is caſt into it, how weighty ſoever it be, it ſwimmeth above the water; ſo that one, though he would on purpoſe, cannot ſink to the bottom: Veſpaſian coming thither to ſee it, took men who could not ſwim, and cauſed their hands to be bound behind them, and caſt them into the midſt thereof, and all of them came up to the top of the water, as if ſome wind had forced them from the bottom:—In many places it caſteth up pieces of black bitumen, in greatneſs and ſhape like bulls without a head; and theſe flote above the water:—This bituminous matter is good to cloſe the rifts of ſhips, and alſo to cure many diſeaſes:—Near this lake is the land of Sodom and Gomorrah, ſometime both fertile and rich, now all burnt, having been for the impiety of the inhabitants conſumed with lightning and thunder:—To be ſhort, one may here behold as it were the relics of that fire which by God's appointment deſtroyed the place, for one may yet ſee ſome remainder of thoſe five cities, and trees and fruits ſpringing up in the aſhes, which fruits to the eye appear like other fruits, but if you handle them, they fall into aſhes and ſmoke: And ſo the hiſtory of the deſtruction of Sodom is verified to the eye of thoſe who behold it.

Heathen authors alſo confirm the ſcripture-account; and where they differ from it, yet they do not contradict it. Strabo (6) declares that the water is deep and heavy, and full of pitch or bitumen; that according to an ancient tradition, there were thirteen cities of which

(5) Joſephi Antiq. Lib. 1. Cap. 11. De Bell. Jud. Lib. 4. Cap. 8. Sect. 4. p. 1195. Edit. Hudſon.
(6) Strabon.

which Sodom was the capital, and earthquakes and fiery eruptions and hot ſulphureous and bituminous waters produced the lake which ſwallowed up thoſe cities: And he infers that there were ſubterraneous fires in theſe parts, from the burnt ſtones, the caverns, aſhes, and pitch diſtilling from the ſtones, and alſo from ſtreams of hot water, which ſent forth a ſtench that might be perceived at a great diſtance; and likewiſe from the ruins of ancient buildings.

Tacitus (7) thus deſcribes it, 'This lake is of vaſt compaſs, reſembling a ſea, in taſte more nauſeous, by its noiſome ſmell baneful to the adjacent inhabitants, neither is it impelled by any wind, nor doth it ſuffer fiſh or water-fowl to live in it. Whatever bodies are caſt upon the ſtagnate water, they are borne up as if it was ſolid. At a certain ſeaſon of the year it ejects bitumen—which is driven in heaps upon the ſurface, and by the hand drawn to the ſhore.—Not far from thence lie the plains, which they report were formerly fruitful and full of populous cities, but conſumed by lightning and thunderbolts; and the footſteps yet remain, the ſoil itſelf appears ſcorched, and hath ever ſince loſt its fructifying force. For all vegetables, ſpringing ſpontaneouſly or ſown by the hand, whether herbs or flowers or fruits, as ſoon as they are grown up to maturity, prove black and empty, and vaniſh as it were into cinders. To ſpeak my own ſentiments, as I would allow cities once famous to have been burnt by fire from heaven; ſo I conceive by exhalations from the lake the earth to be infected, the ambient air to be corrupted, and thence the grain and fruits of autumn to be putrified, the ſoil and the climate being alike malignant.'

What is commonly reported, of birds in attempting to fly over the lake dropping down dead into it, of no fiſh nor creature of any kind enduring to live in it, of heavy bodies ſwimming upon the ſurface and no living animal being able to ſink in the water, of the apples of Sodom fair and beautiful without but within full of cinders and aſhes, of the ruins of the five cities to be ſeen in clear weather and the ſmoke

(6) Strabon. Geograph. Lib. 16. p. 764. Edit. Paris. 1620. p. 1108. Edit. Amſtel. 1707.

(7) Taciti Hiſt. Lib. 5. with Gordon's tranſlation.

(8) Mr.

ſmoke aſcending above the water: theſe and the like particulars affirmed by ancient authors, have been either experimentally refuted, or at leaſt much doubted of and ſuſpected by modern travelers; for it is very poſſible, that accounts may have been exaggerated beyond the truth in former times, or things may in a long courſe of time have altered, and the noxiouſneſs of the air, the putridneſs of the ſoil, the weight of the water, the quantity of bitumen, &c. may be much diminiſhed now and different from what they were ages ago. But however modern travelers ſay enough for our purpoſe, which is to confirm and illuſtrate ſcripture hiſtory.

Mr. Maundrell (8) thus relates his viſit to the Dead ſea. "Coming "within about half an hour of the ſea, we found the ground uneven, "and varied into hillocks, much reſembling thoſe places in England "where there have been anciently lime-kilns.—It is ſaid to be twenty-"four leagues long, and ſix or ſeven broad. On the ſhore of the "lake we found a black ſort of pebbles, which being held in the flame "of a candle ſoon burns, and yields a ſmoke of an intolerable ſtench. "It has this property, that it loſes only of its weight, but not of its "bulk by burning. The hills bordering upon the lake are ſaid to "abound with this ſort of ſulphureous ſtones.—It is a common tra-"dition, that birds attempting to fly over this ſea drop down dead "into it, and that no fiſh nor other ſort of animal can endure theſe "deadly waters. The former report I actually ſaw confuted by ſe-"veral birds flying about and over the ſea without any viſible harm: "the latter alſo I have ſome reaſon to ſuſpect as falſe, having ob-"ſerved amongſt the pebbles on the ſhore two or three ſhells of fiſh "reſembling oiſter-ſhells. Theſe were caſt up by the waves at two "hours diſtance from the mouth of Jordan: which I mention, leſt "it ſhould be ſuſpected that they might be brought into the ſea that "way. As for the bitumen, for which the ſea had been famous, "there was none at the place where we were. I had ſeveral lumps "of it brought me to Jeruſalem. It exactly reſembles pitch, and "cannot

(8) Mr. Maundrell's Journey from Aleppo to Jeruſalem, p. 83, &c. ſixth Edit. 1740.

(9) Pocock's

" cannot readily be diſtinguiſhed from it, but by the ſulphureouſneſs
" of its ſmell and taſte. The water of the lake was very limpid, and
" ſalt to the higheſt degree; and not only ſalt, but alſo extreme bit-
" ter and nauſeous. Being willing to make an experiment of its
" ſtrength, I went into it, and found it bore up my body in ſwim-
" ming with an uncommon force. But as for that relation of ſome
" authors, that men wading into it were buoyed up to the top, as
" ſoon as they go as deep as the navel; I found it upon experiment
" not true. Being deſirous to ſee the remains (if there were any) of
" thoſe cities anciently ſituate in this place, and made ſo dreadful an
" example of the divine vengeance, I diligently ſurveyed the waters, as
" far as my eye could reach: But neither could I diſcern any heaps
" of ruins, nor any ſmoke aſcending above the ſurface of the water;
" as is uſually deſcribed in the writings and maps of geographers:
" But yet I muſt not omit what was confidently atteſted to me by the
" Father Guardian and Procurator of Jeruſalem; both men in years,
" and ſeemingly not deſtitute either of ſenſe or probity: That they
" had once actually ſeen one of theſe ruins; that it was ſo near the
" ſhore, and the waters ſo ſhallow at that time, that they together
" with ſome Frenchmen went to it, and found there ſeveral pillars,
" and other fragments of buildings. The cauſe of our being deprived
" of this ſight was, I ſuppoſe, the highth of the water. On the
" weſt ſide of the ſea is a ſmall promontory, near which, as our guides
" told us, ſtood the monument of Lot's metamorphoſed wife, part
" of which (if they may be credited) is viſible at this day. But nei-
" ther would the preſent occaſion permit us to go and examin the
" truth of this relation; neither, had the opportunity ſerved, could
" we give faith enough to their report, to induce us to go on ſuch an
" errand. As for the apples of Sodom ſo much talked of, I neither
" ſaw, nor heard of any hereabouts: Nor was there any tree to be
" ſeen near the lake, from which one might expect ſuch a kind of
" fruit; which induces me to believe that there may be a greater
" deceit in this fruit, than that which is uſually reported of it; and
" that its very being, as well as its beauty is a fiction, only kept up,

" as

" as my lord Bacon obſerves many other falſe notions are, becauſe it " ſerves for a good alluſion, and helps the poets to a ſimilitude."

Biſhop Pocock's (9) narration is larger and more particular, but will admit of ſome contraction. " We found the hills, which are of " white ſtone, higher the nearer we approached to the Dead ſea. At " length we came to the ſteep rocky clifts that hang over it, and " make a moſt dreadful appearance; the deſcent was very difficult, " and we were obliged to leave our horſes, in order to get to the " banks of the Dead ſea, at that part of it which is about two miles " ſouth of the north end of it.—It is very extraordinary that no out- " let of this lake has been diſcovered; but it is ſuppoſed that there " muſt be ſome ſubterraneous paſſage into the Mediterranean. And " it may be queſtioned, whether ſo much of the water could evapo- " rate as falls into it, not only from the river Jordan, but from the " river Arnon, and the brook Kedron, and other ſtreams from the " mountainous countries on each ſide. It is certain that of late there " have been very extraordinary inundations of this ſea over its lower " banks, and ſuch as had not happened in many years before, be- " cauſe I ſaw many trees that had been killed by the overflowing of " it. I alſo obſerved ſeveral dead ſhrubs in the lake, ſo that the wa- " ter ſeems of late years to have gained on the land.—All authors " agree that the water of this lake is ſalt; ſome mention that it is " bitter, and has allum in it. I found it very ſalt at this place, " though ſo near to the river Jordan.—The water of the lake is clear, " and of the color of ſea water; I took a bottle of it, and had the " water analyſed; it was judged that there was nothing in it but ſalt, " and it may be a very little allum, though when I looked on the " water in the ſea, it appeared as if it had an oily ſubſtance in it, " which I have been informed is the bituminous or ſulphureous mat- " ter. On taſting it my mouth was conſtringed as if it had been a " ſtrong allum water. I found a ſort of a thin cake or cruſt of ſalt " on my face after I came out of the lake, in which I not only ſwam, " but

(9) Pocock's Deſcription of the Eaſt, Vol. 2. B. 1. Chap. 9. p. 34, &c.

(1) Joſephi

" but dipped ſeveral times, that the weight of the water might have
" no ill effect; for the perſon who analyſed the water informed me,
" that it weighs as five to four in proportion to freſh water. The
" ſtones on the ſide of the lake are covered with ſeveral thin coats of
" a white ſubſtance, as if each of them was made by a different over-
" flowing of the lake; this I was informed conſiſted of ſalt and bi-
" tumen.—I was much pleaſed with what I obſerved of this extraor-
" dinary water; I found I could lay on it in any poſture without mo-
" tion and without ſinking; it bore me up in ſuch a manner, that
" when I ſtruck in ſwimming, my legs were above the water, and I
" found it difficult to recover my feet: I did not care to venture
" where it was deep, though theſe effects would probably have been
" more remarkable farther in. They have a notion that if any one
" attempted to ſwim over, it would burn up the body, and they ſay
" the ſame of boats, for there are none on the lake.—It is obſerved
" that the bitumen flotes on the water, and comes aſhore after windy
" weather; the Arabs gather it up, and it ſerves as pitch for all uſes,
" goes into the compoſition of medicines, and is thought to have been
" a very great ingredient in the bitumen uſed in imbalming the bodies
" in Egypt.—It is probable that there are ſubterraneous fires, that
" throw up this bitumen at the bottom of the ſea, where it may form
" itſelf into a maſs, which may be broke by the motion of the water,
" occaſioned by high winds: And it is very remarkable, that the
" ſtone of Moſes before mentioned, found about two or three leagues
" from the ſea, which burns like a coal, and turns only to a white
" ſtone and not to aſhes, has the ſame ſmell when burnt as this pitch;
" ſo that it is probable a ſtratum of this ſtone under the Dead ſea is
" one part of the matter that feeds the ſubterraneous fires, and that
" this bitumen boils up out of it. As to the fruits of Sodom, fair
" without and full of aſhes within, I ſaw nothing of them; though
" from the teſtimonies we have, ſomething of this kind has been pro-
" duced; but I imagin they may be pomegranates, which having a
" tough hard rind, and being left on the trees two or three years, the
" inſide may be dried to duſt, and the outſide may remain fair. It

" has been ſaid by all authors, and is the common opinion, that there
" is no fiſh in this lake; the freſh-water fiſh of the river Jordan
" probably would not live in it. After I left the holy land, it was
" poſitively affirmed to me, that a monk had ſeen fiſh caught in this
" water, and poſſibly there may be fiſh peculiar to the lake, for which
" this water may not be too ſalt; and as ſome ſea fiſh will live in
" freſh water, ſo there may be others that will live in water much
" ſalter than the ſea; but this is a fact that deſerves well to be in-
" quired into.—The air about this lake has been alſo a matter of
" ſpeculation; it has been always thought to be very bad; and Pliny
" ſays, that the Eſſenes inhabited no nearer to it on the weſt than
" the air would permit them. The Arabs have ſuch an opinion of
" it, that at this time, when the air was leaſt pernicious, they bound
" their handkerchiefs before their mouths, and drew their breath only
" by the noſe, which they looked on to be ſafer; and all acknow-
" lege, that the air is much worſe in ſummer than in winter, as may
" be naturally concluded. There was an opinion that birds attempt-
" ing to fly over it, would be ſuffocated with the vapours; this cer-
" tainly is not true at all times, if at any ſeaſon, and poſſibly this
" notion may have its riſe, on its having been obſerved, that at ſome
" time birds flying near it might have dropped into the lake. The
" monks are ſo ſtrongly poſſeſſed with the notion of the bad air, that
" they told me ſeveral perſons had been much diſordered, and ſome
" had even died by going to the Dead ſea, eſpecially in the ſummer
" time, and particularly mentioned a Carmelite that died about a
" year before, ſoon after he had been at this ſea, and would have
" diſſuaded me from going to it. It is probable the air is unwhol-
" ſome, though poſſibly it may not have ſuch violent effects: But
" when I was ſeiſed two days after with an extraordinary diſorder in
" my ſtomach, attended with a very great giddineſs of the head, of
" which I had frequent returns, and did not perfectly recover in leſs
" than three weeks, the monks would perſuade me, that my indiſ-
" poſition was occaſioned by my going into the Dead ſea."

Our

Our Saviour himſelf admoniſheth us (Luke XVII. 32.) to "remember Lot's wife." Her delay was her ruin; and ſince the ſoil, the water, and conſequently the air, were impregnated to ſo great a degree with ſalt, it is the leſs wonder that ſhe ſhould be converted into a pillar of ſalt. The author of the Wiſdom of Solomon mentions this pillar as exiſting in his time: (Wiſd. X. 7.) "of whoſe wickedneſs even to this day, the waſte land that ſmoketh is a teſtimony, "and plants bearing fruits that never come to ripeneſs; and a ſtanding pillar of ſalt is a monument of an unbelieving ſoul." Joſephus likewiſe affirms, that this pillar is to be ſeen even until this day; and the Jeruſalem Targum aſſerts that it will endure until the time of the reſurrection. There is alſo ſomething that the inhabitants of the country ſhow now-a-days to ſtrangers for this pillar of ſalt; but the moſt intelligent and judicious travelers pay no regard or attention to it, they look upon it in the ſame light as upon other ſuperſtitious relics. Upon this ſubject of Sodom and Gomorrah it is eaſy to produce a greater number of learned authorities; but I ſtudy brevity as much as may conſiſt with illuſtration, and it may ſuffice, beſides Jewiſh writers, to have cited two witneſſes of as good note and credit as any among ancient, and two among modern authors.

When God overthrew Sodom and the other cities of the plain, he ſtill remembered Abraham's interceſſion "not to deſtroy the righteous with the wicked," and reſcued Lot from the general ruin, pulling him like a choſen veſſel out of the fire. He ſeemeth to have been placed there by divine providence to remonſtrate againſt the wickedneſs of the people; for when he expoſtulated with them for their breach of hoſpitality in their attempt upon the two ſtrangers lodged in his houſe, they retorted upon him his intermeddling and condemning their morals, as if it had been his uſual practice, "This one fellow came in to ſojourn, and he will needs be a judge." Wherefore, as St. Peter ſaith, (2 Pet. II. 7, 8.) "God delivered juſt Lot, "vexed with the filthy converſation of the wicked; For that righteous man dwelling among them, in ſeeing and hearing vexed his "righteous ſoul from day to day with their unlawful deeds." It

would have been happy, if he had preſerved the ſame tenor to the end, and had ſhown himſelf more worthy of ſo great a deliverance.

He ſtayed but a little time in Zoar, for he was afraid to dwell there, moſt probably on account of its proximity to that horrid ſcene of deſolation, and for the more ſecurity removed with his family up into the mountain: So little do we know what to wiſh or deſire; he had earneſtly entreated that he might not be obliged to fly to the mountain, but might be permitted to live at Zoar, and now he is glad to leave Zoar and to get up into the mountain, where not a houſe nor a tent but a cave was made a habitation for him and his daughters.

His daughters were by no means pleaſed with this ſolitary courſe of life, excluded from all converſe with men; and therefore the elder propoſed a ſcheme to the younger, that they ſhould exhilarate their father's ſpirits with wine, and ſhould each go to bed to him in her turn. It was eſteemed a reproach and ſcandal in thoſe days to live and die childleſs, but ſure it was far better to have no children than to procure them by ſuch means. However they joined in the plot together, and their intrigue ſucceeded; the elder ſtole in the dark one night to her father, the younger another night; and they both proved with child, and they both brought forth a ſon. The elder called her ſon "Moab" that is *from a father*, and the younger her ſon "Ben-"ammi" that is *the ſon of my race* or *people*; and from theſe two deſcended the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*, both enemies to the children of Iſrael, for which reaſon their inceſtuous origin is related the better to deter the Iſraelites from ſuch unlawful mixtures. After this we read and hear nothing more of Lot, and it is to be lamented that his day of life cloſed with ſo different an evening, that his character did not ſhine bright and clear to the end, but ſet clouded and overcaſt with drunkenneſs and inceſt. It is to be hoped, that he repented of the evil, and that theſe clouds removed the ſun broke out again at the laſt.

For the ſame reaſon that Lot removed, Abraham alſo removed from the neighbourhood of Sodom, (Gen. XX.) left his old habitation at Mamre, traveled toward the ſouth, and ſojourned between Kadeſh

and Shur in Gerar a city of the Philiſtines. An adventure befel him there of the ſame kind as that in Egypt: only it was ſo much more extraordinary, as Sarah was ſo much more advanced in years, being now in her ninetieth year, though the effects of ninety years were not then what they are at preſent. This part of Sarah's hiſtory is either not related in due order of time, or ſhe muſt certainly have been a woman of uncommon beauty at her age, that Abraham ſhould not even yet in a ſtrange country dare to acknowlege himſelf for her huſband, and that the king of the country ſhould be ſo charmed with her perſon as to take her with a deſign of making her his concubine.

Such was the common practice of thoſe times and countries, that Abimelech, who appears otherwiſe to have been a man of a ſober ſerious character, thought that he did nothing amiſs in deſigning to take a ſecondary wife. But before he put his deſign in execution, the Lord, it is ſaid, "faſt cloſed up all the wombs of the houſe of "Abimelech," ſome how or other obſtructed their natural powers of generation: and appearing unto Abimelech in a dream by night, he admoniſhed him of the ſin and the danger that he was incurring by taking another man's wife. Abimelech mindful of the fate of Sodom beſeeched God, that if he would ſlay him yet he would not alſo ſlay for his offenſe a righteous nation: but for himſelf he could plead that he had not offended knowingly; in the integrity of his heart and innocency of his hands he had done this thing, having been deceived by them both, by him affirming that ſhe was his ſiſter, and even by her, by her herſelf affirming that he was her brother. God aſſured him, that it was for this very reaſon, becauſe he did it in the integrity of his heart, that he had prevented him from ſinning, and had not ſuffered him to touch the woman: He ſhould now therefore immediately reſtore her to her huſband, who was a prophet and would pray for him, and he ſhould recover his health and live; but if he did not reſtore her, he and all his ſhould ſurely die of the diſtemper they now labored under.

Abimelech therefore roſe early in the morning, related his dream to his ſervants who were much terrified by it; and then calling for Abraham,

ham, expoſtulated with him for acting ſo diſingenuouſly and deceiving him in that manner. What had he ſeen in him or his people? or what injury had he ſuſtained, that he ſhould draw him almoſt into the commiſſion of a ſin, which might have proved fatal to him and his kingdom? Abraham anſwered frankly, that he had apprehended the Philiſtines to be a very wicked people, and to have no juſt ſenſe of God or their duty; his fear therefore had occaſioned his diſſimulation; and yet indeed he had told the truth in ſaying that ſhe was his ſiſter, but not the whole truth that ſhe was alſo his wife; and wherever he had apprehended the ſame danger, he had employed the ſame artifice. Abimelech in ſome meaſure ſatisfied with his excuſe, made him handſome preſents of ſheep and oxen men-ſervants and women-ſervants according to the cuſtom of the times, and reſtored to him Sarah his wife, and at the ſame time offered him free liberty to dwell in any part of his dominions that pleaſed him beſt. He ſaid alſo unto Sarah, that beſides other preſents he had given "her brother" a thouſand pieces of ſilver; ſhe had done wrong in calling him "her brother," for not owning him was putting herſelf out of his protection; her huſband owned and acknowleged would be the beſt veil of her chaſtity and the greateſt ſecurity of her innocence: and thus ſhe was reproved as well as her huſband, and indeed they both deſerved it. So Abraham prayed unto God, as God had directed, and to render him more illuſtrious in the eyes of the people, his prayers had an immediate effect, Abimelech and his family were healed, and made whole as they were before.

Soon after this tranſaction (Gen. XXI.) the Lord fulfilled his promiſe to Sarah; and ſhe conceived, and at the time appointed brought forth a ſon; whom his father named Iſaac, and circumciſed the eighth day, as God had commanded. The Jews therefore always circumciſe their children on the eighth day; but the Arabians, as (1) Joſephus informs us, do not circumciſe them, till they are thirteen years old, becauſe Iſhmael was thirteen years old when he was circumciſed. Abraham was a hundred years old, when his ſon Iſaac was born; Sarah

(1) Joſephi Antiq. Lib. 1. Cap. 12. Sect. 2. p. 29. Edit. Hudſon.

rah was ninety, and ſhe thought the birth of her ſon a matter of great joy to her and all her acquaintance; "God," ſaid ſhe in alluſion to his name, (which as we noted before, ſignifieth *laughter*,) "hath "made me to laugh, ſo that all that hear will laugh with me." She thought it alſo a matter of great wonder as well as of joy; for, as ſhe ſaid, who could have imagined, that at her time of life ſhe ſhould ever have given ſuck; ſo that ſhe meant herſelf to ſuckle her ſon; there was no ſuch thing as putting children out to nurſe in thoſe days. The child grew the better for the care of the mother; and when he was weaned, Abraham made a great feaſt, it being, as we may ſuppoſe, the cuſtom at that time to make an entertainment at the weaning, as they have done ſince at the chriſtening of their children.

Of Iſhmael it was predicted as we have ſeen, that he ſhould be "a "wild man, his hand againſt every man, and every man's hand "againſt him;" and this diſpoſition began to diſcover itſelf in him very early, for he treated Iſaac who was yet a child with cruel mocking, inſomuch that the apoſtle (Gal. IV. 29.) termeth it "perſecution." Sarah having been an eye-witneſs to this behaviour complained of it to her huſband, and inſiſted that this bond-woman and her ſon (the mother in all probability having inſtigated the ſon) ſhould be caſt out, for the ſon of the bond-woman ſhould not be heir with the ſon of the free-woman, with her ſon Iſaac; which evinces, that Hagar and Iſhmael had laid in ſome claim to the heritage of the firſt-born. Abraham out of love and tenderneſs to Iſhmael was ſorely grieved at Sarah's demand, and in great diſtreſs what to do: but God put an end to his perplexity, by injoining him to comply with Sarah's advice; for Iſaac was his proper ſeed, and heir of the promiſed bleſſings, which through him ſhould be conveyed to his lateſt poſterity; and yet Iſhmael, becauſe he was his ſeed alſo, ſhould be made a great nation.

Abraham in obedience to the divine command roſe up early in the morning, and gave bread and a bottle of water unto Hagar, and ſo ſent forth her and her ſon together towards the wilderneſs, which was afterwards called the wilderneſs of Beer-ſheba. There they wandered about,

about, and after ſome time their water was all gone, and Iſhmael was almoſt ready to periſh with thirſt. She laid him down ſinking and fainting, and, as ſhe thought, expiring under one of the trees, and removed to ſome diſtance to be out of the ſight of an object ſo dreadful to her, and there ſat down and wept aloud. But the angel of the Lord called to her out of heaven, and bad her not be ſo diſconſolate, for God would yet make her ſon a great nation: and then opened her eyes by pointing out to her a well of water which ſhe had not ſeen before; and ſhe ran immediately, filled her bottle with water, and gave it to her ſon to drink.

Some perſons have taxed Abraham with want of humanity in thus ſending out his ſon and his concubine with no better proviſion to ſeek their fortune as it were in the wide world: and the tranſlations, the Engliſh as well as others, have aggravated the diſtreſs by repreſenting Iſhmael as yet a child; and ſome of the moſt eminent painters, in their pictures of this ſubject, have committed the ſame miſtake by drawing him as a child lying and ſprawling among the ſhrubs. But beſides the divine command, which rendered Abraham's obedience neceſſary, there was no ſuch hardſhip in Iſhmael's caſe as there is commonly imagined to be. For he deſerved ſome puniſhment for his petulence and ill humor; it was impracticable after this for him and his mother and the family to live together upon eaſy terms; and he was much older than he is uſually repreſented. He was fourteen years old when Iſaac was born; it may be ſuppoſed that two years paſſed before Iſaac was weaned; and Iſhmael's rough treatment of him was ſome time, though we know not what time, afterwards; ſo that he muſt have been at leaſt ſixteen years old or more when he was turned out, and was rather in capacity to help and aſſiſt his mother than to be a burden to her. "Bread" and "water" in the language of the Hebrews included all kinds of proviſions: and in thoſe days the circumſtances of the world were very different from what they are in theſe; people were accuſtomed to fare harder and to ſhift more for themſelves, there being room enough and plenty enough for them to get their living. Iſhmael's caſe was no harder than the common one of other ſons at that time,

time, who were not heirs of the family: Abraham's ſons by Keturah were in like manner ſent away from Iſaac unto the eaſt country: Jacob was ſent away to his uncle Laban at Haran, and there ſet himſelf to hire for his living: and Iſhmael's being turned out into the wilderneſs was a proper and providential introduction into the world of him, who was deſtined to be the wild father of a wild nation. After his want of water was ſupplied, we do not find that he met with any more difficulties; for God proſpered him, and he grew and dwelt in the wilderneſs of Paran, became an archer, and got ſo comfortable a livelihood, that his mother Hagar procured a wife for him out of her own country, out of the land of Egypt; ſuch power did parents at that time exerciſe over their children, and even mothers over their ſons, in the great article of marriage.

Abraham ſojourned, as Abimelech had given him free leave, in the land of the Philiſtines. But Abimelech obſerving the great wealth and proſperity of Abraham, began to be jealous of his growing too rich and powerful a neighbour; and therefore he with Phicol the chief captain of his hoſt came unto Abraham, and propoſed to him to make a ſolemn covenant with him, and to ſwear unto him here by God, who was with him and proſpered him in all his ways, that he would do no wrong to the king or any of his royal ſucceſſors, but would act with all fidelity, and as he had received kindneſs, would ſhow kindneſs to the people among whom he ſojourned. Abraham was very ready to enter into ſuch an engagement, but firſt exhibited a complaint againſt Abimelech's ſervants for having forcibly taken away a well of water which he had digged. Abimelech profeſſed, that he was totally ignorant of the affair, Abraham ſhould have informed him of it, it had never before come to his knowlege, or he would have prevented or remedied it. Abraham then brought ſheep and oxen unto Abimelech, either as an acknowlegement of Abimelech's favors to him, or as his part of the mutual preſents which were uſually made upon ſuch occaſions, or for the ſacrifice by which the covenant was to be ratified and confirmed: and ſo they made a ſolemn covenant together, not any way to moleſt or injure, but mutually to aſſiſt and ſhow kind-

neſs to each other. Abraham beſides ſet apart ſeven ew-lambs, and made a preſent of them to Abimelech, which he accepted as a witneſs and allowance of his having digged the well. Wherefore the place was from that time called "Beer-ſheba" or "the well of the oath," becauſe there they ſware both of them to the covenant which they had made. Abimelech and Phicol returned to Gerar, the place from whence they came: and Abraham planted a grove in Beer-ſheba, to ſerve for his oratory or place of worſhip there to "call on the name of "the Lord, the everlaſting God." It is ſaid that Abimelech and Phicol returned "into the land of the Philiſtines," as if Abraham's was a ſeparate portion; but he ſtill dwelt there upon ſufferance, and was a ſojourner in the land, for it is immediately added, "And Abra-"ham ſojourned in the Philiſtines land many days."

It was ſome conſiderable time after theſe things, that Abraham was commanded (Gen. XXII.) to offer up his ſon Iſaac: but this is a ſubject of ſuch an extraordinary nature, that it will require as well as deſerve to be diſcuſſed in a ſeparate diſſertation.

DISSERTATION VII.

On Abraham's offering up Iſaac.

ABRAHAM's faith is frequently recommended in ſcripture, and himſelf is honored with the glorious titles of the "friend "of God" and "father of the faithful." His whole life indeed is a ſhining pattern of heroic virtue; but there are two particular inſtances of his faith and obedience, which are particularly diſtinguiſhed by the divine author of the Epiſtle to the Hebrews. The one was leaving his native country at the call and command of God, ſeparating him-

ſelf from his idolatrous kindred among whom he lived, and (Heb. XI. 9.) " ſojourning in the land of promiſe as in a ſtrange country." The other and the more illuſtrious was his ready compliance with that ſevere injunction to offer up his ſon. (ver. 17.) " By faith Abraham, " when he was tried, offered up Iſaac." This was the ſon of his old age, born to him when he and Sarah his wife were paſt all hopes of having a child; this was the ſon, to whom the promiſe was made of a numerous poſterity, that ſhould inherit the land of Canaan; nay this was the ſon, in whoſe ſeed all the nations of the earth were to be bleſſed, and of whom therefore the Meſſiah himſelf was to deſcend: And now to be commanded to offer up this beloved, this only ſon, and to cut off with his own hand at once all his preſent comforts and all his future hopes, was ſuch a trial, as never father was exerciſed with before or ſince.

That his obedience in this caſe might not ſeem the effect of a ſudden impulſe, or owing in the leaſt to his fright and confuſion, he was ordered to go to a mountain at the diſtance of three days journey, before he put the thing in execution. And in thoſe three days what unſpeakable agonies muſt this good father have endured between his duty to his God and his affection to his ſon? And particularly how muſt it have cut him to the heart, when as they drew near to the fatal place, his innocent ſon aſked him this innocent and yet killing queſtion (Gen. XXII. 7) " Behold the fire and the wood, but where is the lamb " for a burnt-offering?" What faith, what reſolution was it, that could ſupport him in theſe extremities, inſpire him with ſtrength in the midſt of weakneſs, animate him with hope in the midſt of deſpair? No wonder infidelity is offended at ſuch an amazing inſtance of faith; and therefore explodes the action, as what a good God would never command, and a good father would never execute. And I doubt not there are ſeveral Chriſtians, to whom this appears a moſt ſevere diſpenſation. Nature will ſtartle at the ſacrificing of an only child, and be ready to cry out " It is a hard ſaying, who can bear it?" But how hard and ſevere ſoever this diſpenſation may appear at firſt view, if we will candidly examin it, we ſhall find reaſon to juſtify it to us,

and entirely to vindicate the command of God and the faith and obedience of Abraham. It is a ſubject that requires ſome attention, and we will proceed in it by the following ſteps and degrees.

I. God might juſtly command Abraham to offer up his ſon. For where is the injuſtice, that He who firſt gave life, ſhould demand it again? And why may he not reſume it by one inſtrument as well as by another; by the hand of man as well as by a fever or famin or peſtilence? What maketh the difficulty in this caſe is, that it is contrary to the law of nature for a man to take away the life of an innocent man, and much more for a father to take away the life of an innocent ſon; becauſe the former have no right no power over the lives of the latter, and to take away what they have no right to take away is manifeſt injuſtice. But God hath an abſolute right and dominion over all; "he made us (Pſal. C. 3.) and not we ourſelves;" and he hath not granted us a leaſe of life, we are only tenants during pleaſure; and conſequently he may deprive us whenever he pleaſeth, and it maketh no alteration in the caſe by what hand or inſtrument he deprives us. God indeed cannot be ſuppoſed to command any thing contrary to the eternal and immutable nature and reaſon of things: but it is not contrary to the eternal and immutable nature and reaſon of things, to command a father to offer up his ſon, to command Abraham to offer up Iſaac; becauſe, it is evident, Iſaac had no neceſſary and eſſential right to life, his life depended abſolutely on the will and pleaſure of God, and conſequently the will and pleaſure of God was authority ſufficient for taking it away. The God of nature may certainly in ſuch a caſe ſuperſede or ſuſpend the law of nature; and by his command that may become lawful, which without his command would be manifeſtly unlawful.

II. As God might juſtly command Abraham to offer up his ſon, ſo Abraham might be perfectly aſſured that God did command it. Indeed it became him, and it becomes every man who pretends to a divine revelation, to have clear evidence and full conviction of it. Otherwiſe a wide door will be opened for enthuſiaſm and ſuperſtition of every kind; idle dreams and reveries may paſs for ſacred oracles; cre-

dulity may be canonized for faith, cruelty may be ſanctified for charity, and (as in the church of Rome) dragooning and torturing, plots and maſſacres may be conſecrated as "doing God good ſervice." It is not to be denied or doubted, that God can reveal and communicate himſelf to his creatures in ſuch a manner, that there ſhall remain no poſſibility of miſtake or illuſion. The manner of it, we eſpecially who have never experienced it, may not fully comprehend: but we cannot in the leaſt queſtion the truth of it, if we conſider, that God made us and exactly knoweth our frame, that he hath an abſolute power over us, and is more intimate and conſcious to us than we are to ourſelves. And Abraham was the leſs liable to be miſtaken in a point of this nature, as this was not the firſt time of God's revealing himſelf to him. I think no fewer than ſeven or eight expreſs revelations had been made to him before, ſo that he was no ſtranger to the method and manner of them; and the things mentioned in ſome of them had actually come to paſs, the promiſes had been made good, the predictions had been fulfilled, which was a farther confirmation of their truth and veracity. Abraham in other caſes was not over-credulous, but demanded a reaſon whereon to found his faith, as when the Lord promiſed "to give him the land of Canaan to inherit "it," he ſaid "Whereby ſhall I know that I ſhall inherit it?" So that we may be certain that his ſilence and acquieſcence in this caſe could proceed from nothing but the moſt perfect conviction, there not being the leaſt room to heſitate or doubt of the divine command.

He had beſides three days time to conſider of the thing before he put it in execution; and (ver. 4.) "on the third day Abraham lift "up his eyes, and ſaw the place afar off." The rabbins ſay that the glory of God reſted upon the mountain; and in all probablity there was ſome ſuch viſible token and manifeſtation. For God had ſaid unto him, (ver. 2.) "Get thee into the land of Moriah, and offer him "for a burnt-offering upon one of the mountains which I will tell "thee of:" And now "on the third day Abraham lift up his eyes, "and ſaw the place afar off." Here therefore was another confirmation that the command was from God.

The

The greateſt difficulty was to reconcile this with ſome former revelations, which had been made to him. For God had promiſed him, not only that a numerous iſſue as many as the ſtars of the heaven and as the duſt upon the earth, but alſo that the Meſſiah himſelf ſhould deſcend from Iſaac; (Gen. XXI. 12.) "In Iſaac ſhall thy ſeed be "called:" And now this very ſon is commanded to be ſacrificed, and the command was expreſs and peremptory, "Take now thy ſon, "thine only ſon Iſaac, whom thou loveſt, and get thee into the land "of Moriah, and offer him there for a burnt-offering upon one of "the mountains which I will tell thee of." Theſe revelations ſeem to claſh and interfere the one with the other, for if he was to be the father of ſuch a family how could he be ſacrificed, and if he was to be ſacrificed, how could he be the father of ſuch a family? And how could theſe be made to conſiſt and agree together, for God can never be ſuppoſed to give contradictory revelations? But here was the excellence of Abraham's faith. He was too well ſatisfied of God's power and goodneſs to have any diſtruſt of his veracity. He "ac-"counted," or rather he "reaſoned with himſelf," as the divine author of the Epiſtle to the Hebrews (XI. 19.) expreſſeth it, "that God "was able to raiſe him up even from the dead, from whence alſo he "received him in a figure." He received him from the dead in a figure, being born of parents "as good as dead;" and he doubted not but as God had miraculouſly brought him into life, ſo he could miraculouſly reſtore him to life by a reſurrection from the dead, and would miraculouſly reſtore him, rather than his promiſes ſhould not be fulfilled. It appears, I think from the ſtory itſelf, that Abraham was not without entertaining ſome hopes of a deliverance one way or other, that God would either reſcue Iſaac from death, or reſtore him again to life, and not ſuffer his promiſes and his commands to contradict one another. When Abraham ſaid to his ſervants (ver. 5.) "Abide "you here with the aſs, and I and the lad will go yonder to worſhip, "and come again to you," he intimates at leaſt ſome hope that they ſhould both return to them. When Iſaac aſked his father (ver. 7.) "Where is the lamb for a burnt-offering?" Abraham anſwered (ver. 8.)

"God

" God will" jireh " provide himſelf a lamb for a burnt-offering:" And afterwards when a ram was caught in a thicket by his horns, and ſubſtituted for a burnt-offering in the ſtead of his ſon, (ver. 14.) " Abraham called the name of that place Jehovah-jireh," or the Lord will provide, " becauſe he ſaid this day In the mount the Lord " will provide," In the greateſt difficulties and extremities the Lord will work ſome deliverance; which is the true rendering of the text, as it giveth to the word *jireh* in all the three places where it is uſed exactly the ſame ſignification.

Such were the grounds upon which Abraham built his faith; and indeed the character both of the man and of the father are ſuch in all other reſpects, that we cannot with any charity, we cannot with any conſiſtence, believe that he would have proceeded to theſe extremities, but upon the fulleſt aſſurance and conviction of a divine command and commiſſion.

III. If he was ſo fully aſſured and convinced of a divine command and commiſſion, it was certainly his duty to put it in execution. His natural affection no doubt ſuggeſted a thouſand tender things to him upon the occaſion; but the command was ſo poſitive and peremptory, that it cut off all apologies and excuſes. He pleaded hard for the people of Sodom, for God ſpoke doubtfully of their caſe, (Gen. XVIII. 21.) and ſo there was room left for a generous ſpirit to interpoſe and offer ſomething in arreſt of judgment: but here he was altogether ſilent, for the command was expreſs and determined, and precluded whatever he could urge to raiſe commiſeration. " Take now thy ſon," and what is more " thine only ſon," and what is more ſtill, " thine " only ſon whom thou loveſt even Iſaac," the father of the bleſſed ſeed, " and offer him for a burnt-offering." All the pleas of tenderneſs are here anticipated; he had nothing to do but to obey; and he could not be ignorant, that as God had an abſolute right to the life of the ſon, ſo he had an abſolute right too to the obedience of the father.

It is indeed the duty of parents to preſerve and cheriſh their children; but when one part of our duty interferes with another, that which is of ſuperior and greater, is certainly to take place of that

which

which is of inferior and leſſer obligation. The ſcale of duties is as eaſily learnt as that of muſic. The firſt are owing to God, the ſecond to our country, the third to ourſelves, the fourth to our children; and if theſe interfere at any time one with another, the fourth muſt yield to the third, and the third to the ſecond, and the ſecond to the firſt. A man may take away the life of his ſon, if it be neceſſary for his own defenſe and preſervation; much more may he take away the life of his ſon, if it be neceſſary for the preſervation of his country: but above all may he take it away, if it be required immediately by God, for nothing can be of higher obligation than an immediate revelation or command from God, and all inferior obligations muſt give place to this, as all the leſſer luminaries diſappear at the riſing of the ſun. It may therefore be ſo far from being criminal, that in certain circumſtances and at certain conjunctures it may be highly commendable, in a father to put his ſon to death. The firſt Brutus did it, to preſerve the liberty of his country; Manlius did it, to preſerve the diſciplin of war: and doth the general owe more to the diſciplin of war, or the citizen to his country, than the creature to his creator? Abraham had certainly the beſt warrant and authority; and can any reaſon be aſſigned why what is applauded as heroic virtue in them, ſhould be condemned as cruelty and barbarity in him, unleſs it be that ſome men are determined to admire every thing in the Roman hiſtory, and to cenſure every thing in the Bible?

Iſaac himſelf too appears to have been convinced of the neceſſity of obedience to the divine command; for if he had been otherwiſe diſpoſed, he was certainly able to have made ſtrong reſiſtance to his aged father, and to have prevented the execution of his deſign. Joſephus (1) ſuppoſeth him to have been twenty-five years old; he was at leaſt of age and ſtrength ſufficient to carry the large quantity of wood which was requiſite for a burnt-offering. But he was ſo far from making any reſiſtance, that he readily ſubmitted to his father, and quietly ſuffered himſelf to be bound and laid upon the altar, well knowing

(1) Joſephi Antiq. Lib. 1. Cap. 13. Sect. 2. p. 31. Edit. Hudſon.

(2) See

knowing that reſigning himſelf to the will of his father was reſigning himſelf to the will of God.

IV. But God gave the command only to try and to prove the faith and obedience of Abraham, and never intended it to be put in execution. To command with intent that he ſhould have done it, and to command with intent only to try whether he would have done it, are very different things; and even ſuppoſing there were ſome injuſtice and cruelty in the one, yet I hope there is none at all in the other. Abraham's whole life almoſt was a ſeries of trials. His leaving his native country and kindred, his ſojourning in the land of promiſe as in a ſtrange land, his being driven by famin to ſeek for ſuſtenance in Egypt, ſo long a time intervening between the promiſe of a numerous poſterity and the birth of a ſon, the birth of Iſhmael ſo many years before that of Iſaac, the painful operation of circumciſion, the more painful expulſion of Hagar and Iſhmael, were all ſo many ſevere trials of his faith and obedience; but ſeverer than all together was this command to offer up his beloved ſon, who was to be heir of the promiſes and father of the bleſſed ſeed.

The ſtory begins thus (ver. 1.) "And it came to paſs after theſe "things that God did tempt Abraham." The word *tempt* (like the Latin *tento*) hath two different ſignifications, the one importing no more than barely to *try* or to *prove*, the other implying a deſign and endevor to *ſeduce* and *betray*. In this latter ſenſe the word cannot be applied to God; for, as St. James ſpeaketh, (I. 13) "God cannot "be tempted with evil, neither tempteth he any man:" but in the other ſenſe he may properly tempt his creatures, to make proof and trial of their faith and obedience. The word in the original נסה *naſa* hath exactly this ſignification, to make experiment, to try, to prove what a perſon is, or how he will act. So God is often ſaid in ſcripture "to prove" the children of Iſrael. So the queen of Sheba came to Solomon (1 Kings X. 1.) "to prove him with hard queſtions." So God is ſaid in a certain particular to leave Hezekiah to himſelf (2 Chron. XXXII. 31.) "to try him that he might know all that was in his "heart." Not that God maketh trial of men for his own informa-

which is of inferior and leſſer obligation. The ſcale of duties is as eaſily learnt as that of muſic. The firſt are owing to God, the ſecond to our country, the third to ourſelves, the fourth to our children; and if theſe interfere at any time one with another, the fourth muſt yield to the third, and the third to the ſecond, and the ſecond to the firſt. A man may take away the life of his ſon, if it be neceſſary for his own defenſe and preſervation; much more may he take away the life of his ſon, if it be neceſſary for the preſervation of his country: but above all may he take it away, if it be required immediately by God, for nothing can be of higher obligation than an immediate revelation or command from God, and all inferior obligations muſt give place to this, as all the leſſer luminaries diſappear at the riſing of the ſun. It may therefore be ſo far from being criminal, that in certain circumſtances and at certain conjunctures it may be highly commendable, in a father to put his ſon to death. The firſt Brutus did it, to preſerve the liberty of his country; Manlius did it, to preſerve the diſciplin of war: and doth the general owe more to the diſciplin of war, or the citizen to his country, than the creature to his creator? Abraham had certainly the beſt warrant and authority; and can any reaſon be aſſigned why what is applauded as heroic virtue in them, ſhould be condemned as cruelty and barbarity in him, unleſs it be that ſome men are determined to admire every thing in the Roman hiſtory, and to cenſure every thing in the Bible?

Iſaac himſelf too appears to have been convinced of the neceſſity of obedience to the divine command; for if he had been otherwiſe diſpoſed, he was certainly able to have made ſtrong reſiſtance to his aged father, and to have prevented the execution of his deſign. Joſephus (1) ſuppoſeth him to have been twenty-five years old; he was at leaſt of age and ſtrength ſufficient to carry the large quantity of wood which was requiſite for a burnt-offering. But he was ſo far from making any reſiſtance, that he readily ſubmitted to his father, and quietly ſuffered himſelf to be bound and laid upon the altar, well knowing

(1) Joſephi Antiq. Lib. 1. Cap. 13. Sect. 2. p. 31. Edit. Hudſon.

(2) See

knowing that reſigning himſelf to the will of his father was reſigning himſelf to the will of God.

IV. But God gave the command only to try and to prove the faith and obedience of Abraham, and never intended it to be put in execution. To command with intent that he ſhould have done it, and to command with intent only to try whether he would have done it, are very different things; and even ſuppoſing there were ſome injuſtice and cruelty in the one, yet I hope there is none at all in the other. Abraham's whole life almoſt was a ſeries of trials. His leaving his native country and kindred, his ſojourning in the land of promiſe as in a ſtrange land, his being driven by famin to ſeek for ſuſtenance in Egypt, ſo long a time intervening between the promiſe of a numerous poſterity and the birth of a ſon, the birth of Iſhmael ſo many years before that of Iſaac, the painful operation of circumciſion, the more painful expulſion of Hagar and Iſhmael, were all ſo many ſevere trials of his faith and obedience; but ſeverer than all together was this command to offer up his beloved ſon, who was to be heir of the promiſes and father of the bleſſed ſeed.

The ſtory begins thus (ver. 1.) "And it came to paſs after theſe "things that God did tempt Abraham." The word *tempt* (like the Latin *tento*) hath two different ſignifications, the one importing no more than barely to *try* or to *prove*, the other implying a deſign and endevor to *ſeduce* and *betray*. In this latter ſenſe the word cannot be applied to God; for, as St. James ſpeaketh, (I. 13) "God cannot "be tempted with evil, neither tempteth he any man:" but in the other ſenſe he may properly tempt his creatures, to make proof and trial of their faith and obedience. The word in the original נסה *naſa* hath exactly this ſignification, to make experiment, to try, to prove what a perſon is, or how he will act. So God is often ſaid in ſcripture "to prove" the children of Iſrael. So the queen of Sheba came to Solomon (1 Kings X. 1.) "to prove him with hard queſtions." So God is ſaid in a certain particular to leave Hezekiah to himſelf (2 Chron. XXXII. 31.) "to try him that he might know all that was in his "heart." Not that God maketh trial of men for his own informa-

tion, for he hath a moſt intimate and perfect knowlege of all his creatures; he knoweth both their ſtrength and their weakneſs, both what they can do and what they will do, in all circumſtances and conjunctures: But when he trieth and proveth them he trieth and proveth them for their own ſake and for the ſake of others; for their own ſake, to exerciſe, to improve, to diſplay, to reward and crown their virtue; and for the ſake of others, to inlighten, to encourage, to raiſe and provoke them to emulation by ſuch ſhining examples. And as gold is tried in the fire, ſo the beſt men are often exerciſed with theſe temptations.

For ſome ſuch reaſons as theſe (may we probably ſuppoſe) this trying command was given to Abraham; and for the ſtronger proof, for the fuller diſplay of his faith and obedience, he is ſuffered to carry the thing even to the point of execution. He had bound his ſon, and laid him upon the altar, and was now ſtretching forth his hand to kill him—(Deo dignus vindice nodus)—when the angel of the Lord called unto him out of heaven to ſtay his hand, and behold behind him was a ram caught in a thicket by his horns, to ſerve for a burnt-offering inſtead of his ſon. So that if we could not entirely ſatisfy ourſelves of the reaſonableneſs of this command, if we could not unty this knot, yet we might cut it by the thing's not being executed; and at the ſame time Abraham's faith and obedience are as fully proved and as amply rewarded, as if it had been executed.

V. Something greater was yet intended; and the main end, the principal deſign of providence in this whole tranſaction was to exhibit a moſt remarkable and lively type, an exact and perfect repreſentation of the death and ſacrifice of our Saviour Chriſt. "Known unto "God (Acts XV. 18.) are all his works from the beginning of the "world;" and this was, agreeably to the cuſtom of ancient times, a prophecy by actions inſtead of words of his great work in the redemption of mankind. As Abraham offered up his beloved and only ſon, ſo God gave his beloved and only ſon to die for us. As Iſaac readily ſubmitted to the will of his earthly father; ſo did Chriſt to his

(2) See Tillotſon's Works, Fol. Vol. 2. Serm. 2. p. 21. Mann's Crit. Notes on Scripture, p. 4, &c.

(3) Mede's

his heavenly father with a " not my will but thine be done." As Iſaac bore the wood for a burnt-offering, ſo Chriſt carried his croſs: and an (2) ancient tradition informs us, and there is alſo good reaſon to believe, that the very mountain, on which Abraham was commanded to offer up Iſaac, being the moſt conſpicuous mountain in the land of Moriah, was the ſame mountain that was afterwards called mount Calvary, on which our Saviour Chriſt was crucified. And farther, as the ſentence was revoked, and Iſaac was reſtored as it were to life upon the third day, ſo upon the third day too Chriſt roſe again from the dead. To this purpoſe ſome learned men apply the ſaying of the apoſtle, " from whence alſo he received him in a figure," which was before explained of Iſaac's being born of parents " as good " as dead," as the apoſtle himſelf expreſſeth it, (ver. 12.) the words plainly referring to ſomething prior and not to any thing ſubſequent to Abraham's " accounting," and ſo a reaſon is intimated for Abraham's " accounting that God was able to raiſe him up even from the " dead," becauſe " he had received him from thence in a figure," from parents dead as to theſe things, dead in compariſon. But they underſtand it of Abraham's " receiving Iſaac from the dead in a pa- " rable, in a repreſentation." He was the repreſentative of Chriſt; his death was not real, but only figurative, and his deliverance was a *figure* of Chriſt's reſurrection. The thing is certainly true, whether this be the meaning of that text or not: and as Iſaac was a figure of Chriſt, ſo the ram ſubſtituted for the burnt-offering was a figure of the ſacrifices under the law, till the offering of the all-ſufficient ſacrifice in the fulneſs of time. The ram was accepted inſtead of Iſaac, " to ſignify" (as (3) Mr. Mede expreſſeth it) " that the offering of " the bleſſed ſeed ſhould be yet ſuſpended, and that God in the mean " while would accept the offerings of bulls and rams, as a pledge of " that expiation which the bleſſed ſeed of Abraham ſhould one day " make." Such harmony there is in the diſpenſations of providence, and ſo exactly do the type and the antitype correſpond and agree together.

(3) Mede's Works, B. 1. Diſc. 26. p. 111. Edit. 1672.

VI. And laſtly. From this tranſaction we may raiſe ſeveral important and uſeful obſervations, which ſhall be propoſed with all poſſible brevity.

1. We may obſerve that there is nothing in this tranſaction to authorize or countenance that barbarous and inhuman cuſtom of parents ſacrificing their children. In ancient times parents uſed to exerciſe a ſort of deſpotic and abſolute right over their children, and even by the Roman laws of the twelve tables they had jus vitæ et necis the power of life and death in their hands. In ſeveral countries they offered their ſons and their daughters unto idols, and, as the prophet (Micah VI. 7.) expreſſeth it with great life and ſpirit, "gave their firſt-born for "their tranſgreſſion, the fruit of their body for the ſin of their ſoul." But I ſay there is nothing at all in this tranſaction to countenance ſuch a practice, as ſome have vainly objected. For we ſee that God gave the command only to prove the faith and obedience of Abraham without ever intending that it ſhould be executed; and we ſee too that rather than it ſhould be executed, a miracle is wrought, a voice is heard from heaven forbidding it, and a ram is ſubſtituted in the room of Iſaac for a burnt-offering. So far therefore is this tranſaction from encouraging any ſuch practice, that it may be conſidered rather as an expreſs prohibition of it: And the ſame divine hiſtorian and lawgiver, who relates this tranſaction, afterwards forbids the practice in the ſtrongeſt manner, and condemns it as one of the greateſt abominations. (Deut. XII. 29, 30, 31.) "When the Lord thy God ſhall cut off the "nations from before thee, whither thou goeſt to poſſeſs them, and "thou ſucceedeſt them, and dwelleſt in their land: Take heed to "thyſelf that thou be not ſnared by following them, after that "they be deſtroyed from before thee, and that thou inquire not after "their gods, ſaying, How did theſe nations ſerve their gods? even "ſo will I do likewiſe. Thou ſhalt not do ſo unto the Lord thy "God; for every abomination to the Lord which he hateth, have "they done unto their gods; for even their ſons and their daughters "they have burnt in the fire to their gods." We find in hiſtory, that almoſt all the heathen nations, Phœnicians, Canaanites, Arabians,

bians, Egyptians, Athenians, Lacedæmonians, Romans, Scythians, Carthaginians, Gauls and Britons made a practice of offering human ſacrifices. It is to the honor of the true religion, that the Jews were in a manner the only ancient people who never admitted ſo barbarous a cuſtom.

2. We may obſerve from hence the true reaſon of God's chooſing the children of Iſrael for his peculiar people. It was not for their own ſake or for their own righteouſneſs, as the ſcripture intimates in ſeveral places; for they were always a ſtiff-necked and rebellious people: but it was for the ſake of their forefathers, and for nothing more than this ſignal inſtance of faith and obedience in the patriarch Abraham. And accordingly we may obſerve, that for this very reaſon the promiſe is again confirmed to Abraham, and with greater ſolemnity than at any time before: (ver. 16, &c.) "By myſelf have I ſworn, "ſaith the Lord, for becauſe thou haſt done this thing, and haſt not "withheld thy ſon, thine only ſon, that in bleſſing I will bleſs thee, "and in multiplying I will multiply thy ſeed, as the ſtars of the "heaven, and as the ſand which is upon the ſea-ſhore, and thy ſeed "ſhall poſſeſs the gate of his enemies, and in thy ſeed ſhall all the "nations of the earth be bleſſed, becauſe thou haſt obeyed my "voice."

3. We may obſerve from hence the great uſe of reaſon in religion. In this inſtance Abraham *reaſoned* with himſelf, and is commended for it by the apoſtle; (Heb. XI. 19.) And ſo muſt we ſatisfy ourſelves of the reaſonableneſs of our faith, unleſs we would offer, (Eccleſ. V. 1.) "the ſacrifice of fools."

4. And to conclude, We may obſerve from hence, that the faith which is ſo much commended in ſcripture, the faith which juſtified Abraham, which juſtifies every perſon, is not only ſpeculative but operative; is not a bare belief, but a belief animated by obedience, and obedience not only in leſſer inſtances but even in caſes of the greateſt trial and difficulty. (James II. 21, &c.) "Was not Abraham "our father juſtified by works, when he had offered Iſaac his ſon "upon the altar? Seeſt thou how faith wrought with his works, and

"by

" by works was faith made perfect? And the ſcripture was fulfilled
" which ſaith, Abraham believed God, and it was imputed unto him
" for righteouſneſs, and he was called the friend of God. Ye ſee
" then how that by works a man is juſtified, and not by faith only.
" For as the body without the ſpirit is dead, ſo faith without works
" is dead alſo."

DISSERTATION VIII.

On the remainder of Abraham's hiſtory, and the ſtate of religion in his time.

AFTER ſo ſignal an inſtance of faith and obedience in the patriarch Abraham, nothing occurs ſo memorable in the remaining part of his ſtory, as indeed nothing can exceed or equal it. The hiſtory is reſumed (Gen. XXII. 20—24.) with an account of the family of Nahor Abraham's brother, his eight ſons by Milcah his wife, and his four ſons by Reumah his concubine; which account is inſerted principally to introduce the mention, and to ſhow the genealogy of Rebecca, who was the daughter of Bethuel one of the legitimate ſons of Nahor and Milcah, and became afterwards the wife of Iſaac and mother of Jacob.

It doth not appear at what diſtance of time it was after this affair of Iſaac, that (Gen. XXIII.) Sarah died. Both before (XXI. 33.) and after it (XXII. 19.) Abraham dwelt at Beerſheba: but we find him now removed to Kirjath-Arba or the city of Arba, " a great " man among the Anakims," (Joſh. XIV. 15.) which city was afterwards called Hebron, and was at preſent in the poſſeſſion of the ſons of Heth or the Hittites. Sarah died there at the age of 127 years; and

and it is remarked as a ſingular honor to this mother of the faithful, that ſhe is the only woman whoſe age is recorded in ſcripture. Abraham "came," (ver. 2.) not from any diſtant part of the country as ſome imagin, but from his own tent the men and the women having different tents, to lament and weep over the dead body: but being only a ſtranger and ſojourner in the country, and having no land of inheritance, he was at a loſs for a burying-place, as in ancient times every family almoſt had its ſeparate burying-place. He applied therefore to the children of Heth for this purpoſe. They readily offered him the choice of any of their ſepulchres. But he deſired their interceſſion with Ephron the ſon of Zohar, that he might purchaſe of him the cave of Machpelah which was in the end of his field, and he would give him the full value of it in ready money.

Ephron was ſo generous as even to make him a preſent both of the field and cave: but Abraham as generouſly declined the offer, and inſiſted upon paying the money for it. Ephron anſwered that the land was worth 400 ſhekels of ſilver. Mention was made before (XVII. 12, 13.) of "money," and (XX. 16.) of "pieces of ſilver;" but this, I think, is the firſt time that any particular ſpecies of money is mentioned. Money, we ſee, was not then coined, but was paid by weight; and a *ſhekel* is properly *weighed money*, being derived from *ſhakal* a verb ſignifying to *weigh*. A ſhekel is uſually reckoned worth near half a crown, ſo that 400 ſhekels did not amount to 50 pounds. "What is that," ſaid Ephron, (ver. 15.) "betwixt me and thee?" It was as nothing between ſuch wealthy perſons as they were; it was not worth making words about whether it be for a preſent or for a purchaſe. Abraham accordingly weighed the money to Ephron; and the purchaſe both of the field and the cave was made ſure to him, not by writings but by witneſſes in the preſence of the ſons of Heth; and there he buried his wife in the cave of the field of Macpelah, which was not far from Mamre his old habitation.

Sarah's is truly an excellent character. The beauties of her mind ſeem to have been as extraordinary as thoſe of her perſon. St. Peter recommends her behaviour as a pattern to other wives; (1 Pet. III. 3.)

" Whoſe adorning let it not be that outward adorning, of plaiting " the hair, and of wearing of gold, or of putting on of apparel: " But let it be the hidden man of the heart, in that which is not cor- " ruptible, even the ornament of a meek and quiet ſpirit, which is " in the ſight of God of great price. For after this manner in the " old time, the holy women alſo who truſted in God adorned them- " ſelves, being in ſubjection unto their own huſbands; Even as Sarah " obeyed Abraham, calling him Lord; whoſe daughters ye are as " long as ye do well, and are not afraid with any amazement." Ye become her daughters, though not born after the fleſh, by reſembling her in manners, by behaving well, and being by no means diſcouraged from doing your duty.

After the death of Sarah, Abraham being alſo well ſtricken in years, (Gen. XXIV.) it was time for him to think of ſettling his ſon Iſaac in marriage. For this purpoſe he employed Eliezer of Damaſcus, his principal ſervant, ſteward of his houſehold and manager of all his affairs: and as it was an affair of the greateſt importance, adjured him in the moſt ſolemn manner, not to take a wife for his ſon of the daughters of the Canaanites among whom they dwelt, but to go to his (Abraham's) own country and kindred, and to procure from thence a wife for his ſon; he thought it beſt for the huſband and wife to be of the ſame religion, and not to marry foreigners. But his ſervant aſked, if the woman ſhould refuſe to follow him into this land, whether he ſhould conduct his ſon into that land? That Abraham abſolutely prohibited, and expreſſed great confidence, that the Lord God of heaven and earth, who had called him forth from that land, and had moſt ſolemnly promiſed to give this land of Canaan to his poſterity, would ſend his angel before his ſervant to direct and proſper him in his journey; and if the woman ſhould refuſe to come with him, he ſhould then be releaſed from his oath, but he ſhould in no caſe lead back his ſon to the land of his fathers. Eliezer ſware according to this tenor, putting his hand under his maſter's thigh, as the ceremonial was in thoſe early times. He then ſet forth with ten of his maſter's camels and ſuitable attendents, to go into Meſopotamia, to Haran the city of Nahor Abraham's brother.

It was in the evening that he drew nigh unto the city, at the time that the women came out to draw water; and he ſtayed there by the well, and earneſtly prayed unto the God of his maſter Abraham to ſpeed him in his journey, and to grant that of the virgins who ſhould come forth to draw water, ſhe whom he ſhould aſk to give him water to drink, and ſhe ſhould not only give him to drink but offer alſo to draw water for his camels, might be the perſon deſtined to be his young maſter's wife. The thing ſucceeded according to his wiſh; he aſked a moſt beautiful young virgin to give him water to drink, and ſhe not only gave him to drink, but drew water alſo for his camels, until they had done drinking. Upon this he preſented her with golden earings and bracelets, and inquired whoſe daughter ſhe was, and whether there was room in her father's houſe to accommodate them with lodgings? The virgin proved to be Rebecca, the daughter of Bethuel, the ſon of Nahor Abraham's brother by Milcah his wife; and ſhe ſaid that there was room enough for him and his company, and alſo ſtraw and provender for his camels. While he was devoutly giving thanks unto God for thus ſpeeding him in his journey, and directing him to the houſe of his maſter's kindred; the virgin ran to tell them of her mother's houſe all that had happened. When Eliezer aſked whether there was room (ver. 23.) "in her father's houſe," ſhe anſwered (ver. 25.) "we have room" without any mention of "her "father's houſe:" And now (ver. 28.) mention being made of "her "mother's houſe," it ſhould ſeem that her father was dead; and her brother Laban appears to have had the principal management in the affairs of the family.

As ſoon as he had heard her ſtory, and ſeen the bracelets and earings, he went in all haſte unto the well to invite the man into the houſe, gave him the moſt friendly reception, ſtraw and provender for his camels, water to waſh his feet and the mens who were with him, and alſo ſet meat before him. But he refuſed to partake of any repaſt until he had told his errand; and then related in order whoſe ſervant he was, how God had bleſſed and enriched his maſter, how he had only one ſon to inherit his ſubſtance, all that had paſſed between his maſter

and him upon the ſubject of his ſon's marriage, all that had paſſed between Rebecca and him at the well; and in the concluſion deſired, that as God had hitherto proſpered him in his journey, they would alſo deal fairly with him, and declare whether they would accept of his propoſal or not. They readily acknowleged the hand of God in the whole tranſaction, and could not but agree to a match ſo plainly pointed out and recommended by divine providence.

In the text it is ſaid (ver. 50.) "Then Laban and Bethuel anſwered "and ſaid:" but the ſon would hardly be named before the father, the father moſt probably was dead, and this therefore muſt have been a younger ſon of the ſame name as his father, or rather there is an error in the copy, and inſtead of "Laban and Bethuel" we ſhould read "Laban the ſon of Bethuel," Laban acting in the name and with the authority of his deceaſed father. It farther appears by what follows that the father was dead: for upon their conſenting to the match, Eliezer again worſhipped God, and produced rich preſents of cloaths and ornaments for Rebecca; "he gave alſo" (ver. 53.) "to her bro-"ther and to her mother precious things," without any mention of her father: and after they had ſupped and repoſed, when the morning was come, and he was eager and impatient to bear away his prize, "her brother and her mother" (ver. 55.) no mention again of the father, were for detaining her at the leaſt ten days: but he entreated them, ſince his journey hitherto had been ſo ſucceſsful, not to hinder him, but permit him to return directly to his maſter. They referred the matter to the young woman herſelf, whether ſhe was willing to go; and ſhe very readily conſented, the motion being of the Lord. So they bleſſed her, and ſhe departed, ſhe and her nurſe and her maidens mounted on camels; Abraham's ſervant carefully conducting her towards his maſter.

At this time Iſaac dwelt in the ſouth country near the well of Lahairoi, that is "the well of living viſion," where God had appeared unto Hagar. It happened that the camels drew nigh, when Iſaac was taking his evening's walk of meditation in the fields, for he was more of a contemplative than of an active genius. Rebecca ſeeing a man ad-

vancing in the field to meet them, inquired Who he was; and finding that he was Iſaac, ſhe lighted off the camel and covered herſelf with a veil, as brides were accuſtomed to do. Iſaac being informed of all things which had paſſed, conducted her into his mother Sarah's tent, and married her; and his love to her was ſuch, that he was comforted after the loſs of his mother, for whoſe memory he retained the ſtrongeſt affection.

Beſides his two ſons, Iſaac by his wife Sarah, and Iſhmael by his concubine Hagar, Abraham had other children (Gen. XXV. 1, &c.) by another concubine named Keturah. But this account of Keturah's children is not related in exact order of time, hiſtorians, not to interrupt the thred of their narration, commonly reſerving to the laſt place the mention of ſuch parts of a man's family, as they have not had occaſion to introduce before. Our Engliſh tranſlation would induce us to believe, that it was after Sarah's deceaſe and Iſaac's marriage that Abraham took Keturah for his lawful wife, and had theſe children by her. But when Iſaac was born, Abraham was an hundred years old; (XXI. 5.) and the birth of a ſon at that age is ſpoken of as a kind of miracle both by Moſes and St. Paul. Abraham himſelf ſaid (XVII. 17.) "Shall a child be born unto him that is an hundred "years old?" Sarah ſaid, (XVIII. 12.) "After I am waxed old, "ſhall I have pleaſure, my lord being old alſo?" His body is repreſented (Rom. IV. 19.) as "now dead," and himſelf (Heb. XI. 12.) "dead as to theſe things." But now he was much older. When Sarah died, ſhe was 127 years old; (XXIII. 1.) and conſequently Abraham being ten years older was 137. When Iſaac was married, he was 40 years old; (XXV. 20.) and conſequently Abraham was 140: And if there was ſomething miraculous in his having a ſon when he was 100 years old, it is neither probable nor natural that he ſhould have half a dozen children ſo many years afterwards.

Our Engliſh tranſlation "Then again Abraham took a wife, and "her name was Keturah," ſhould be litterally according to the original, "And Abraham added, and took a wife, and her name was "Keturah," which implies that after a former he took her for a ſecondary wife, but without the leaſt intimation of the time when he

took her. Neither is it known who Keturah was or of what country; moſt probably ſhe was one of his maid-ſervants. Neither was ſhe his lawful wife, though ſhe is called a "wife," as likewiſe (XVI. 3.) Hagar is; but both really were, and both are alſo (XXV. 6.) called "concubines." It has been imagined (1) that Abraham took Keturah for his concubine in Haran before he came into Canaan: but it appears that after he had dwelt ſome years in Canaan, he had no children at all. For (XV. 1, &c.) upon God's coming unto him in a viſion, and promiſing to be "his ſhield and his exceeding great reward," he ſaid "Lord God, what wilt thou give me, ſeeing I go childleſs, "and the ſteward" or rather "the heir of my houſe is this Eliezer of "Damaſcus? Behold, to me thou haſt given no ſeed; and lo, one born "in my houſe," not a ſon of mine own but of parents or a parent of Damaſcus, "is mine heir:" and the anſwer of God to him was, that not this man but a ſon of his own ſhould be his heir, "This ſhall not "be thine heir, but he that ſhall come forth out of thine own bowels "ſhall be thine heir." Which could not have been ſaid on either ſide, if Abraham had gotten at that time any children by Keturah.

What I conceive to be moſt probable is, that after this divine promiſe of a numerous poſterity, Abraham having no children by his wife Sarah, took Keturah for his concubine ſome time before he took Hagar in the ſame capacity: but Sarah not regarding his children by his ſervant in any ſenſe as her own children, recommended to him her own maid Hagar purpoſely, that ſhe might (XVI. 2.) "obtain chil-"dren by her:" as Rachael and Leah (XXX.) each recommended her handmaid to her huſband, and each looked upon her handmaid's children in ſome meaſure as her own children: and ſo likewiſe Abraham's children by Keturah could not be conſidered as Sarah's in the ſame ſenſe as thoſe by Hagar would, the miſtreſs having a property in her maid-ſervant and all who ſprung from her.

Whenever it was that Abraham took Keturah for his concubine, ſhe proved more fruitful than Hagar, and brought him ſix ſons. But theſe

(1) See Joſeph Hallet junior his Paraphraſe and Notes on the three laſt Chapters of the Epiſtle to the Hebrews, being a Supplement to Mr. Peirce, Chap. XI. 12.

(2) Plin.

theſe ſons he would not ſuffer to interfere with Iſaac; he did by them as he did by Iſhmael, made them preſents and ſent them unto the eaſt-country in his life-time, that they might give no diſturbance to his lawful and rightful heir after his death: ſo that being of age to be ſent forth to plant colonies, they can hardly be ſuppoſed to be born after Iſaac's marriage; moſt probably that was the time of their being ſent forth. Moſes recounts their names, and ſome even of their ſons and grandſons, for the information of the children of Iſrael, that they might acknowlege and treat them as their brethren. They made a part of the mixed people of Arabia, but their reſpective ſituations are altogether unknown at this diſtance of time and place, and their names ſcarce ever occur in ancient authors, except perhaps the *Sabæans* from *Sheba*, the *Zamareni* in (2) Pliny from *Zimram*, the *Dedanim* in Iſaiah (XXI. 13.) from *Dedan*, ("In the foreſt in Arabia ſhall ye "lodge, O ye traveling companies of Dedanim,") and above all the *Midianites* from *Midian*. The reſt are more unknown, for the *Aſſharim* were not the *Aſſyrians*, who deſcended from *Aſſhur* the ſon of Shem.

Abraham, having thus diſpoſed of his other ſons, bequeathed the reſt of his ſubſtance to Iſaac, conſtituting him heir of all that he poſſeſſed. He lived to a good old age, and died full of days full of honor, when he was 175 years old, in the year of the world 2183, and before Chriſt 1821. It is ſaid (ver. 8.) that he "was gathered "unto his people," and the ſame is ſaid ſoon again of Iſhmael (ver. 17.) that he "was gathered unto his people;" which is a Hebrew phraſe for dying, but at the ſame time includes a notion of the ſeparate exiſtence of human ſouls, and of their going to ſome common receptacle, eſpecially to their kindred and countrymen. His two ſons Iſaac and Iſhmael paid their laſt reſpects to their father by attending his funeral; his other ſons perhaps might live at too great a diſtance. They buried him in the cave of Machpelah, in the field which he purchaſed of Ephron the Hittite; there they laid him with Sarah his wife.

Upon

(2) Plin. Nat. Hiſt. Lib. 6. Cap. 32. Edit. Harduin.

(3) Joſeph.

Upon the mention of Iſhmael's attendence to pay the laſt office to his deceaſed father, the hiſtorian taketh occaſion to relate his age and death, and to recite the names of his ſons without entering farther into their ſtory, which was no part of his deſign. Iſhmael ſurvived his father 48 years, and was 137 years old when he died. He was the father of twelve ſons, who were the founders of ſo many tribes of Arabians. Theſe Arabians dwelt "from Havilah," which was their northern or eaſtern border, "unto Shur" near Egypt, which was their ſouthern or weſtern border; and in going from Egypt towards Aſſyria the readieſt way was to "Shur," and ſo from thence to "Havi-"lah," names of places, which were better known then than they can be aſcertained at preſent. Having ſaid ſo much of the Arabians in another place, I would not inlarge upon the ſubject here; but would rather refer the reader to the ſecond of the Diſſertations on the Prophecies.

Such is the hiſtory of the life and actions of the patriarch Abraham, who appears to have been one of the greateſt and moſt illuſtrious characters in thoſe ancient times. He was the father of ſeveral nations, and of ſome which are now ſubſiſting as diſtinct nations, and are well known at this day, as the Jews and Arabians. His name is celebrated not only by Jewiſh but alſo by Mohammedan, not only by Chriſtian but even by Heathen writers. Several Heathen authors are cited by Joſephus (3) the Jewiſh, and by Euſebius the Chriſtian hiſtorian, as bearing teſtimony to his virtues, and confirming the principal paſſages of his life, but with ſuch errors and miſtakes as are common to Heathen writers, and plainly evince that they did not copy from Moſes, though they agree with him in the main tranſactions. When a man's name is become deſervedly famous, more excellencies are often aſcribed to him than are ſtrictly his due; and Abraham is ſaid to have been well ſkilled in all arts and ſciences, a great philoſopher and aſtronomer, and author of ſeveral books. His trueſt commendation, his higheſt honor is to have been the great inſtrument of providence in preſerving

(3) Joſephi Antiq. Lib. 1. Cap. 7. Sect. 2. p. 22. Edit. Hudſon. Euſeb. Præp. Evang. Lib. 9. Cap. 16, 17, 18, 19. Edit. Vigeri.

(4) Joſeph.

preſerving the true religion in the world, and conveying it to the lateſt generations.

Religion was then in a declining ſtate. Superſtition and idolatry were growing up apace. There was indeed among the Canaanites Melchizedek, " king of Salem and prieſt of the moſt high God," of the ſame religion with Abraham; Abimelech king of the Philiſtines appears to have had ſome knowlege of God and of his duty; but the Canaanites, Philiſtines, Egyptians, and other neighbouring nations ſoon after this time were notoriouſly ſunk in the groſſeſt idolatry, and at this time therefore muſt have degenerated much in religion as well as in morals. But of all the nations Abraham's countrymen, the Chaldæans, ſeem to have been the moſt corrupted; and the general infection had reached even to his own kindred, for (Joſh. XXIV. 2.) " on the other ſide of the flood they ſerved other Gods." In this criſis Abraham was called forth by divine providence to be the preſerver and propagator of true religion among men: and he fully anſwered the character that God was pleaſed to give of him, (Gen. XVIII. 19.) " I know him that he will command his children, and his houſhold " after him, and they ſhall keep the way of the Lord, to do juſtice " and judgment."

He was in more ſenſes than one " the father of the faithful." Not only Iſaac the child of promiſe, but Iſhmael and his other ſons alſo by Keturah were without doubt inſtructed by him as well as circumciſed; and their ſeparation and diſperſion muſt have been the means of conveying ſome notions of God and religion into different parts; and perhaps Job and his friends were ſome of their deſcendents. His domeſtics alſo muſt have received inſtruction from him as well as circumciſion; and as they were collected from different nations, as Hagar an Egyptian and Eliezer of Damaſcus, this was a farther ſpreading of the knowlege of God, eſpecially if any of them ever returned afterwards to their own country and kindred. His own travels too into different countries, and ſojourning in ſeveral parts of Canaan, ſometimes in Egypt, and ſometimes in the land of the Philiſtines, muſt have contributed greatly to diffuſe a ſenſe of religion and virtue where-

ever

ever he came: And (4) Joſephus upon good authority relates, that in his converſations with the moſt learned of the Egyptian prieſts, refuting their errors, and proving the truth of his own religion, he was admired by them as a man of moſt excellent underſtanding, and of great ability, not only to comprehend things himſelf, but alſo to perſuade and convince others of ſuch points as he attempted to teach them. The ancient Perſians too, according to (5) Dr. Hyde, called their religion "the religion of Abraham," and their ſacred book "the book "of Abraham:" and if they did not derive their religion from him, yet being ambitious to have it thought ſo, they hereby teſtified the high veneration which the eaſtern nations paid to his name and character.

His religion was the religion of nature and reaſon aſſiſted by revelation, for no ſuch thing ever exiſted as pure natural religion without ſomething of revelation. His religion was the traditionary patriarchal religion, the ſame as that of Noah with ſome additional injunctions and revelations. The ſame ſort of ſacrifices were in uſe, Abraham having received them from Noah, as Noah had from Adam. The ſame perſons were the ſacrificers, the heads or firſt-born of each family; and Noah and Abraham both were ſacrificers in their reſpective families, as Job afterwards (I. 5.) "offered burnt-offerings for his children con-"tinually." The ſame diſtinction was obſerved of clean and unclean creatures; for after the deluge (Gen. VIII. 20.) "Noah took of every "clean beaſt, and of every clean fowl, and offered burnt-offerings;" and Abraham's great ſacrifice (XV. 9.) conſiſted of "an heifer, and "a goat, and a ram, and a turtle dove and a young pigeon;" the very ſame which were preſcribed as clean creatures, and injoined for ſacrifices by the Levitical law. Altars were erected as occaſions required; for (VIII. 9) "Noah builded an altar unto the Lord, and "offered burnt-offerings on the altar;" and wherever Abraham came to make any abode, there he builded an altar unto the Lord: as at his firſt coming into the land of Canaan (XII. 6, 7.) "unto the place "of

(4) Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. 1. Cap. 8. Sect. 2. p. 23. Edit. Hudſon.

(5) Hyde

" of Sichem, unto the plain of Moreh, he builded there an altar unto " the Lord who appeared unto him;" and when he removed from thence, and pitched his tent between Bethel and Hai (ver. 8.) " there " he builded an altar unto the Lord, and called upon the name of the " Lord;" and " when he removed his tent (XIII. 18.) and came " and dwelt in the plain of Mamre, which is in Hebron, he built " there an altar unto the Lord:" and the ſame without doubt he did in all his travels, wherever he ſojourned for any time. As he had altars for his ſacrifices, ſo he had proſeuchas or places for prayer; and theſe were uſually in groves for the greater ſolemnity and retirement. So when he ſojourned in the land of the Philiſtines many days (XXI. 33.) " he planted a grove in Beer-ſheba, and called there on the name " of the Lord, the everlaſting God:" and perhaps the *plain* of Moreh and the *plain* of Mamre had better have been rendered the *oaken grove* of Moreh and of Mamre: which places being afterwards abuſed to ſuperſtition and idolatry, the children of Iſrael were commanded (Deut. XII. 2. XVI. 21.) to deſtroy them, and to plant no more: " Thou ſhalt not plant thee a grove of any trees near unto the altar " of the Lord thy God, which thou ſhalt make thee."

Tithes are firſt mentioned in the hiſtory of Abraham, and the firſt payment of them that we read of was made by him to Melchizedek; but they are not mentioned as a new or a late inſtitution, and ſhould ſeem therefore to have been a cuſtomary payment from the beginning. In like manner when Jacob went to Laban, (Gen. XXVIII. 20, &c.) he vowed a vow, that if God would be with him and proſper him in his journey, when he ſhould return, he would " ſurely give him the " tenth" of his increaſe, as if this was the moſt pleaſing and acceptable oblation. That the public worſhip of God ſhould be maintained and eſtabliſhed among men, and that men ſhould therefore of their ſubſtance contribute ſomething to the maintenance and ſupport of this public worſhip and thoſe who miniſter in it, are principles and duties of natural religion which admit of no doubt or queſtion; the only doubt

(5) Hyde de Relig. Vet. Perſ. Cap. 2. p. 28. Edit. Oxon. 1700.

doubt or queſtion is how the *tenth* rather than any other number came to be the proportion aſſigned for this purpoſe. Not only the patriarchs, as we have ſeen, obſerved this rule; but it was alſo practiſed, as (6) Selden and Spencer have abundantly proved, by the Syrians, Phœnicians, Arabians, Ethiopians, Greeks, Romans, and other nations: and ſo general a practice muſt be owing to as general a tradition derived from our firſt parents, or at leaſt from Noah and his ſons. The payment of tithes was therefore a moſt ancient conſtitution, if it was not of divine appointment: but moſt probably it was of divine appointment, otherwiſe it would not have been ſo religiouſly obſerved by thoſe who acted ſo immediately under the direction of God as did Abraham. At leaſt it was of divine appointment under the Levitical law; and then the divine right of tithes was clearly confirmed by an expreſs law of God; he might have approved and ſuggeſted the thing before, but then he plainly authorized and commanded it.

But the Levitical law being aboliſhed by Chriſt, the divine right of tithes ceaſed with it: and the law of Chriſt is (Matt. X. 10. Luke X. 7.) "The labourer is worthy of his hire," and (1 Cor. IX. 14.) "the "Lord hath ordained that they who preach the goſpel ſhould live of "the goſpel." The law of Chriſt, as well as the law of nature, preſcribes only in general terms a ſufficient maintenance for the miniſters of religion, without any ſpecification of the tenth or any other particular proportion, leaving that to be determined and adjuſted among Chriſtians themſelves. Such was the zeal of the primitive Chriſtians, that they made offerings of their whole ſubſtance, "and (Acts IV. 37.) "brought the money, and laid it at the Apoſtles feet." For ſome ages the voluntary contributions of Chriſtians ſupplied all the neceſſities and occaſions of the Church. But this zeal cooling by degrees, and ſome offering too little, and others nothing at all, the (7) fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries were very preſſing and importunate with their congregations to make their oblations in the proportion of a tenth of their whole income, as it had been anciently practiſed, firſt by

(6) Selden's Hiſtory of Tithes, Chap. 3, &c. Spencer de Legibus Hebr. Cap. 10. Sect. 1.

(7) See

by the direction of God to the patriarchs, and afterwards by his expreſs law to the children of Iſrael. Some ſynods and councils afterwards injoined the ſame thing under the pain of anathemas and excommunications: but eccleſiaſtical cenſures are of little weight without the civil authority to enforce them; and there was no law of any ſtate in Chriſtendom for the payment of tithes till the time of Pipin father of Charlemain in the eighth century. Then the practice became general by degrees, and ſtill prevails in moſt Chriſtian countries.

They were firſt enacted here in England by a law of Offa king of the Mercians at the latter end of the eighth century, but they were not fully eſtabliſhed by a law for the whole kingdom till the reign of Ethelwulph in the ninth century: and ever ſince the laws of the land, as well as the canons of the church, have obliged men to the payment of them. Tithes therefore are now due not by a divine but by a civil right; and the Clergy (ſpeaking generally) have as good a title to the tenth part of the produce, as the Laity have to the other nine parts of their eſtates. But as things are now circumſtanced, and in the preſent ſtate of men and manners, it would perhaps have been better, if an alteration of payments had been made with the alteration of the times. If glebe for inſtance had been ſubſtituted in lieu of tithe, how much happier would it have been both for the clergy and the people, how much more eaſy, how much leſs vexatious, and what a deal of litigation enmity and ill will might have been prevented! If ſuch a thing had been brought about in former changes and revolutions, we might have reaped the benefit of it at this time, but whether after ſo long a ſettlement it be practicable, is very much to be queſtioned. It is an arduous taſk for the wiſdom of the whole legiſlature; the few inconſiderate and inconſiderable perſons who have attempted it are plainly unequal to it, and muſt ſink under it. It is but reaſon and juſtice that the Church ſhould have a fair equivalent; but who ſhall ſettle that equivalent, who ſhall adjuſt the different proportions, and out of whoſe eſtates ſhall the lands be taken? It would in a manner unhinge

(7) See Prideaux of the Original and Right of Tithes, Chap. 3, &c.

(8) Herod.

unhinge the whole conſtitution, unſettle all private property, and occaſion more quarrels than it was meant to compoſe. The convulſions it would neceſſarily produce are enough to diſcourage all prudent and conſiderate men from the attempt.

Another, and a material part of Abraham's religion was *circumciſion*, and by the circumſtances this ſhould ſeem to have been a new ordinance and inſtitution. It hath indeed been made the matter of much controverſy, whether circumciſion was now firſt inſtituted, or whether it was not derived from the Egyptians. The more general opinion is, that it was now firſt inſtituted; but there are authors of great note and eminence, as Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo among the ancients, who declare, and upon their authority Sir John Marſham, Spencer, Middleton, and ſeveral others among the moderns, who maintain, that it was derived from the Egyptians. Herodotus the moſt ancient of all (8) ſaith, that 'Other men ſuffer their members to con-'tinue as they were formed by nature, except thoſe who learned from 'the Egyptians, but the Egyptians are circumciſed, and they circum-'ciſe themſelves for the ſake of cleanlineſs.' In another place of the ſame book he ſaith, that 'The Colchians appear to be Egyptians, 'and chiefly for this reaſon, becauſe alone of all mankind the Col-'chians Egyptians and Ethiopians have from the beginning uſed cir-'cumciſion; but the Phœnicians and Syrians who dwell in Paleſtine '(meaning the Jews) even they confeſs that they learned it from the 'Egyptians, other Syrians ſay they learned it lately from the Col-'chians; for theſe are the only men who are circumciſed, and theſe 'appear to perform the ceremony in the ſame manner as the Egyp-'tians: but of the Egyptians and Ethiopians I cannot ſay which of 'them learned it from the others, for it appears to be ſomething very 'ancient.' Diodorus Siculus alſo (9) ſpeaketh of the Colchians and Jews, as if they had deſcended from the Egyptians, becauſe they were circumciſed in the ſame manner as the Egyptians, and learned the cuſtom from Egypt. Strabo too (1) ſuppoſeth circumciſion to have

(8) Herod. Lib. 2. Sect. 36, 37. p. 103, 104. et Sect. 104. p. 127. Edit. Gale.

(9) Diod.

have been originally an Egyptian inſtitution, and the Jews to have been a colony of Egyptians, and Moſes an Egyptian prieſt. Beſides it is thought more probable and natural for the Hebrews to borrow from the Egyptians than the Egyptians from the Hebrews, a little infant ſtate from a great floriſhing kingdom than a great floriſhing kingdom from a little infant ſtate, which was but juſt emerging and beginning to be known in the world.

If according to theſe authorities circumciſion was derived from the Egyptians, it ſurely argues great goodneſs and condeſcenſion in God to adopt a ceremony that was before in uſe among men, and they could not complain of any hardſhip being impoſed on them ſince they had voluntarily practiſed it themſelves. They might uſe it before, as Herodotus ſaith, καθιεροῦηλος εἵνεκεν, for the ſake of cleanlineſs or other natural cauſes, but now God was pleaſed to convert it into a religious rite. It carried little or no ſignification before, but now they were to regard it in a different light from other nations, as a teſt of their being the choſen people of God. Not that all who were circumciſed were the people of God, but none could be the people of God without being circumciſed.

But yet I muſt acknowlege, that the other and the more general opinion appears to me from all circumſtances to be the true opinion, that circumciſion was not derived from the Egyptians, but was now firſt inſtituted by God himſelf. For it was appointed, as it is expreſly ſaid, (XVII. 11.) to "be a" ſign or "token of the covenant" between God and Abraham; but it could not be ſo properly "a token of the "covenant" or any mark of diſtinction to Abraham and his family, if it was common before to the Egyptians and other nations. Let the different ages too be conſidered of the different hiſtorians, of Moſes who lived within 400 years of the tranſaction he relates, and received the account of it by an uninterrupted tradition, being in the ſixth degree of deſcent from Abraham, and of Herodotus who lived above 1000 years after Moſes, and of Diodorus and Strabo who lived above 1400

(6) Diod. Sic. Lib. 1. p. 24. Edit. Rhodomani. p. 1180. Edit. Amſtel. 1707.

(1) Strab. Geograph. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.

(2) Ambroſ.

1400 years after him: And who are likely to be the moſt credible and authentic witneſſes of a matter of fact, an author ſo much nearer the time treating of the affairs of his own family and country, or foreigners at ſo much a greater diſtance of time writing of foreigners, of whoſe true hiſtory, it appears in ſeveral inſtances, they knew little or nothing?

Diodorus and Strabo muſt have known very little of the true hiſtory of the Jews, ever to conceive that the Jews were the deſcendents of the Egyptians. Herodotus's account is the largeſt, and the foundation of the reſt, but is very confuſed and imperfect. He ſpecifies neither the time, nor the place, nor the occaſion of this inſtitution, nor the particular perſons who firſt put it in practice. He deſcribes it as uſed *from the beginning*, but the phraſe of απ' αρχης *from the beginning* he preſently explains by αρχαιον τι *ſomething very ancient:* He called that *from the beginning*, of which he did not know the beginning: and it might indeed be ſomething very ancient, and its beginning not be known in the time of Herodotus, and yet it might be firſt introduced into Egypt after it had been received by Abraham, which was more than 1400 years before the time of Herodotus. He aſſerts that all other nations learned it from the Egyptians, and yet mentions three nations the Colchians Egyptians and Ethiopians as the original obſervers of it, but two of them the Colchians and Egyptians appear to be the ſame; and then he cannot determin, whether the Egyptians learned it from the Ethiopians, or the Ethiopians from the Egyptians, ſo that according to his own confeſſion he knew little of its true hiſtory and origin. Neither is there any truth in what he affirms of the Jews confeſſing that they learned it from the Egyptians, for they have all along profeſſed quite the contrary, and have received it and glory in it as a divine ordinance.

How much better and clearer, more full, more complete and ſatisfactory in all reſpects, is Moſes's account of this ſame inſtitution; of the author of it, God himſelf; of the perſons who firſt received it, Abraham and his family; of the time, when he was 99 years old and

(2) Ambroſ. de Abraham. Lib. 2. Cap. 11.

(3) Theodoret.

and Iſhmael was thirteen; of the place, when he dwelt in Mamre; of the occaſion of it, when God was renewing his covenant with Abraham; of the end and deſign of it, to be the ſeal of that covenant, and a mark of diſcrimination and diſtinction to Abraham's poſterity: And would Moſes, or any writer of the leaſt credit and underſtanding, have ſpoken of it as a thing peculiar to his own people, and as a divine ordinance, at the ſame time that both he and they muſt have known, that it was the common practice of Egypt, and that it was derived from the Egyptians!

But it is much more probable, that the Hebrews ſhould copy after the Egyptians than the Egyptians after the Hebrews: but there was no neceſſity for their copying after one another. If they did, the Egyptians muſt have copied after the Hebrews. It is certain the Hebrews did not after the Egyptians. For no proof can be given of circumciſion in Egypt near ſo early as the time of Abraham. The earlieſt teſtimony that is produced for this purpoſe is from an hiſtorian, who lived more than 1400 years after the time of Abraham: And he did not know whether the Egyptians might not have learned it from the Ethiopians, or they might have received it from their neighbours the Arabians, or ſome others of Abraham's numerous deſcendents, if not from the Hebrews. If Herodotus could not determin who firſt introduced it into Egypt, it is the leſs wonder that we cannot. But moſt probably the Egyptians borrowed it from the Arabians, if the royal ſhepherds, who conquered Egypt, and held it ſome time in ſubjection, were Arabians, as Manetho ſays; and from the Arabian Iſhmaelites, eſpecially if that be true which (2) St. Ambroſe affirms as a known fact, that the Egyptians circumciſed their children at the ſame time that the Iſhmaelites did, at the age of thirteen years or more.

This we know, that it was not the practice of Egypt in the time of Moſes. For as (3) Theodoret obſerves, 'That it was not formerly 'the cuſtom of the Egyptians to circumciſe their children, Pharaoh's 'daughter is a creditable witneſs; for having found Moſes caſt forth 'on

(3) Theodoret. Quæſt. in Exodum. Tom. 1. p. 78. Edit. Sirmondi.

(4) Maimon.

' on the bank of the river, ſhe preſently ſaw the circumciſion, and ' acknowleged his race, and named him a child of the Hebrews.' This is not expreſly ſaid, but is ſufficiently implied in ſacred hiſtory. If ſhe had declared immediately that this was a ſon of one of the Hebrews, ſhe might be ſuppoſed to have formed that concluſion from the ſtrict order which Pharaoh had given for every male child of the Hebrews to be caſt into the river; but the child was brought unto her, and " ſhe ſaw the child," (Exod. II. 6.) before ſhe ſaid, " This " is one of the Hebrew children;" which renders Theodoret's conjecture exceeding probable, and almoſt improves it into a certainty. If circumciſion had been the practice of Egypt in the time of Moſes, and had been borrowed from thence, he could never, as it was hinted before, have had the confidence to ſpeak of it as a divine ordinance and a rite peculiar to his own people; he could never have advanced ſo notorious a falſehood without expoſing himſelf to the deriſion and contempt of the Egyptians, nor indeed without forfeiting all credit with all mankind. Nay it was not the practice of Egypt in the days of Joſhua; for when Joſhua renewed the ceremony of circumciſion after the omiſſion of it during the 40 years wherein the children of Iſrael had traveled in the wilderneſs, (Joſh. V. 9.) " the Lord ſaid " unto Joſhua, This day have I rolled away the reproach of Egypt " from off you." They had before been tainted with the idolatry of Egypt, and had complied too much with the cuſtoms and manners of the Egyptians; in ſhort they were grown too much like heathens: but by the renewal of circumciſion they renewed their covenant with God, renounced all conformity with the Egyptian worſhip, and profeſſed the Lord to be their God and themſelves to be his people, and immediately afterwards celebrated the paſſover: And this is called " rolling away the reproach of Egypt," in the ſame manner as when Judas Maccabæus had cleanſed the ſanctuary from the profanations of the heathen, and had offered ſacrifice upon the new altar of burnt-offerings, it is ſaid (1 Macc. IV. 58.) " Thus was there very great " gladneſs among the people, for that the reproach of the heathen " was put away."

But if circumciſion was firſt inſtituted, as we ſuppoſe, by God himſelf, it may ſeem ſtrange that he who is all goodneſs ſhould be the author of ſo carnal an ordinance, of ſo painful and dangerous an operation. But the operation is not near ſo painful and dangerous, as ſome writers have repreſented it; the younger the perſon, the leſs pain and danger; in young children it has been compared to the cutting of the navel-ſtring; ſome children ſuffer it without ſo much as crying; grown perſons it doth not confine above three or four days at fartheſt; and there are very few inſtances, if any upon record, of perſons dying under it. Maimonides, who was a very competent judge, (4) deſcribes it as ſo ſlight an operation, that he ſays 'It is permitted to circumciſe with any thing, with a flint or glaſs or any thing that will cut, becauſe there is no danger.' As to God's making choice of ſo carnal an ordinance, the reaſon of that muſt be reſolved into the groſſneſs and ſenſuality of the times, which were not capable of more refined and ſpiritual inſtitutions. It was uſual for ſervants to carry ſome marks in their bodies to ſhow whoſe property they were, and in this manner God's people were marked and diſtinguiſhed for his own people. It is ſtill thought ſo proper a mark of diſtinction by many nations, that the diſciples of Mohammed practiſe it as well as the diſciples of Moſes, both having derived it from the ſame ſource through different channels. It muſt be ſaid too, that it is not a mere carnal ordinance, a ceremony that terminates in the fleſh, but conveys with it a good moral import, a ſpiritual ſenſe and meaning: and therefore Moſes calleth upon the people (Deut. X. 16.) "Circumciſe the "foreſkin of your heart, and be no more ſtiff-necked:" in like manner the prophet, (Jer. IV. 4.) "Circumciſe yourſelves to the Lord, "and take away the foreſkins of your heart:" and the true circumciſion, as St. Paul ſaith, (Rom. II. 29.) "is that of the heart, in the "ſpirit, and not in the letter, whoſe praiſe is not of men, but of "God."

(4) Maimon. de Circumciſ. Cap. 1. See alſo a Letter to Dr. Middleton on the point of Circumciſion, publiſhed 1731.

But of all the revelations made to Abraham the moſt material were thoſe relating to the future Saviour of the world, who was in due time to be born of his race, and to become a bleſſing to all nations. Next to the belief and worſhip of God this was the great article of Abraham's faith and religion. The firſt intimation of our Redeemer was given after the fall of our firſt parents, that he ſhould be "the "ſeed of the woman." The next was after the flood, that he ſhould be of the deſcendents of "Shem." Of all the deſcendents of Shem Abraham was ſingled out to be the means of conveying this bleſſing together with the true religion to the lateſt generations. Beſides the promiſe of the land of Canaan, and of a moſt numerous poſterity, it was declared unto him "In thee ſhall all families of the earth be "bleſſed," and again upon another occaſion "In thy ſeed ſhall all "the nations of the earth be bleſſed," and this with a limitation to Iſaac "In Iſaac ſhall thy ſeed be called." St. Paul explains the matter very rightly, (Gal. III. 16.) "Now to Abraham were the promiſes "made and to his ſeed: He ſaith not, And to ſeeds, as of many; "but as of one, And to thy ſeed, which is Chriſt," for of all the children of Abraham Chriſt alone can with any propriety be called "a "bleſſing to all nations."

But Abraham was inlightened by farther diſcoveries. The offering up of his ſon Iſaac was not only commanded for the trial of his faith and obedience, but was deſigned principally as a type, a figure, a repreſentation in action of God's giving up his beloved and his only ſon, of the great ſacrifice of Chriſt, his death and his reſurrection, with the manner, the time, and ſeveral circumſtances, as we have ſhown before. Whether Abraham comprehended all theſe particulars as fully as we do, we cannot be certain, types and prophecies being ſeldom ſo well underſtood before as after their completion: but that he had ſome viſions and revelations of our Saviour is evident from our Saviour's own words. (John VIII. 56, &c.) "Your father Abraham rejoiced to ſee "my day," or rather "earneſtly deſired to ſee my day;" (in the ſame manner as our Saviour ſaid elſewhere, (Matt. XIII. 17.) "I ſay unto "you,

" you, that many prophets and righteous men have deſired to ſee " thoſe things which ye ſee, and to hear thoſe things which ye hear :)" " And he ſaw it, and was glad."

Abraham ſaw Chriſt, not only by the eye of faith repreſentatively in the perſon of Iſaac, but was moreover favored with ſome real manifeſtation of his divine preſence and glory. The Jews underſtood Jeſus litterally, as if he had actually ſeen Abraham; " Thou art not " yet fifty years old, and haſt thou ſeen Abraham?" Jeſus was ſo far from denying it, that he affirmed with his uſual emphatic aſſeveration, " Verily verily I ſay unto you, Before Abraham was, I am." He had exiſted before Abraham, and he was the divine perſon who had manifeſted himſelf unto him. He is therefore called " the Lord who " appeared unto him :" but God (Exod. XXXIII. 20. 1 Tim. VI. 16.) " no man hath ſeen, nor can ſee." Abraham alſo " builded an al- " tar unto the Lord who appeared unto him :" but this he would not have done to a mere angel or to any being inferior to God. When the three angels came to Abraham before the deſtruction of Sodom, one of them appeared plainly to be ſuperior to the others; and when the two angels went to Sodom, it is ſaid " the Lord" ſtill remained and communed with Abraham, and he is ſtiled " the judge of all the " earth." Abraham had very great reaſon to be highly pleaſed with theſe and the like manifeſtations of the divine nature: and it was upon account of theſe familiar intercourſes and communications that he obtained the glorious appellation of " the friend of God." (2 Chron. XX. 7. Iſa. XLI. 8. James II. 23.) Nothing greater can be ſaid of mortal man: but every man will be a friend of God, and God will be a friend to every man, who ſhall reſemble Abraham in faith and obedience.

DISSERTATION IX.

On the hiſtory of the patriarchs after Abraham.

ISAAC appears to have been a man of a leſs active and enterpriſing ſpirit than his father Abraham. Where he dwelt before his marriage, (Gen. XXIV. 62.) " in the ſouth-country by the well Lahai-" roi," there alſo he continued to dwell (XXV. 11.) after the death of his father. But before his father's death two ſons were born unto him. He was deſtined to be the father of the promiſed ſeed, and of a numerous poſterity to inherit the land of Canaan; but his faith was exerciſed, as Abraham's had been, by the barrenneſs of his wife. His prayers at length were heard; his wife conceived twins, whoſe uncommon ſtruggling in her womb put her upon inquiring of the Lord what the meaning of it could be. " She went to inquire of the Lord:" (ver. 22.) Some ſay that ſhe went to the *Schechinah* or the place of the divine appearance, but where do we read of any ſuch ſtated place? Others that ſhe went to conſult ſome prophet, but who, or where was that prophet? She might perhaps have recourſe to Abraham who was then living, and lived fifteen years afterwards: but moſt probably ſhe went only to the uſual place of worſhip, and there by ſupplication and prayer inquired of the Lord. However that might be, it was revealed to her, that the fathers of two different nations were in her womb, and the one people ſhould be more powerful than the other people, and the elder ſhould be ſubſervient to the younger, the true meaning and the completion of which predictions have been ſufficiently explained in the third of the Diſſertations on the Prophecies. When the time of her delivery was come, the firſt ſon was born of a red complexion, and all over hairy, a token of ſtrength as Ariſtotle and the naturaliſts obſerve; and he had therefore the name of *Eſau*, that is *made* or *perfected*,

perfected, being hairy as a grown man. He was otherwiſe called *Edom* or *Red* from his complexion, and from him his country was named *Idumea* or the land of *Edom*. The other ſon took hold of his brother's heel, and from this incident in his birth he received the name of *Jacob* or *ſupplanter*. Iſaac was 60 years old when his ſons were born, ſo that twenty years paſſed before he had any children, being 40 years old when he was married.

As the boys were of different complexions, ſo they grew up to be of different diſpoſitions. Eſau was more rough and ruſtic, delighting in the ſports of the field; Jacob was more gentle and domeſtic, dwelling in tents. The father loved the elder, I wiſh it had been for a better reaſon than (ver. 28.) " becauſe he did eat of his veniſon;" but the younger was the mother's favorite. One day, as Jacob was boiling pottage of lentiles, Eſau returned from hunting, and being wearied and faint with the ſport he deſired to partake with him, (ver. 30.) " Let me taſte, I pray thee, of that red, that red," by the repetition ſhowing the great vehemence and eagerneſs of his deſire: and hence he had the name of " Edom" or " Red" upon a double account, from this red pottage as well as from his red complexion. Jacob having him at this advantage, aſked him to ſell his birth-right. His birth-right, he replied, ſignified nothing to him who was at the point to die: and ſo very readily he ſold his birth-right for a meſs of pottage, and confirmed the bargain by an oath. " Thus Eſau deſpiſed his " birth-right" (ver. 34.) his right to the prieſthood, and the promiſes of God to Abraham and to Iſaac; and for this act of infidelity and irreligion he is ſtiled by the apoſtle (Heb. XII. 16.) " the profane Eſau."

Le Clerc and ſome other critics are of opinion, I was once myſelf of opinion, that ſome of the tranſactions related in the following chapter (XXVI.) were prior in point of time to the birth of Eſau and Jacob; and for very ſpecious reaſons, becauſe Rebecca was then ſo much younger and conſequently ſo much handſomer, and becauſe Iſaac could better diſſemble his marriage before than after his wife had brought him twins. But upon comparing dates and paſſages together I find that Iſaac continued to dwell by the well Lahai-roi from before his

marriage

marriage till after his father's death, but his father did not die till 15 years after the birth of Eſau and Jacob. For Abraham was 100 years old when Iſaac was born, and Iſaac was 60 years old when Eſau and Jacob were born; conſequently Abraham was then 160 years old, and he did not die till 15 years afterwards, being 175 years old when he died. It is manifeſt from the text itſelf, that the famin which occaſioned Iſaac to remove from his old habitation, did not happen till after the death of Abraham; (ver. 1.) "And there was a famin in "the land beſides the firſt famin which was in the days of Abraham." This ſecond famin therefore was after the days of Abraham, and Iſaac hereupon removed unto Gerar, the chief reſidence of Abimelech king of the Philiſtines.

He had thoughts of proceeding on into Egypt, but the Lord appeared unto him, and prohibited his going farther, giving him at the ſame time aſſurances of inheriting this land and all the bleſſings, which had been promiſed to Abraham, and ſhould be continued to him for Abraham's ſake. Iſaac therefore remained in Gerar; and for his own ſecurity he made uſe of the ſame ſtratagem which Abraham had employed, in affirming his wife to be his ſiſter. But after ſome time Abimelech looking out at a window chanced to ſpy out Iſaac toying with Rebecca in ſuch a manner as indicated her to be more than a ſiſter. Hereupon he ſent for him, and reproved him for his diſſimulation, which indeed was altogether unworthy of ſuch men as Abraham and Iſaac. However knowing by this the cauſe of Iſaac's fear, he commanded his ſubjects not to touch the man or the woman upon pain of death.

Iſaac living now more ſecurely applied himſelf to agriculture; "he "ſowed in the land (ver. 12.) and received in the ſame year an "hundred-fold;" a very great increaſe, our Saviour mentions it as the higheſt increaſe, "ſome thirty-fold, ſome ſixty-fold, ſome an "hundred-fold;" but yet not uncommon in thoſe countries, as it may be proved even by the teſtimonies of heathen authors. Not only his harveſts were plenteous, but his flocks and his herds, and his ſervants increaſed and multiplied to ſuch a degree, that the Philiſtines

envied him, and Abimelech himſelf deſired him to remove farther into the country. He removed accordingly into the valley of Gerar, and opened again the wells which Abraham had digged, and which the Philiſtines had ſtopped after Abraham's death; and he called them by the ſame names by which his father had called them. His ſervants digging in the valley diſcovered a new well of ſpringing water; and the herdmen of Gerar ſtrove with his herdmen about it, and he called the name of the well (ver. 20.) "Eſek" that is "contention, "becauſe they contended with him." His ſervants digged another well, and the men of Gerar ſtrove about that alſo; wherefore he called the name of it (ver. 21.) "Sitnah" that is "hatred." He then removed farther, and digged another well; but there was no contention about that, and he called the name of it (ver. 22.) "Rehoboth" that is "room; for now, ſaid he, the Lord hath made room for us, and "we ſhall be fruitful in the land."

After ſome time he went up from thence to Beerſheba, which was one of the places of Abraham's abode. There the Lord appeared again unto him, and repeated the aſſurances of his bleſſing and protection; and there he builded an altar unto the Lord, and ſojourned for ſome time as Abraham his father had done. Abimelech with Ahuzzath one of his friends and counſellors, and Phichol the chief captain of his army, came to him thither from Gerar. Moſt probably they were not the ſame Abimelech or the ſame Phichol who had tranſactions with Abraham, but their ſons and ſucceſſors; for *Abimelech* or *my father the king* was the common name of the kings of the Philiſtines, as *Pharaoh* was of the kings of Egypt, and *Phichol* ſignifying *the mouth of all* might poſſibly be the name of the officer who was to preſent the petitions of the people to the king, and to return the king's anſwers to the people. They came to Iſaac to renew the treaty of friendſhip and alliance, which had been made with Abraham: and they covenanted and feaſted together, and the next morning after ratifying the covenant by an oath they departed. At the ſame time Iſaac's ſervants having digged a well, he called it "Beerſheba" that is "the well of the oath." The ſame name was given to the ſame place

on

on the ſame account before: but when the Philiſtines ſtopped the wells, it might perhaps loſe its name, which Iſaac now revives and reſtores.

When Eſau was 40 years old, at the ſame age that his father married, he took two wives, which was more than his father did; and he not only indulged himſelf in polygamy, but moreover choſe his wives from among the daughters of the Canaanites; which was a great trouble and vexation of heart to his father and mother for the ſame reaſons that Abraham had commanded his ſon not to take a wife of the daughters of Canaan, for fear of inſnaring and corrupting his religion, and entailing a curſe upon his poſterity by marrying into a devoted race. Good old folks are cautious and wary, but Eſau had no notion or apprehenſion of theſe things.

However Iſaac was not ſo much incenſed againſt him, but after ſome time he was reconciled to him. And being now grown old, (XXVII.) and his eyes ſo very dim that he could not ſee, he called for Eſau his eldeſt ſon; and not knowing how near his end might be, he was willing to give him his final benediction. It was certainly a wiſe precaution to make as it were his laſt will and teſtament in good time, though he happened to live above 40 years afterwards. For this purpoſe he deſired Eſau to go out into the field, to take ſome veniſon, and to make him ſavory meat ſuch as he loved, hoping thereby to have his ſpirits cheered, and to be the better enabled to go through this laſt ſolemn office.

Rebecca chanced to overhear Iſaac giving this charge to Eſau; and ſhe preſently imparted it to Jacob, ordered him immediately to bring two good kids of the goats, and ſhe would make ſavory meat ſuch as his father loved, and he ſhould carry it to him, and obtain the bleſſing in Eſau's abſence. Jacob very naturally objected (ver. 11.) that "his brother Eſau was an hairy man, and he was a ſmooth man:" though his father could not ſee, yet he might feel the difference; and he ſhould appear to him as a deceiver, and bring down a curſe upon his head inſtead of a bleſſing. "Upon me be the curſe," ſhe replied; (ver. 13.) ſhe knew the truth and meaning of the divine oracle given

at their birth, ſhe knew the intention of providence, and would be anſwerable for all the conſequences. The thing was done as ſhe directed. She cloathed Jacob in the beſt garments of Eſau. The ſkins of the kids of the goats ſhe put upon his hands and upon the ſmooth of his neck, the hair of goats in thoſe eaſtern countries being like that of men, as (1) Bochart obſerves: and ſhe gave him the ſavory meat which ſhe had prepared, and he carried it to his father. Iſaac was ſurpriſed, he could hardly believe that Eſau was returned, and interrogated him who he was. Jacob anſwered, that he was his eldeſt ſon Eſau. Iſaac then aſked, how he came to find the veniſon ſo ſoon: Jacob replied, Becauſe the Lord had put it in his way. Iſaac ſtill doubted, and ordered him to come near that he might be convinced by his feeling, and ſaid (ver. 22.) "The voice is the voice of Jacob, "but the hands are the hands of Eſau." Iſaac was not yet entirely ſatisfied, and interrogated him again, whether he was really his very ſon Eſau or not. Jacob anſwered in the affirmative that he really was: and hereupon Iſaac did eat of his meat, and gave him his bleſſing both ſpiritual and temporal.

Jacob was no ſooner gone out from the preſence of Iſaac, than Eſau came from hunting, and brought the veniſon which he had taken and dreſſed to his father's taſte. Iſaac was much confounded, trembled exceedingly, and faltered in his ſpeech, (ver. 33.) "Who, where is "he that hath brought me veniſon? and I have eaten, and have "bleſſed him, yea and he ſhall be bleſſed." It ſeemeth as if his mind had been inlightened all of a ſudden, and he now comprehended the force and meaning of the divine oracle which he had himſelf unwittingly confirmed. Eſau with an exceeding great and bitter cry ſtill beſought him, (ver. 34.) "Bleſs me, even me alſo, O my father." Iſaac told him, that his brother had come by ſuttlety, and had taken away his bleſſing. Whereupon Eſau ſaid, (ver. 36.) "Is he not "rightly named Jacob," that is ſupplanter? "for he hath ſupplanted "me theſe two times: my birth-right he took away, and behold now "he

(1) Bocharti Hierozoic. Pars prior. Lib. 2. Cap. 51. Col. 626.

 (2) See

" he hath taken away my bleſſing:" not conſidering that the one was in ſome meaſure the conſequence of the other, and when he ſold his birth-right he did in effect ſell the bleſſing too. Eſau not ſo repulſed ſtill implored a bleſſing with tears, and Iſaac bleſſed him, but yet preſerving the ſuperiority to Jacob. The leſs is ſaid of theſe different bleſſings in this place, becauſe they have been more largely treated of in another, in the Diſſertation already referred to, *On the Prophecies concerning Jacob and Eſau.*

It muſt be confeſſed, that though Jacob obtained the bleſſing, yet he fraudulently obtained it. It was agreeable indeed to the deſign and diſpoſition of providence; but both he and Rebecca ſhould have purſued their end by fairer means. The bleſſing was not ſo much a perſonal advantage, as a benefit to poſterity. The main and eſſential parts of the bleſſing, the poſſeſſion of the land of Canaan, and the birth of the promiſed ſeed in whom all the nations of the earth were to be bleſſed, related only to Jacob's poſterity; he did not himſelf live to ſee and enjoy them. Neither had Jacob himſelf any dominion or authority over his brother Eſau, but only ſome of his deſcendents over thoſe of Eſau. Eſau himſelf found a ſettlement, while Jacob was a fugitive from his country; and Eſau's family became ſo many petty princes, while Jacob's were only ſtrangers and pilgrims in the land; and he himſelf died in a foreign country, where he had been obliged to ſeek for ſuſtenance, and where his children afterwards were detained many years in ſervitude. The bleſſing therefore did not relate ſo much to themſelves as to their poſterity. It was more matter of faith and hope in good things to come, than any poſſeſſion or enjoyment of preſent benefits. It was originally deſigned for Jacob in preference to Eſau, " the children being not yet born," as St. Paul ſaith, (Rom. IX. 11.) " neither having done any good or evil;" but God knoweth long beforehand who are likely to be the fitteſt inſtruments of his providence. Jacob believed the promiſes, and was ſollicitous, too ſollicitous, to obtain them. Eſau ſlighted and neglected them, and repented not before it was too late. The apoſtle therefore propoſeth his example to Chriſtians to deter them from the like

neglect

neglect and infidelity: (Heb. XII. 16, 17.) "Leſt there be any pro-
"fane perſon as Eſau, who for one morſel of meat ſold his birth-
"right: For ye know how that afterwards when he would have in-
"herited the bleſſing, he was rejected; for he found no place of re-
"pentance, though he ſought it carefully with tears."

Eſau was ſo much inraged at his being overreached in this manner, that he determined within himſelf, and even declared his reſolution of killing his brother immediately after his father's death, which he ſuppoſed could not be far diſtant. He had ſo much tenderneſs for his father that he was unwilling to grieve him by the murder of a ſon; but he had no compaſſion for his mother, he looked upon her as his enemy equally with Jacob. By ſome means or other an intimation of his purpoſe was given to Rebecca, who ſeemeth to have been a dextrous notable woman, and to have had the principal management and direction of the family, eſpecially after her huſband's blindneſs. She without delay acquainted Jacob with the deſign formed againſt his life, and exhorted him by all means to flee unto Laban her brother at Haran, and to tarry there till his brother's anger ſhould be pacified, and ſhe would then recall him. She ſhould be ſorry to be deprived of them both in one day; for both perhaps might periſh in the fray, or ſhe might loſe one by violence as murdered, the other by law as a murderer. She had another reaſon too for ſending Jacob away to Laban, for fear that he ſhould do as Eſau had done, and marry ſome of the daughters of the Canaanites; ſhe was almoſt weary of her life by reaſon of Eſau's wives, and it would quite break her heart, if Jacob ſhould diſpoſe of himſelf in like manner: and this reaſon ſhe thought proper to propoſe to Iſaac in order to gain his conſent for Jacob's departure. Iſaac readily approved of the intended journey, (XXVIII.) and called for his ſon Jacob, and charged him not to take a wife of the daughters of Canaan, for his ſeed were to inherit the land, and it would be abſurd as well as impious to join in affinity with a race who were to be rooted out; but to go to Padan-Aram to the houſe of Bethuel his mother's father, and thence to take a wife of the daughters of Laban his mother's brother, who were nearer in blood and religion

too. And ſo diſmiſſed him with his bleſſing, which he renewed and ratified that it might not be thought leſs efficacious for having been firſt obtained by fraud and artifice.

When Eſau perceived that Iſaac had ſent Jacob to Padan-Aram; *Aram* is Syria, *Padan-Aram* is the field of Syria, the moſt fruitful and northern part of Meſopotamia, where was the town called *Haran* or *Charran*. When Eſau, I ſay, perceived that Iſaac had ſent Jacob to Padan-Aram, to bring a wife from thence of his own kindred, and that the daughters of Canaan were diſpleaſing to his father; he alſo was inclined to marry a near relation, and went "to Iſhmael," that is to Iſhmael's family, Iſhmael himſelf having been dead about 14 years; for Iſhmael was 137 years old when he died, Iſaac was now about the ſame age, and Iſaac was 14 years younger than Iſhmael, Iſhmael having been born when Abraham was 86, and Iſaac when Abraham was 100 years old. He went therefore to Nebaioth the eldeſt ſon of Iſhmael Abraham's ſon, and to his other wives he added the ſiſter of Nebaioth by the ſame mother. But this choice was not much wiſer or better than his former, for he muſt know that the ſeed of the bond woman were caſt out, and were not to inherit with the ſeed of the free woman.

Jacob went out from Beerſheba, where his father had dwelt for ſome time, without any equipage or attendence, the better to conceal his motions from Eſau; and went towards Haran, upon an adventure as it were to ſeek his fortune. He traveled till the ſetting of the ſun; and night coming on, he took of the ſtones of the place where he happened to be for his pillow, and laid himſelf down to ſleep under the canopy of heaven. He dreamed, and in his dream he ſaw a ladder reaching from earth to heaven, (ver. 12.) with "the angels of God "aſcending and deſcending on it:" intimating that though God is in heaven, yet hath he reſpect to the things upon earth, which he adminiſters by his angels. Above it the Lord himſelf appeared, and declared himſelf to be the God of Abraham and the God of Iſaac; he was the God of the univerſe, but he was particularly their God. He there repeated and confirmed more expreſly his former promiſes of the land

land of Canaan, of a moſt numerous poſterity, and of the ſeed the future bleſſing to all the families of the earth. At the ſame time he gave him aſſurances of his continual preſence and protection, that he would never leave him, but would conduct him again to his native country; comforting Jacob in the ſame manner as Virgil's hero was afterwards comforted by his heavenly mother: Æn. II. 619.

Nuſquam abero, et tutum patrio te limine ſiſtam.

When Jacob awaked out of his ſleep, he acknowleged the particular preſence of God in this place, and he ſet up the ſtone whereon he reſted for a pillar, a memorial of the divine goodneſs, and poured oil upon the top of it according to the ancient form of conſecration. The place alſo he named "Bethel" or "the houſe of God," which had before been called "Luz," probably from the great number of almond trees growing there, for *Luz* ſignifieth an almond tree. Moreover he vowed a vow, that if God would fulfil his gracious promiſes, in conducting and preſerving him in his journey, in giving him bread to eat and raiment to put on, in bringing him back again in ſafety to his father's houſe, and in being his God as he was the God of Abraham and of Iſaac, then he would ever after regard this place as the houſe of God and the place of his worſhip, and of all that he ſhould receive he would ſurely render the tenth unto God. Not that he meant to make his obedience conditional, or doubted in the leaſt of God's fulfilling his part, but he was willing to bind himſelf in the moſt ſolemn manner to fulfil his own part and duty. He vowed nothing more than it was his duty to perform even without his vow; juſt as in baptiſm we promiſe and vow thoſe things which would be required of us whether we had vowed them or not. Such vows are ſolemn acts of religion, and this is obſerved to be the firſt inſtance of a vow that occurs in hiſtory.

After this viſion Jacob proceeded in his journey (XXIX) with greater alacrity, till he arrived in Meſopotamia. He there found ſome ſhepherds with their flocks lying by a well, with a great ſtone upon the well's mouth to preſerve the water and to keep it clean and cool:

Which

Which ſtone it was uſual for the ſhepherds, when they were aſſembled, to roll away that the flocks might drink, and then to replace it on the mouth of the well. The Hebrew text and the Engliſh as well as moſt other verſions have it (ver. 2.) that there were "three flocks of "ſheep" lying by the well; but inſtead of *flocks* (2) we ſhould read *ſhepherds* in this verſe and in ver. 3 and ver. 8. The Samaritan text, and the Arabic verſion have *ſhepherds* in ver. 3 and 8, and the Greek verſion likewiſe in ver. 8; but the word ſhould be the ſame in all the three places; otherwiſe no perſons are mentioned, of whom Jacob might make inquiries, or with whom he might hold converſation. It is evident therefore that Jacob found *three ſhepherds* lying by the well; and he addreſſed them (ver. 4.) with a familiar appellation, "My "brethren, whence are ye?" ſpeaking as a ſhepherd to ſhepherds. They anſwered, that they were of Haran. He aſked them, whether they knew Laban the ſon of Nahor, Nahor's name being probably more known than Bethuel's, and inquired after his health. They replied that they knew him very well, that he was very well, and that his daughter Rachel was coming with her father's ſheep. Jacob recommended it to them to water their ſheep, and then to go feed them, as it was yet high day: but they ſaid, that it was contrary to right and cuſtom to roll away the ſtone from the well's mouth, before the ſhepherds were aſſembled. As they were diſcourſing of theſe matters, Rachel came up with her father's ſheep; and Jacob immediately rolled away the ſtone from the well's mouth, and watered the ſheep, and then ſaluted Rachel, and made known his relation to her. She ran to acquaint her father, who came in all haſte to embrace Jacob, invited him to his houſe, and there entertained him as his near kinſman.

After a month's abode; "a month of days" as it is in the original, that is a whole month, as "two years of days" (2 Sam. XIV. 28.) are "two full years;" Laban ſaid to Jacob, that though he was his near kinſman, yet it was not fitting that he ſhould ſerve him for nothing, and

(2) See Kennicott's State of the Hebrew Text, Vol. 1. p. 360, &c.

(3) Bocharti

and aſked what wages he ſhould give him. Laban had two daughters, Leah the elder who was tender-eyed, and Rachel the younger who was very handſome: and Jacob propoſed to ſerve him ſeven years for his younger daughter; he was not able to purchaſe his wife but by his ſervices. Laban agreed to the propoſal, ſaying that it was fitter that he ſhould have her than another man. Jacob accordingly ſerved his ſeven years, which ſeemed to him but a few days for the great love that he bore to Rachel.

When the ſeven years were fulfilled, he demanded his reward; and Laban made a great feaſt for his neighbours and acquaintance, and in the evening brought the bride, as it was uſual, covered with a veil, which favored the deceit. Jacob himſelf did not perceive his miſtake till the morning, when he diſcovered that Leah was ſuborned inſtead of Rachel, and expoſtulated with Laban for impoſing upon him in this manner. Laban urged in his defenſe, that it was contrary to the cuſtom of the country to give the younger daughter in marriage before the elder; which, if more than a pretence, he ſhould from the firſt have fairly declared to Jacob. However he added that if Jacob would fulfil Leah's week the marriage-feaſt laſting ſeven days, he would then give him Rachel alſo to wife, provided that he would continue to ſerve him ſeven years more. He found his ſervice ſo beneficial, that he might well deſire to retain him in it at any rate. Such was Jacob's regard to Rachel, that he ſubmitted to the conditions, fulfilled Leah's week, and then alſo married Rachel, to whom her father gave Bilhah for her handmaid, as he had before given Zilpah to Leah. Jacob conſtant to his firſt paſſion could not help loving Rachel better than Leah, and for her ſake he went on with the greater chearfulneſs and alacrity in his other ſeven years ſervice.

But though Leah was leſs beloved, yet ſhe was more fruitful than Rachel. It is ſaid (ver. 31.) that "Leah was hated," not that her huſband actually *hated* her, on the contrary it appears that he had frequent intercourſe with her; but only he loved her leſs than Rachel, as God ſaid (Rom. IX. 13.) "Jacob have I loved, but Eſau "have I hated," not that God really *hated* Eſau, but only he pre-

ferred Jacob before Eſau. Rachel had the advantage in all other reſpects but in her barrenneſs, and Leah's inferiority in her huſband's affection was compenſated by her bearing children; for in thoſe days children were eſteemed a bleſſing, and barrenneſs was reckoned a curſe. Her firſt-born ſon Leah named "Reuben" that is *ſee a ſon*; for "the "Lord," ſaid ſhe, (ver. 32.) "hath looked upon my affliction." Her ſecond ſon ſhe named "Simeon" that is *hearing*; for "the "Lord," ſaid ſhe, (ver. 33.) "hath heard that I was hated." Her third ſon ſhe named "Levi" that is *joined*; for "now," ſaid ſhe, (ver. 34.) "will my huſband be joined unto me, having borne him "three ſons." Her fourth ſon ſhe named "Judah" that is *praiſe*; for now ſhe had ſufficient reaſon to "praiſe the Lord;" and then ſhe ceaſed from child-bearing for ſome time.

Rachel envied her ſiſter the happineſs of ſo many ſons, and with great impatience cried out to her huſband (XXX. 1.) "Give me chil-"dren or elſe I die." Jacob was juſtly angry with her, and very prudently anſwered that he was not in God's ſtead, the author and giver of life; God had withheld from her the fruit of the womb, and ſhe ſhould learn to ſubmit with patience to the divine diſpenſations. She then did as Sarah had done before, ſhe recommended her handmaid to her huſband for a ſecondary wife, that by her ſhe might have children, whom ſhe might bring up upon her knees as her own. Bilhah Rachel's handmaid bare Jacob a ſon, and Rachel ſaid (ver. 6.) "God hath judged me, and therefore ſhe called his name Dan" that is *judging*. Bilhah bare a ſecond ſon, and Rachel ſaid "With "great wreſtlings, with wreſtlings of God" as it is in the original (ver. 8.) that is with earneſt prayers and entreaties to God, "have I "wreſtled with my ſiſter, and ſhe called his name Naphtali" that is *my wreſtling*.

Leah having ceaſed for ſome time from bearing children followed the example of her ſiſter, and gave her handmaid to her huſband for a ſecondary wife. Zilpah Leah's handmaid bare Jacob a ſon; and Leah ſaid (ver. 11.) "a troop cometh, and ſhe called his name Gad" that is *a troop* or *company*. Zilpah alſo bare a ſecond ſon; and Leah

ſaid

ſaid (ver. 13.) " the daughters will call me bleſſed," and ſhe called his name " Aſher" that is *bleſſed:* ſo far did the deſire of children prevail over the delicacy of women and the jealouſy of wives.

It happened one day that Reuben, who was now grown a boy, went out into the field, and found ſome mandrakes which he brought home to Leah his mother. What theſe mandrakes were, commentators have not been able to determin. That they were not what we call mandrakes, all are agreed. The beſt account of them is, I think, in Calmet, who ſuppoſeth them to have been citrons or oranges. They were a fruit which gave a pleaſant ſmell according to the author of the Canticles, (VII. 13.) " The mandrakes give a ſmell, and at " our gates are all manner of pleaſant fruits." Many of the ancients recommended them as helping conception, and this notion as well as their fragrant ſmell might make Rachel the more deſirous of them. Leah, it may be ſuppoſed, was rather afraid to deny her huſband's favorite; but yet ſhe could not help telling her, that ſhe thought it very hard that ſhe ſhould deprive her of her huſband's company, and take away her ſon's mandrakes too. Rather than be diſappointed, Rachel agreed that Leah ſhould enjoy her huſband's company that night. When Jacob returned from the field in the evening, Leah went out to meet him, and to acquaint him how ſhe had hired him with her ſon's mandrakes. Accordingly Jacob lay with her that night, and God granted to her prayers a fifth ſon whom ſhe named " Iſſa- " char" that is *an hire*, becauſe ſhe had *hired* her huſband, and now ſhe received her *hire* in giving her handmaid to him. Jacob was ſo well pleaſed with this other ſon, that he was no longer ſuch a ſtranger to Leah's bed, and ſhe bare him a ſixth ſon, whom ſhe named " Zebulun," that is *dwelling*, becauſe " now," ſaid ſhe, (ver. 20.) " will my huſband dwell with me having born him ſix ſons." Afterwards ſhe bare a daughter, whom ſhe called " Dinah," a name of the ſame import as " Dan."

At length God was pleaſed to hearken alſo to Rachel's prayers, and ſhe conceived and bare a ſon, whom ſhe named " Joſeph," that is either *gathering away* or *adding*, for the radical word is capable of

both ſenſes. In the former ſenſe ſhe ſaid (ver. 23.) " The Lord" (aſaph) " hath gathered away my reproach," for ſo barrenneſs was accounted, as being an excluſion from the general bleſſing of multiplication, and from the particular bleſſing given to Abraham of a numerous poſterity, and from all hopes or chance of bearing the bleſſed ſeed. In the latter ſenſe ſhe ſaid (ver. 24.) " the Lord" (joſeph) " will add to me another ſon;" and accordingly ſhe bare afterwards one other ſon. So particular an account of Jacob's family muſt have been very pleaſing and acceptable to all his deſcendents; and it cannot be diſpleaſing to us to know the origin of the twelve tribes of Iſrael, and to be enabled to trace out the pedigree of the Meſſiah.

After the birth of Joſeph, Jacob having now fulfilled his laſt ſeven years of ſervitude, demanded his diſmiſſion, that he might return with his wives and children to his own country, to Canaan the land which was promiſed him, where he had been born, and where he had lived moſt of his time. Laban, who had fully experienced how beneficial his ſervices had been to him and how God had proſpered him for his ſake, was very deſirous to retain him longer, and offered to give him any wages, any reward that he would require. Jacob ſaid, that it was time for him to provide for his own family; but however he was willing to remain with him upon this condition, and to keep his ſheep as before. He did not require any thing to be given him at preſent; he propoſed only that they ſhould ſeparate all the ſpeckled and ſpotted the brown and ringſtreaked of the ſheep and goats from the white ones; and if theſe latter ſhould chance to bring forth any brown or particolored, they ſhould be his hire, and in a matter ſo plain and evident there was no room for any fraud or impoſition; all the white ones ſhould remain with Laban, the brown and particolored only ſhould be Jacob's. Laban very readily agreed to the propoſal, thinking that he had Jacob at an advantage, and wiſhing him only to ſtand to his bargain; for it was not very likely that any brown or particolored cattle ſhould be generated from white ones alone. Laban accordingly ſeparated the flocks as Jacob had deſired, and committed all the brown and particolored to the care of his ſons, and removed

them to the diſtance of three days journey, that they might have no kind of influence upon the others; Jacob kept the reſt of Laban's flocks as uſual. A plain proof, that the country could not be very populous when Laban was maſter of lands at the diſtance of three days journey from each other, and that there could be no ſuch mighty empire at that time in thoſe parts, as the Aſſyrian empire ſo much celebrated by ſome writers.

It may reaſonably be thought that Jacob had concluded a very bad bargain for himſelf; but he was induced to make his propoſal by divine ſuggeſtion in a dream; wherein he ſaw ſpeckled and variegated rams and he-goats, and them only propagating their ſpecies, and God by his angel aſſured him of his conſtant care and protection. Which dream in the Samaritan text is very properly narrated in this place, as well as repeated afterwards in the next chapter by Jacob to his wives in the very ſame words after the manner of the ancients, whereas it is only related by Jacob to his wives in the Hebrew text.

In purſuance of the divine ſuggeſtion in his dream, he thought it proper to make uſe of human means; and his firſt contrivance was to take rods or twigs of ſeveral trees growing in the place, to pill off the bark in different places that they might appear partly white partly dark, and then to lay them in the canals or water-courſes whither the flocks came to drink, that when they conceived the various colors might affect their imaginations: and the event more than anſwered, his ſucceſs far exceeded his moſt ſanguin hopes and expectations. Many things of a ſimilar nature (3) are related by heathen authors concerning mares, cows, pigeons and other creatures: and inſtances of the force of imagination in pregnant women as well as other animals are innumerable, and hardly to be credited, if they were not verified by ocular demonſtration, which is ſtronger and more convincing than any pretended reaſons and arguments to the contrary. This therefore may in ſome meaſure be conſidered as a natural effect, but without doubt it muſt be principally aſcribed to the ſpecial providence of God; for if you were to

(3) Bocharti Hierozoic. Pars. I. Lib. 2. Cap. 49.

(4) Kennicott

to try the very ſame experiment, you would hardly find it to ſucceed in the ſame manner.

After he had by this contrivance and God's bleſſing acquired a number of ſpeckled and ſpotted ſheep and goats, his next device was to collect his own together, and to place them full in view before Laban's, that Laban's might look as much as poſſible upon them, and they as little as poſſible upon Laban's; and this had the ſame effect as looking upon the particolored rods. But he did not continue the uſe of the paricolored rods at all times; he laid them in the water only when the ſtronger cattle came to drink, and took them away from before the weaker; which was his third artifice, and was the occaſion of the ſtronger in time becoming Jacob's, and of the weaker remaining Laban's.

By all theſe means Jacob's flocks were multiplied exceedingly, and his wealth and ſubſtance, his camels and aſſes, his men-ſervants and maid-ſervants, increaſed to ſuch a degree, that Laban's ſons (XXXI.) envied him, and complained of his growing great at their father's expenſe; and Laban himſelf was not the ſame as before, his countenance and whole behaviour were ſtrangely altered toward him.

In this dependent ſtate Jacob continued ſix years, when the Lord ordered him to return to his own country and kindred. Whereupon he called his two wives out into the field, where he was feeding his flock, and where they might diſcourſe without reſerve. He there appealed to their own knowlege of his faithful and uſeful ſervices to their father, related how their father's countenance notwithſtanding was ſtrangely altered toward him; how he had changed his wages ten times; how he would not ſuffer him to have all the particolored ſheep and goats as he had at firſt agreed, but would confine him to one particular ſpecies; how he had changed from one ſpecies to another, but whatever ſpecies he allowed him, all were brought forth of that ſpecies, ſo the Lord proſpered him, taking away the cattle of their father and giving them to him; how this had been all effected in conſequence of a dream; and how the Lord had now ordered him to return to his own country and his father's houſe. Rachel and Leah

were

were very ſenſible how hardly their father had uſed them, how he had ſold them for hire inſtead of giving them any dowry; and they were very ready to follow their huſband and the divine directions.

Accordingly Jacob roſe up early in the morning, ſet his wives and children on camels, and removed with all his cattle and all his ſubſtance in order to return to Iſaac his father in the land of Canaan. It happened at this time that Laban was employed at a diſtance in his ſheep-ſhearing, which gave Jacob a fair opportunity of ſtealing away unknown to him. Rachel alſo ſtole her father's *Teraphim*, little images or houſehold gods, like the Di Penates of the Heathens, which they worſhipped, and by which they divined: and ſhe ſtole them, either to deprive her father of the objects of his idolatry as ſome rabbi's ſay, or rather becauſe ſhe was not yet herſelf entirely reformed from the ſuperſtition of her father's houſe. So Jacob fled, he and all that belonged to him, and paſſed over the river Euphrates, and bent their courſe toward the mountain adjoining to Libanus, which was afterwards as we ſhall ſee called "Gilead."

Laban kept his flocks, as it was ſaid before, (XXX. 36.) at the diſtance of "three days journey" from Jacob, ſo that it was the "third "day" before he heard of Jacob's departure. He, his brethren, and their attendents ſet out directly in purſuit of Jacob; and as they could travel more expeditiouſly without the impediments of wives children and ſo many cattle, they came up with him on the ſeventh day in the mount afterwards called "Gilead," where they both pitched their tents. Laban's party was greatly ſuperior in ſtrength and numbers, but that night God admoniſhed him in a dream (ver. 24.) to "ſpeak not "to Jacob either good or bad," not *good* to perſuade him to return, nor *bad* to do him harm. He expoſtulated however with Jacob for ſtealing away unawares, and for carrying off his daughters as captives; which was by no means the caſe, for they went voluntarily and of their own accord. He aſked why he would not communicate his purpoſe to him, that he might have made a feſtival entertainment at parting, and have ſent him away with becoming reſpect? why he would depart in that abſurd and abrupt manner, and not give him an opportu-

nity

nity ſo much as to kiſs or take leave of his daughters and his grandchildren? It was in the power of his hand eaſily to hurt him, but God in a dream laſt night had warned him to the contrary; and ſo he ſhould permit him to depart in peace. But if he was determined at all adventures to be gone, and longed ſo much to return to his father's family, yet wherefore ſhould he ſteal his gods from him? Jacob anſwered very ingenuouſly, that he fled out of fear leſt he ſhould force his daughters from him: but knowing nothing of what Rachel had done, he denied abſolutely the ſtealing of his gods; and with whomſoever they ſhould be found, that perſon ſhould ſurely die. Laban firſt ſearched Jacob's tent, the men and women having different tents, then Leah's, and then the two maid-ſervants; but he found them not. Rachel had hidden them in the camels furniture, and ſat upon them, ſo that when her father came to ſearch her tent, ſhe excuſed herſelf from riſing becauſe ſhe was much out of order by reaſon of her female infirmity; he ſearched every where elſe, but could no where find his images.

Jacob then in his turn expoſtulated with Laban for purſuing ſo hotly after him, and for thinking ſo unjuſtly of him as to ſuſpect him of any theft. He thought he had known him better after ſo many years uſeful and faithful ſervice; wherein every thing had proſpered in his hands, and if any thing was loſt or ſtolen, he had always made it good. He had been conſumed by the heat in the day, and by the froſt in the night; and his ſleep had departed from his eyes; for in thoſe countries they uſed to watch and guard their ſheep by night, as when our Saviour was born (Luke II. 8.) there were "ſhepherds abiding in the field, keeping watch over their flock by night." He had ſerved him now twenty years, fourteen for his two daughters, and ſix more for hire, and he had changed his wages "ten times," by this repetition confirming that he had changed his wages really ſo many times: And now he appealed to himſelf, whether he would not have ſent him away empty after all his afflictions and labor, if God had not particularly interpoſed, and rebuked him yeſternight.

Laban

Laban hereupon came into better temper, he looked upon Jacob's family as his own, he could not find in his heart to hurt perſons ſo near and dear to him; and propoſed that Jacob and he ſhould enter into a ſolemn covenant together. For this purpoſe Jacob took a large ſtone, and ſet it up on one end for a pillar: and Jacob's and Laban's companions heaped up ſeveral ſtones one upon another: which heap they named each according to his own language, Laban called it in Chaldee or Syriac "Jagar-ſahadutha," Jacob called it in Hebrew "Galeed" or "Gilead;" for though there was ſome difference in their languages, yet they very well underſtood each other. Both names ſignify the ſame thing, "the heap of witneſs," as it was deſigned to be a memorial or teſtimony of the league of friendſhip between them. It was alſo called "Mizpah," or *the watch-tower*, becauſe God was invoked to *watch* betwixt them, and to ſee to the performance of the treaty, after they were ſeparated one from another. Jacob was not to uſe his daughters unkindly, nor to take other wives beſides them: And this heap, this pillar which Jacob had ſet up, for the pillar (ver. 45.) was of Jacob's ſetting up, and inſtead of "which I have "caſt" (ver. 51.) in the firſt perſon, it ſhould be "which thou haſt "ſet up" in the ſecond perſon, according to the Samaritan text and Arabic verſion, and alſo a good Hebrew MS as (4) Dr. Kennicott obſerves. This heap I ſay and this pillar were to be the boundaries betwixt them, ſo that Laban was not to paſs over them to Jacob, nor Jacob to paſs over them to Laban, to do harm the one to the other. To ratify this treaty they called upon the God of Abraham and the God of Nahor to judge betwixt them; "the God of their father" is plainly a corrupt gloſs inſerted into the text, and rightly omitted in the Greek verſion: Jacob added alſo the God whom his father Iſaac feared and worſhipped. Then they ſacrificed and feaſted, as the manner was of ratifying leagues and covenants in thoſe days. Early the next morning Laban roſe up and took leave of his children and grand-children,

(4) Kennicott on the Hebrew text, Vol. 2. p. 551.

(5) Bochartii

children, kiſſed them and bleſſed them: and ſo they parted, Laban to return to Haran, and Jacob to proceed on his journey to Canaan.

As the angels of God appeared to Jacob going to Padan-Aram, ſo (XXXII.) they met him returning from thence, to comfort him and to confirm his faith. He named the place in the dual number "Mahanaim" that is *the two hoſts* or *camps*, meaning God's and his own. He was much more afraid of meeting his brother Eſau, of a hoſt of men than of an hoſt of angels; and therefore ſent meſſengers before him to Seir Eſau's country, with a moſt reſpectful meſſage calling Eſau his lord and himſelf his ſervant, to acquaint him of his welfare and of his arrival, hoping thereby to find grace and favor in his eyes. The meſſengers returned with an account that Eſau himſelf was coming to meet him, and alſo four hundred men with him. Jacob's fears were on this account greatly increaſed, and he divided his people and his flocks and herds into two parties, thinking that if Eſau ſhould ſmite the one, yet the other haply might eſcape. In theſe ſtraits and difficulties he prayed moſt earneſtly to the God of his father Abraham and the God of his father Iſaac, profeſſing himſelf unworthy of all his former mercies, and imploring his future protection and bleſſing in conſequence of the many gracious promiſes which he had been pleaſed to make unto him. Where by the way we may obſerve, that the Hebrews have no ſpecial word for *grandfather* but uſe *father* alſo for *grandfather*; and the notion of the Jews that God is not called the God of any one till after death, and that therefore Jacob before (XXXI. 42, 53.) called God "the God of Abraham and "the fear of Iſaac," appears to be an idle notion, becauſe God is here called "the God of Iſaac" while Iſaac was yet living.

In the ſame place he lodged that night, and the next morning he took (ver. 13.) not "of that which came to his hand," for that implies no choice or diſcrimination, but "of that which was in his hand," the choiceſt and beſt of what he had in his power for a preſent to his brother Eſau: and a moſt noble preſent it was, "two hundred ſhe-"goats and twenty he-goats, two hundred ews and twenty rams," in the proportion of one male to ten females, "thirty milch-camels with

" their colts, forty cows and ten bulls, twenty ſhe-aſſes and ten foles." He divided the different kinds into ſo many different droves, and committed each to the care of a truſty ſervant, with orders for them to paſs over before him, and to keep a ſpace between drove and drove. He gave commandment alſo to the firſt, that when he ſhould meet Eſau, and Eſau ſhould inquire whoſe theſe are and whither they are going, he ſhould anſwer that they are his ſervant Jacob's, they are deſigned as a preſent to his lord Eſau, and he himſelf is coming up behind them. The ſame command was given to the ſecond, to the third, and to the reſt of the ſervants.

" A gift," as Solomon ſaith, (Prov. XXI. 14. XIX. 6.) " paci-
" fieth anger; Every man is a friend to him that giveth gifts:" and Jacob hoped by this method to pacify his brother's anger if any yet remained, and to make himſelf acceptable by the means of his preſents: and being a man of art and addreſs, he divided theſe preſents into ſo many parts, that coming up one after another they might appear greater, and the repetition ſo many times of the ſame ſupplicatory meſſage might leave the deeper impreſſion in his favor. Having ſent his ſervants with the preſents over before him, he took himſelf ſome reſt and refreſhment: and that ſame night, having firſt tried the ford himſelf, he cauſed his wives, and his children, and all that he had to paſs over the brook Jabbok, a little river which floweth into the river Jordan, where the Jordan breaketh forth from the lake Gennezareth.

Having ſeen all the reſt paſs over in ſafety, he himſelf remained alone: and an angel in the form of a man came and wreſtled with him until the dawning of the day. The angel prevailed not over him, not through any deficiency of ſtrength or power, but by the good pleaſure of God at that juncture and upon that occaſion: but however to convince Jacob who he was, and to let him ſee how eaſily he could cruſh him if he were ſo diſpoſed, he touched the hollow of his thigh, and put it out of joint. Jacob upon this diſcovering that he was a divine being, would not ſuffer him to depart without giving him his bleſſing. The angel aſked what was his name, and ſaid, according to the true rendering of the words, (ver. 28.) that henceforth his name

ſhould not only be called "Jacob" but alſo "Iſrael;" and his poſterity were called more frequently after the name of *Iſrael* than of *Jacob*, often *Iſraelites*, but never *Jacobites*. The angel aſſigns the reaſon of the name of *Iſrael* that is *prince of God*, "for as a prince "thou haſt power with God, and with men alſo thou ſhalt prevail," as the text ſhould be read and tranſlated. Jacob in his turn aſked the angel's name, but the angel declining to gratify his curioſity, bleſſed him and departed.

Jacob called the name of the place "Peniel" that is "the face of "God; for I have ſeen God," ſaith he, "face to face, and my life "is preſerved;" alluding to the general notion, as it was obſerved before in the caſe of Hagar, that they who ſaw a god or angel, were ſure to be ſtruck blind or dead, though no particular inſtances of it occur in hiſtory. A city was afterwards built in or near that place which was called *Penuel*, but *Peniel* is the proper name of the place and nearer to the etymology of the word. So it is called by Jacob (ver. 30.) and ſo it ſhould be called (ver. 31.) in the words immediately following, "And the ſun aroſe upon him," a happy omen, "as he paſſed over Peniel," for certainly the name ſhould be the ſame in both verſes, not *Peniel* in the one and *Penuel* in the other.

The deſign of this angel's appearing to Jacob was by a ſignificative action (for actions may be as ſignificative as words) to inform him of the ſucceſs of his petitions, and to encourage him in the midſt of all his difficulties and diſtreſſes to go on with ſpirit in his journey, for he had prevailed with God, and he ſhould prevail alſo with his brother Eſau. Some have imagined the whole to be nothing more than a dream or a viſion: but it is related as a plain matter of fact; it is repreſented as a matter of fact by the prophet Hoſea (XII. 3, 4.) and joined with another matter of fact, his taking his brother by the heel, "He took his brother by the heel in the womb, and by his ſtrength "he had power with God, yea he had power over the angel, and pre-"vailed;" and the manner in which Jacob was affected clearly demonſtrates that it was a corporeal action as well as a ſpiritual repreſentation,

tation, for his thigh was out of joint, he halted upon it afterwards for ſome time at leaſt, if not all his life as ſome aſſert; and the children of Iſrael have ever ſince abſtained from eating of the ſinew or tendon of the thigh which ſhrank; they do not eat of it in any creature even to this day in commemoration of this tranſaction.

Encouraged by this appearance of the angel Jacob went on with better hopes; and he had not proceeded far (XXXIII.) before he ſaw Eſau coming and his four hundred men with him. He therefore ſet the two maid-ſervants with their children firſt, then Leah with her children, and Rachel with Joſeph laſt, placing thoſe whom he loved beſt fartheſt from danger. He himſelf advanced before them, and after the eaſtern manner bowed himſelf to the ground ſeven times in approaching to his brother. Eſau was ſo far from retaining any malice or reſentment, that on the contrary, as the ſacred hiſtorian moſt pathetically deſcribes it, (ver. 4.) he "ran to meet him, and embraced "him, and fell on his neck, and kiſſed him; and they wept" both for joy at meeting. Eſau ſeeing the women and the children aſked (ver. 5.) "Who are theſe with thee?" And Jacob anſwered, "The "children which God hath graciouſly given thy ſervant." Then the two maid-ſervants with their children, next Leah with her children, afterwards Rachel with Joſeph, approaching in the order wherein they had been placed, bowed themſelves before him. Eſau again inquired what was the meaning of thoſe droves which he had met: and Jacob replied, that they were deſigned as a preſent to him, that he might find grace in the eyes of his lord. Eſau ſaid that he had enough, and deſired him to keep his own to himſelf. But Jacob ſtill importuned him, as he had received him in ſo gracious and godlike a manner, to accept from his hands part of the bleſſing wherewith God had bleſſed him, he could very well ſpare it, he had enough beſides; and preſſed him ſo much that he prevailed with him to accept it.

Eſau then propoſed that they ſhould take their journey to Seir, and he would go before to direct him in the way. Jacob ſaid, that he could by no means pretend to keep pace with him, it would endanger the tender lives of the children and the cattle with young; but he

would come on ſoftly, as the cattle and the children could conveniently bear, and would wait upon him at mount Seir. Eſau made an offer of leaving ſome of his people to conduct him, but Jacob ſaid that there was no occaſion for that, it was ſufficient for him to find grace in the eyes of his lord: And ſo Eſau returned that day on his journey to Seir.

We cannot doubt that Jacob followed him thither, as he had promiſed, though no mention be made of it in this hiſtory. For he cannot well be ſuppoſed baſe enough to falſify his word ſo notoriouſly, nor could he in prudence offend his brother ſo ſoon again, or put ſuch an indignity upon him after ſo happy a reconciliation. In like manner neither is any mention made of his viſit to his father, and yet we cannot doubt that he waited upon him ſoon after his return into the land of Canaan. For the Lord ordered him (XXXI. 3.) to "return unto "the land of his fathers and to his kindred;" he ſet out with intent (ibid. ver. 18.) "to go to Iſaac his father in the land of Canaan;" and (ibid. ver. 30.) he "longed ſore after his father's houſe:" and therefore we may be certain that he paid his duty to his father before he viſited him at Mamre (XXXV. 27.) juſt before his death. The reader muſt of courſe conclude theſe things to have been done, and therefore the hiſtorian who ſtudied brevity paſſeth them over in ſilence.

It was I ſuppoſe after his viſit to his brother and his father, that he journeyed to the place, which afterwards had the name of "Succoth" that is *booths* from *the booths* which he made there for his cattle. From thence (ver. 18.) he "came to Shalem a city of Shechem," or rather he "came ſafe to the city of Shechem," as the Chaldee and Arabic verſions have it, and as moſt of the Jewiſh doctors expound it. *Shechem* or *Sichem* was the name of the city, it was hardly called *Shalem* too, which was the name of another city. He pitched his tent before the city, and intending to ſojourn there ſome time he purchaſed the field whereon he had erected his tents of the ſons of Hamor or Emmor

(5) Bocharti Hierozoic. Pars prior. Lib. 2. Cap. 43. Col. 433. Edit. 1712. Mr. Coſtard's Two Diſſertations: I. containing an inquiry into the meaning of the word *Keſitah*, &c. Oxford. 1750.

(6) Joſeph.

Emmor Shechem's father for an hundred *keſitahs*, ſome ſay *lambs*, others *pieces of money*, but St. Stephen (Acts VII. 16.) determins them to be *pieces of money*, and the (5) learned Bochart hath proved, and Mr. Coſtard ſince in a particular diſſertation upon the ſubject, that *keſitah* never ſignifies a lamb, but was a piece of Canaanitiſh money, money being in uſe in thoſe days and before. Here Jacob builded an altar, as the patriarchs uſed to do in every place where they ſtayed any time; and he called it "the altar of God the God of Iſrael," the name with which he had been ſo lately honored, importing his power and prevalence with God.

After he had ſojourned ſome years in this place, a moſt grievous calamity befel him and his family. His only daughter Dinah one day went out (XXXIV.) to ſee the faſhions and manners of the women of the country, aſſembled, as (6) Joſephus ſaith not improbably, at the celebration of ſome public feſtival. There Shechem, the ſon of Hamor the Hivite a principal man of the country, ſaw her and fell in love with her, took her away by force and raviſhed her, "humbled "her" as it is in the Hebrew, defilement being the greateſt humiliation. But however his was not a ſudden tranſient guſt of paſſion, he conceived a laſting affection for her, and offered to make her all the amends that he could by marrying her. He propoſed the matter to his father, deſired him to procure the young woman for his wife; and his father agreed to treat with Jacob about it. Some how or other, as ill news fly apace, Jacob had heard of his daughter's misfortune, but determined to ſay nothing of it, till his ſons who were in the field ſhould come home again. The ill news had alſo reached them, and it is not eaſy to ſay whether their grief or their indignation was greater at the diſhonor brought upon their family.

In the mean while Hamor with his ſon Shechem came to treat with them: and Hamor aſſured them of the ſincere affection that his ſon had for their daughter, requeſted that he might be permitted to marry her, and propoſed not only that his ſon might marry their daughter, but

(6) Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. I. Cap. 21. Sect. 1. p. 45. Edit. Hudſon.

(7) Maundrell's

but alſo that they ſhould make intermarriages the one people with the other, ſhould dwell together, and enjoy the fruits of the land and the trade and the poſſeſſions thereof in common. Shechem likewiſe earneſtly beſought them to favor his ſuit, and he would give any dowry to her, and make any preſents to them that they would pleaſe to require, on condition that he might have her to wife; it being the practice in ancient times, as it appears from ſeveral paſſages in Homer and other authors, for men to purchaſe as it were their wives, and inſtead of receiving fortunes with them to give gifts to the bride and her neareſt relations. The ſons of Jacob, moſt probably Simeon and Levi, returned a deceitful anſwer in reſentment of the great injury done to their ſiſter, and ſaid that they could by no means give their ſiſter in marriage to a man who was uncircumciſed, for that being contrary to their religion would be a ſhame and reproach to them; but upon this condition they would give their conſent, if he and his father and every male of the city would agree to be circumciſed as they were; then they all might freely intermarry, dwell together in common, and become one people: but if this condition was refuſed, they had nothing farther to ſay, and would take away their ſiſter, and be gone.

Hamor and Shechem readily agreed to the propoſal, and the young man was immediately for putting it in execution, having the moſt honorable intentions and the moſt ſincere affection for the young woman. They therefore ſummoned the citizens to the gate of the city where the aſſemblies were uſually held, and informed them upon what condition the men would be willing to unite with them and become one people, if they would only agree to be circumciſed, and repreſented how deſirable this union was upon three conſiderations, becauſe the men were peaceable, becauſe there was ſufficient room for them, and becauſe there would be a great acceſſion of property and people to their country. Perſuaded by theſe arguments, and out of regard to Hamor and Shechem, all the males were circumciſed that ſame day.

On the third day, when the pain of the wound and the fever attending it were generally at the higheſt, two of the ſons of Jacob, own brothers of Dinah, Simeon and Levi, with their ſervants and attendents,

tendents, took their ſwords, and contrary to all faith and honor fell upon the men of the city weakened and defenſeleſs, ſlew all the males, ſlew alſo Hamor and Shechem with the edge of the ſword, and took away their ſiſter out of Shechem's houſe, where ſhe had been detained hitherto. After they had ſlain all the males, they ſpoiled the city; for the ſame perſons did both, and not the other ſons of Jacob, as many underſtand it; for then they would have been conſenting to the crime and partakers of the ſin, but Jacob chargeth the guilt altogether upon Simeon and Levi both here and upon his death-bed without any crimination of any other of his ſons. The murderers were alſo the ſpoilers, and took away all the cattle and all the wealth, and made all the little ones and all the women their captives. Jacob was moſt grievouſly offended, as indeed well he might be moſt grievouſly offended, at ſo much baſeneſs treachery and cruelty, and ſaid to Simeon and Levi, that they had greatly troubled him, and would render him odious among the inhabitants of the land; he was but few in number in the midſt of many great nations, and they had done enough to bring down the vengeance of the whole country upon him, and to complete the ruin and deſtruction of him and his family. They ſtill juſtified themſelves by ſaying that it was not fitting that their ſiſter ſhould be treated as a harlot.

It might not have been prudent nor ſafe for Jacob to remain longer at Shechem; and God (XXXV.) directed him to go dwell at Bethel, and to build there an altar in the place where God appeared to him, when he fled from his brother Eſau to go into Meſopotamia. He had before vowed a vow, that if he returned in ſafety from Meſopotamia, he would make Bethel a place of worſhip; and he had his reaſons without doubt for not going thither ſooner, he might not perhaps have had a convenient opportunity, or perhaps he waited for the divine direction, as his motions were much governed by an overruling providence.

But before he removed to Bethel, he commanded not only all thoſe of his own family, but likewiſe all his ſervants and attendents, to put away " the ſtrange gods" or rather " the gods of the ſtranger" from among

among them; whether Laban's gods, which Rachel had ſtolen, and which ſome ſay were now firſt diſcovered; or the gods of the Syrians, for many of Jacob's ſervants were of that country; or the gods of the Shechemites whom they had ſo lately made their captives. As they had good reaſon to be much alarmed at the dangers which threatened them on every ſide for the barbarous and inhuman ſlaughter of the Shechemites, he thought this a proper occaſion of working upon their fears, of awakening them to a ſenſe of their duty, and of admoniſhing them to put away their idols, to waſh themſelves, and to change their garments; which kinds of purification previous to any ſolemn act of worſhip we find to have been in uſe among all nations and in all religions from time immemorial, as ſigns and tokens of inward purity, the purity of the heart and affections. In obedience to his command they gave up to him all their little images and idols, with all their ſuperſtitious and idolatrous trinkets, "all their ear-rings which "were in their ears," for the men as well as the women wore ear-rings, and they wore them not merely as ornaments of dreſs but for religious marks and characters. Having them all in his poſſeſſion, he buried them privately under an oak near Shechem, where in all probability they were never known or heard of more, and the Greek tranſlation addeth "and he deſtroyed them even unto this day."

After this they proceeded on their journey, and ſuch was the good providence of God protecting them, that the neighbouring nations inſtead of aſſaulting them grew rather afraid of them, and ſuffered them to paſs unmoleſted. So they came to Luz that is Bethel, and Jacob built there an altar, and called it the altar "of the God of Bethel." He built it in the ſame place where God appeared to him; it is of the plural number in the Hebrew "the Gods appeared," which the Chaldee paraphraſt and others render "the angels of God;" but the Samaritan, the Greek, Latin and Syriac copies have it in the ſingular number, which Houbigant prefers for very good reaſons, becauſe in the firſt verſe it is ſaid "God appeared," and becauſe in this verſe the place receives its nomination from *God* not from *the angels of God*.

Not long after their arrival at Bethel, Deborah Rebecca's nurſe died there. She came into the land of Canaan with her young miſtreſs, and muſt have been of a very great age at the time of her deceaſe. But it may ſeem matter of wonder how ſhe came into Jacob's family. Some of the Jewiſh doctors account for it by ſaying, that Rebecca having promiſed to recall her ſon Jacob when his brother's anger ſhould be appeaſed, ſent her truſty ſervant Deborah for that purpoſe; but it is by no means probable, that ſhe ſhould employ an old woman rather than a young active man upon ſuch an errand. Others affirm, that Deborah had returned many years before into her own country, and was now coming with Jacob upon a viſit to her miſtreſs; but it is by no means probable, that ſhe ſhould undertake ſuch a long and hazardous journey at ſuch an advanced age, not knowing too whether her miſtreſs was ſtill alive. What appears moſt probable is, that when Jacob after his return into the land of Canaan went firſt to pay his duty to his father, his mother was dead, perhaps had been dead ſeveral years, and Deborah then left Iſaac's, and became a part of Jacob's family, for the ſake of living and converſing with his wives and their maids and others of her own countrywomen.

But ſtill it may ſeem ſtrange, that the hiſtorian ſhould record the death and burial of Rebecca's nurſe, and at the ſame time ſay nothing of thoſe of Rebecca herſelf. I conceive the reaſon of this to have been, that there was many years afterwards an oak near Bethel known and diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Allon-bachuth* or *the oak of weeping*; and Moſes therefore as a good antiquary as well as hiſtorian recounts the origin of the name, that the tree was ſo called becauſe Deborah Rebecca's nurſe was buried beneath it: and nurſes in ancient times were regarded as reſpectable branches of the family. In like manner Virgil hath preſerved the memory of his hero's nurſe, and of her giving name to a certain place. Æn. VII. 1.

> Tu quoque littoribus noſtris, Æneïa nutrix,
> Æternam moriens famam, Caïeta, dediſti;
> Et nunc ſervat honos ſedem tuus; oſſaque nomen
> Heſperia in magna, ſiquâ eſt ea gloria, ſignat.

And thou, O matron of immortal fame,
Here dying, to the ſhore haſt left thy name:
Cajeta ſtill the place is call'd from thee,
The nurſe of great Æneas' infancy:
Here reſt thy bones in rich Heſperia's plains,
Thy name ('tis all a ghoſt can have) remains. Dryden.

God appeared unto Jacob again in Luz or Bethel after his return from Meſopotamia, as he had before at his firſt going thither. He there bleſſed him, confirmed and ratified the change which the angel had made of his name from Jacob to Iſrael, aſſured him that he was God almighty, and that therefore he might fully depend upon his promiſes of a moſt numerous poſterity, of nations and kings to come out of his loins, and the poſſeſſion of the land of Canaan, which had been promiſed to Abraham and Iſaac before him, and ſhould be given to his ſeed after him. In the ſame place where the divine preſence or glory appeared unto him, it went up from him: and Jacob ſet up a pillar of ſtone in that place as he had done before, and poured a libation of wine and oil upon it; and he called the place by the ſame name that he had given it before, *Bethel* or *the houſe of God*. The ſame thing happening twice in the ſame place, was a double reaſon for giving it the ſame name.

After ſome ſtay at Bethel Jacob with his family removed from thence, and when (ver. 16.) "there was but a little piece of ground "to come to Ephrath," about a mile as the Chaldee paraphraſt explains it, Rachel fell into labor, and ſuch hard labor that ſhe was with difficulty delivered of a male child. When Joſeph was born, it was intimated (XXX. 24.) that "the Lord would add to her another "ſon:" and at this time "the midwife ſaid unto her, Fear not, "thou ſhalt have this ſon alſo." But the birth of this ſon coſt her her life: and as ſhe was dying ſhe called his name *Benoni* that is *the ſon of my ſorrow*; but his father with a better omen named him *Benjamin* that is *the ſon of the right hand*, or *Benjamim* as ſome would read that is *the ſon of days*, and he is elſewhere called (XLIV. 20.) "a child of his old age."

In

In her days of barrenneſs Rachel wiſhed ſo paſſionately for children, that ſhe cried, " Give me children or elſe I die:" and now ſhe died by having children, ſo little do vain mortals know what to wiſh or pray for as they ought. Where Rachel died, there ſhe was buried, in the way leading to " Ephrath" otherwiſe called " Bethlehem:" and Jacob erected a pillar as a monument upon her grave; " that," ſaith the hiſtorian, " is the pillar of Rachel's grave unto this day;" and it was known afterwards (1 Sam. X. 2.) in the days of Saul. There is what is ſhown to travelers at this day as Rachel's tomb: but, as (7) Mr. Maundrell obſerves, the preſent ſepulchral monument can be none of that which Jacob erected; for it appears plainly to be a modern and Turkiſh ſtructure.

From Ephrath " Iſrael" (as he is now firſt called) went and ſpread his tent beyond the tower of Edar, or the tower of a " flock," (Mich. IV. 8.) a place of excellent paſture. While he dwelt in that country, another grievous misfortune befell him. Death had juſt deprived him of one wife, his beſt beloved, and inceſt now robbed him of another; for his eldeſt ſon Reuben lay with Bilhah his father's concubine. It is ſaid (ver. 22.) " Iſrael heard it," and nothing more: but in the Greek tranſlation it is added, " and it appeared evil in his ſight;" and in the Hebrew text there is a mark to denote a pauſe, as if his concern and anger were too big for utterance. It will appear (XLIX.) how deeply he reſented it even in his laſt moments, when he called his ſons together to give them his final benediction.

His next ſtage was to Mamre, where his father Iſaac had ſojourned ſome time as his father Abraham had done before him, and whither probably Jacob was ſummoned to attend on Iſaac now drawing towards his latter end. He had been blind and infirm for many years, and was 180 years old when he died, which was five years older than Abraham was at the time of his deceaſe. It is very juſtly therefore ſaid of him as it was of Abraham, that " he was gathered unto his people, " being old and full of days:" " gathered unto his people," a Hebrew phraſe, as it was before obſerved, for dying, and at the ſame

(7) Maundrell's Journey, p. 87. 5th Edit. Oxford.

time including a notion of the ſeparate exiſtence of human ſouls, and of their going to ſome common receptacle, eſpecially to their kindred and countrymen. As his ſons Iſaac and Iſhmael buried Abraham, ſo likewiſe his ſons Eſau and Jacob buried Iſaac; as the Syriac verſion addeth, "in the ſepulchre which Abraham his father had bought;" and afterwards (XLIX. 30, 31.) it is expreſly affirmed, that he was buried "in the cave that is in the field of Machpelah," where his father and his mother and his wife were alſo buried. His death happened in the year of the world 2288, and before Chriſt 1716.

Iſaac's, we ſee, was not a life of much adventure and action. The greater part of his hiſtory is filled up with the adventures of his ſon Jacob, and we ſhall find the remaining part of Jacob's hiſtory to be filled up in like manner with the actions of his ſon Joſeph.

DISSERTATION X.

On the hiſtory of the patriarchs after Iſaac.

ISHMAEL and Iſaac having met at the funeral of their father Abraham, the hiſtorian gave an account of the deſcendents of Iſhmael, before he proceeded to the hiſtory of Iſaac. In like manner Eſau and Jacob having met at the funeral of their father Iſaac, the hiſtorian recites the generations of Eſau, before he proceeds farther in the hiſtory of Jacob: and the generations of Eſau are recorded for very good purpoſes, to inſtruct the Iſraelites who were their kindred and the true deſcendents of Eſau, and at the ſame time to ſhow how God's promiſes of a numerous poſterity to Abraham, of two nations to Rebecca, and Iſaac's bleſſing to Eſau were fulfilled.

Eſau

Esau had married three wives, as it was before related, two of the daughters of Canaan, and one a daughter of Ishmael and sister of Nebaioth by the same mother. He had also children by three wives, but either these wives were not all the same as those mentioned before, or at least they had different names. "Bashemath the daughter of "Elon the Hittite" (XXVI. 34.) was probably the same as (XXXVI. 2.) "Adah the daughter of Elon the Hittite:" "Mahalath the daugh-"ter of Ishmael, the sister of Nebaioth" (XXVIII. 9.) was probably too the same as (XXXVI. 3.) "Bashemath Ishmael's daughter, sister "of Nebaioth," only with different names: But "Judith the daugh-"ter of Beeri the Hittite" (XXVI. 34.) could hardly be the same as (XXXVI. 2.) "Aholibamah the daughter of Anah the daughter" or rather the son "of Zibeon the Hivite," their own names, and their fathers, and their countries being so different. It is said "Anah the "daughter," but it should be "the son of Zibeon the Hivite," agreeably to the Samaritan text and version, and also to the Greek and Syriac versions, genealogies being reckoned from the fathers not from the mothers. I would also propose it to be considered whether instead of "Zibeon the Hivite" we should not read "Zibeon the Horite." For otherwise there are (ver. 24, 25.) two *Aholibamahs* the daughters of two *Anahs* the sons of two *Zibeons*, these of the Hivites a people of Canaan, those of the Horites a people of Seir; and it is not very likely that in two different families of two different nations the grandfathers the fathers and the daughters should all bear the same names.

It must be allowed that the expression, "this was that Anah," implies that there were more Anahs than one: "this was that Anah, "who found the mules in the wilderness, as he fed the asses of Zi-"beon his father." So it is in the English and Arabic versions, and it is commonly understood that he was the first discoverer or inventor of the species of *mules*; but *mules* are not mentioned again till David's time, and then they are called by a name (*Peradim*) very different from the word (*Jemim*) here rendered *mules*. In the Vulgar Latin and Syriac versions it is, "he found warm waters or water in the wil-"derness," as if he had discovered some medicinal springs or some

large body of water, which would be very agreeable and refreſhing in a dry country. In the Greek verſion ſomething like the Hebrew word is retained, " he found Jamein in the wilderneſs," and *Jamein* is conceived to be ſome ſalutary herb or plant, which he diſcovered for the uſe and benefit of mankind. In the Samaritan text and verſion and in the Chaldee paraphraſe it is, " he found giants in the wilder- " neſs," that is the " Emims," a warlike and gigantic race, (Deut. II. 10.) whom he attacked and overthrew, for ſo the word here rendered *found* ſometimes ſignifies; and this appears the moſt probable interpretation. So that he is celebrated for " ſmiting the Emims in the " wilderneſs" as Hadad the ſon of Bedad is afterwards (ver. 35.) for " ſmiting Midian in the field of Moab:" and warlike exploits were the moſt memorable and of the higheſt renown in thoſe days.

Aholibamah was alſo the name of a man, (ver. 41.) one of the dukes of Edom. If Aholibamah Eſau's wife was a Hivite a woman of Canaan, he married her it is likely before ever he went into Seir. If ſhe was a Horite a woman of Seir, it is likely he married her after his firſt ſettlement there. His final ſettlement there was not till after the death of his father Iſaac, when he and Jacob ſeparated for the ſame reaſon as Lot and Abraham had before, becauſe that part of the country was not big enough to contain them both. Eſau therefore leaving Jacob to inherit the land of Canaan according to his father's bleſſing, took his wives and his children and all his ſubſtance, and returned into the land of Seir, which from him was afterwards called the land of Edom.

There after ſome time his deſcendents became *Aluphim* in Hebrew anſwering to the Greek χιλιαρχοι, *commanders of thouſands*, heads or leaders of tribes or clans, *dukes* as they are called, the rulers of the Horites in Seir having been ſo denominated before them. In farther proceſs of time they became (ver. 31.) " kings of the land of Edom " before there reigned any king over the children of Iſrael." The dukes were ſeveral of them contemporary, the kings were ſucceſſive; but they did not ſucceed each other by hereditary right, they were plainly elective, being of ſo many different families, and reigning in

ſo

ſo many different cities. After the kings a kind of ariſtocracy was eſtabliſhed again, and dukes ruled as before. But the accounts of the kings in Edom and of the later dukes muſt have been added to the genealogies of Moſes by ſome later hand, and moſt probably by Samuel, who lived after there was a king in Iſrael and before David had made an entire conqueſt of the Edomites. The genealogies in the firſt book of Chronicles were rather copied from theſe in Geneſis, than theſe in Geneſis from thoſe in the firſt book of Chronicles.

Eſau having removed and ſettled in the land of Seir, Jacob ſtill continued in the land of Canaan a ſojourner as his fathers had been. His ſon Joſeph's being ſold into Egypt was prior in point of time to the death of his father Iſaac, but the hiſtorian hath deferred the relation of it till afterwards, that he might purſue the thred of Joſeph's ſtory with leſs interruption, and lay the whole nearer together in view of the reader. The ſtory begins (XXXVII.) with "Theſe are the gene-"rations of Jacob," which words, ſome able critics as Le Clerc and Houbigant are of opinion, ſhould come in at the end of the 26th verſe of the 35th chapter, having been by miſtake transferred from thence to this place: but if you conſult the paſſage referred to, you will be of another opinion; for there it is ſaid, "Theſe are the ſons of Jacob, "which were born to him in Padan-Aram;" and the hiſtorian would hardly add afterwards, "Theſe are the generations of Jacob." In the 36th chapter he hath given an account of "the generations of Eſau," and now in the beginning of this 37th chapter he giveth this notice of his returning to the hiſtory of Jacob's family; "Theſe are the generations of Jacob." This connects the following part of the hiſtory with the foregoing; all the intermediate parts relating to Eſau's family are to be conſidered as included in a parentheſis; the diſcourſe of Jacob and his ſons is reſumed, and the word *generations* ſeemeth ſometimes to be taken in a larger ſenſe than *genealogies*, and to comprehend the *principal actions* and *events* of a man's life: as it was ſaid before, (VI. 9.) "Theſe are the generations of Noah; Noah was a juſt man, and "perfect in his generations, and Noah walked with God." Theſe then that follow are the tranſactions of Jacob and his ſons.

Joſeph

Joſeph being now ſeventeen years old was feeding the flocks of his father with his brethren the ſons of Bilhah and the ſons of Zilpah; and he brought an evil report of their behaviour to his father; being good himſelf he could not conceal nor connive at their wickedneſs. Born of Jacob's beloved wife, he was the father's favorite more than all his children. He was too "the ſon of his old age," born after moſt of his other ſons when he was advanced in years: but this character more properly belongs to Benjamin, and the Chaldee paraphraſe renders it "a wiſe ſon" as indeed Joſeph proved, which was a better foundation for his father's affection. He was moreover diſtinguiſhed above his brethren by "a coat of many colors," ſuch as was worn by perſons of note and eminence, ſuch as was deſigned for Siſera (Judg. V. 30.) "a prey of divers colors, a prey of divers colors of needlework, of "divers colors of needlework on both ſides, meet for the necks of them "that take the ſpoil." Upon all theſe accounts his brethren hated him to ſuch a degree, that they could not ſpeak nor behave civily towards him.

He provoked them yet more by relating two of his dreams. One time he dreamed, that he and his brethren were binding ſheaves in the field, and his ſheaf ſtood erect, while his brethrens bowed down before it. His brethren eaſily comprehended the meaning of it that it portended his dominion over them, and they were ſtill more exaſperated againſt him for conceiving and uttering a thought of any ſuperiority over them. Another time he dreamed, that the ſun and the moon and the eleven ſtars made obeyſance to him, a dream ſomewhat like that of Cyrus, as mentioned by (1) Cicero, of the ſun at his feet. This dream he related to his father as well as to his brethren; and his father, to check his riſing vanity rebuked him (ver. 10.) "What is "this dream that thou haſt dreamed? Shall I and thy mother and thy "brethren indeed come to bow down ourſelves to thee to the earth?" His *mother* therefore was then living, or rather this was to mark the impoſſibility of the dream his mother being dead. His brethren envied him for all theſe things; but his father, believing his dreams to be prophetic,

(1) Cicero de Divinat. Lib. 1. Cap. 23.

(2) See

phetic, treaſured them up in his memory, as the Virgin Mary did in a like caſe; (Luke II. 19.) " Mary kept all theſe ſayings, and pon-" dered them in her heart."

His brethren afterwards were feeding their flocks in Shechem, and his father ſent him to inquire after their welfare. Not finding them there, he was directed to Dothan, whither they had removed, for they removed from place to place, for the convenience of paſturage. When his brethren ſaw him at a diſtance advancing toward them, they conſpired together to kill him, ſo to fruſtrate and falſify his dreams of glory and dominion. But Reuben adviſed them by no means to kill him, but to caſt him into a pit in the wilderneſs, and to leave him there to his deſtiny: and this he propoſed with a good intent, meaning to come and take him out afterwards, and to reſtore him to his father. As ſoon as Joſeph was come up to them, they ſtripped him of his coat of many colors, the mark of his father's favor, and caſt him into a pit which was empty having no water in it.

So little were they concerned for what they had done, that they ſat down to eat and to drink: and it chanced at that time that a company of *Iſhmaelites* came that way from Gilead. In the Chaldee, Syriac, and Arabic verſions it is a company of *Arabians*. There were *Midianites* and *Iſhmaelites* both together, and ſometimes they are called the former, and ſometimes the latter; a caravan compoſed of various people of Arabia, with their camels bearing ſpices, and going down into Egypt. Judah hereupon ſaid to his brethren, that it would be no kind of advantage to them to leave their brother Joſeph to periſh in the pit; they had better ſell him to theſe merchants, and let him take his chance, than be guilty of the murder of their own brother. His brethren readily aſſented to this propoſal, and they drew Joſeph out of the pit, and ſold him for twenty pieces of ſilver to the Iſhmaelites, who carried him with them into Egypt.

Reuben was not preſent at this tranſaction, and thinking that Joſeph remained ſtill in the pit, he returned to help him out; but calling to him, and hearing and ſeeing nothing of him, he concluded that he was dead, and rent his cloaths in grief and deſpair. He went

directly to his brethren, lamenting Joſeph's hard fate and his own; for he had grievouſly offended his father in the affair of Bilhah, and now he feared that his father would require Joſeph at his hands, as he was his eldeſt ſon. Moſt probably they acquainted him with what they had done; and they took and killed a kid of the goats, and dipped Joſeph's coat in the blood, and brought it to their father, ſaying that they had found it, and deſiring to know whether it was Joſeph's coat or not. Jacob readily acknowleged his ſon Joſeph's coat, and concluded without doubt that an evil beaſt had torn him in pieces, and devoured him. He therefore rent his cloaths, and put ſackloth on his loins, like a true mourner for his ſon. "All his ſons and all "his daughters," (ver. 35.) probably his daughters in law, or he had more daughters than Dinah, did all they could to comfort him, but to no purpoſe; he refuſed all comfort, declaring "For I will go down "into the grave unto my ſon, mourning:" but Joſeph's grave, as he conceived, was the ſtomach of ſome wild beaſt; by *the grave* therefore he muſt have meant *Hades* or the inviſible ſtate of departed ſouls.

Thus Jacob was mourning for his ſon Joſeph, while the Midianites carried him into Egypt, and ſold him there to Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh's and captain of his guard. The word *Saris* rendered *an officer* uſually ſignifies *an eunuch*; but if Potiphar had been an eunuch, he could have had no occaſion for a wife. It is noted therefore in the margin of our bibles, that "the word doth ſignify not only *eu-* "*nuchs*, but alſo *chamberlains*, *courtiers*, and *officers*." As *eunuchs* were uſually the great officers in kings courts, the great officers were ſo called whether eunuchs or not; as *ſenators* and *aldermen* are properly old men, but even young men are ſo denominated when elected into thoſe offices.

Joſeph being ſold into Egypt, and ſome time intervening before we hear of him again any thing material or memorable, the hiſtorian employs this interval in relating (XXXVIII.) a ſtrange adventure of Judah who had the principal hand in the ſale of Joſeph: and though

theſe

these transactions must necessarily have taken up several years, yet Moses relates them all together, that when he returns to the history of Joseph, he may pursue it without farther interruption. "At that "time," says he (ver. 1.) "Judah went down from his brethren." *At that time* and *in those days* are phrases of a large extent in ancient authors, including often a considerable space of time, and connecting very distant events; so that we may suppose these things to have passed *before* or *after* as well as *at that time*, as we can best reconcile them to true chronology. Judah went "down," that is he went *southward* (for north is *up*, south is *down*) to a place called Adullam, where he lodged with an acquaintance whose name was Hirah.

He there saw and fell in love with the daughter of Shuah, and married her though a Canaanite, contrary to the directions and to the practice of his forefathers Abraham Isaac and Jacob. He had by her three sons successively Er, Onan, and Shelah. He made choice of a virgin named Tamar for Er his eldest son's wife, as soon as he was grown of an age to be married; but Er being remarkably wicked was cut off in the flower of his youth by some extraordinary stroke of providence. Judah therefore ordered Onan his second son to marry his brother's wife, to raise up seed to his brother, this being an ancient custom even before the giving of the law. Onan knowing that the seed would not be his, and that his eldest son would be reckoned as his brother's, rather than use his wife as his wife, chose to be guilty of self-pollution, which from him hath ever since been called *the crime of Onan*; and the thing was so displeasing to the Lord, that he also died an immature and sudden death. Judah then desired Tamar to return to her father's house, till his youngest son Shelah should be grown, though this was no more than a pretence, for he was really afraid of giving him to her after the death of his other sons. However she went accordingly, and lived in her father's house.

After many days Shuah's daughter Judah's wife died; and when the time of mourning was over, Judah went up to his sheepshearers at Timnath with his friend Hirah the Adullamite. Tamar was apprised of his intention, and she put off her widow's weeds, and co-

vered herſelf with a vail that ſhe might not be known, and ſat at the gate of Henaim in the way to Timnath; for ſhe ſaw that though Shelah was grown, yet ſhe was not given to him in marriage. Judah ſuppoſing her by her dreſs and manner to be a harlot, deſired to have ſome familiar intercourſe with her; and it was agreed between them, that for this purpoſe he ſhould ſend her a kid of the goats, and in the mean time ſhould leave his ſignet his bracelets and his ſtaff as pledges with her. From this intercourſe ſhe conceived, and returned home, laid aſide her vail, reſumed her widow's weeds, and lived as before. Judah like a man of honor ſent the kid by the hand of his friend the Adullamite; but the woman after the ſtricteſt ſearch could no where be found; the men of the place declared that they knew nothing of her, there was no ſuch woman in that place. Judah was therefore for huſhing up the matter, and choſe rather to loſe his pledges than expoſe himſelf by making farther inquiries.

About three months afterwards Judah was informed that Tamar was with child; and as maſter of the family having the power of life and death over his children, he ordered her to be brought forth and to be burnt, which was the puniſhment of adultery in ancient times even among heathen nations; for thus we read in the book of Judges (XV. 6.) that the Philiſtines burnt Samſon's wife with fire, thus we read in Jeremiah (XXIX. 22, 23.) that the king of Babylon roaſted two men in the fire for committing adultery. When ſhe was brought forth to ſuffer the puniſhment, ſhe ſent to Judah the ſignet the bracelets and the ſtaff, declaring that ſhe was with child by the man from whom ſhe had received thoſe pledges. Judah hereupon took ſhame to himſelf, as indeed he had good reaſon to be aſhamed; and acknowleged that though ſhe had been guilty of a great crime, yet ſhe had ſerved him rightly, he was juſtly puniſhed for detaining his ſon from her; and he knew her no more, neither after this had he any more children, for his poſterity are all reckoned from Shelah and his two ſons by Tamar. When the time was come that ſhe ſhould be delivered, it appeared that twins were in her womb: and one put forth his hand which the midwife bound with a ſcarlet thred; the hand

was

was ſoon withdrawn, and the other child to the great ſurpriſe of the midwife firſt broke forth. Each had his name in alluſion to the circumſtances of his birth; the one was called *Pharez* that is *a breach* from his breaking forth, the other *Zarah* that is *firſt riſing* or *appearance* from his firſt putting forth his hand.

But to return to the hiſtory of Joſeph (XXXIX.) who was brought down into Egypt as it was before related, and was ſold there to an Egyptian, to Potiphar an officer of Pharaoh and captain of his guard. In this low eſtate the bleſſing of God ſtill attended him; and he behaved ſo well in his ſervitude, with ſuch fidelity and diligence, with ſuch dexterity and addreſs, that he ſoon recommended himſelf to his maſter's favor, and was advanced by degrees. Firſt he was taken in to be a domeſtic ſervant; "he was in the houſe of his maſter the "Egyptian." Then he was placed about his perſon; "he ſerved "him," or miniſtered unto him. At length he was made ſteward or "overſeer over his houſe," and was truſted ſo entirely with the direction and management of every thing, that his maſter did not know ſo much as what he had to eat till it was ſet before him on the table. But the higher he was advanced, the more viſible was his ſucceſs, and the more did his maſter's affairs proſper in his hand. And beſides his other good qualifications he had alſo the advantage of a very pleaſing perſon.

Coming thus into the eye and obſervation of his maſter's wife, ſhe fell in love with him, and aſked him without any reſerve to gratify her amorous inclinations. He modeſtly refuſed, arguing with her that his maſter had treated him with the greateſt generoſity and kindneſs, had committed every thing to his care, had withheld nothing from him but his wife; and he could not be ſo baſe and diſloyal, he could not be guilty of ſuch monſtrous ingratitude and wickedneſs, as to ſin in this manner againſt his maſter and againſt God. However ſhe ſtill continued her ſollicitations from day to day, as opportunities ſerved; but he would not conſent ſo much as to lie in the ſame part of the houſe, nor even ſtay to converſe with her, wiſely judging that his beſt ſecurity was to avoid her. One day he came into the houſe upon

upon ſome buſineſs, when the other men ſervants happened to be out of the way: and ſhe then added violence to her importunities, caught hold of his mantle or looſe upper garment, and preſſed him to lie with her; but he broke from her, and fled away, leaving his garment in her hand.

As ſlighted love is apt to turn into rage and hatred, ſhe determined to ruin him before he could have any opportunity of accuſing her, and preſently cried out ſo that her ſhrieks reached the other men of the houſe; and upon their coming in, ſhe complained of her huſband (without naming him) for having brought in an Hebrew to mock and abuſe them, for ſhe remembered to call him *an Hebrew*, well knowing that every Hebrew (XLVI. 34.) " is an abomination unto the " Egyptians;" He had impudently attempted to force her virtue, but upon her crying out he had fled away, and in his haſte had left his garment behind him. She laid his garment aſide, to produce it to his maſter; and upon his returning home ſhe played the ſame part of hypocriſy and diſſimulation, told him how his ſlave had dared to affront her, and conjured him to vindicate her honor and his own. This is no very uncommon caſe for offenders to turn informers, and for the guilty to impeach the innocent. It has been an uſual artifice with wicked women, in order to ſcreen their own vices, to traduce to their huſbands and arraign thoſe whom they cannot corrupt, as Peleus, Bellerophon, Hippolytus and others: but the feigned encomiums beſtowed by the poets on their heroes fall infinitely ſhort of the real virtues, the unfeigned modeſty and chaſtity, the true worth and honor, the fidelity and gratitude, the patience and magnanimity of Joſeph.

His maſter's anger was greatly, and, as he thought, juſtly, kindled againſt him; and probably without hearing or ſeeing him, he cauſed him to be committed immediately to the king's priſon, having this power as one of Pharaoh's chief officers. Joſeph was at firſt laid in irons, and thrown into a dungeon; (XL. 15. Pſal. CV. 18.) but even there the Lord extended his mercy to him, his pleaſing behaviour mollified the keeper of the priſon, and in time he gained ſo much of his confidence as he had before of Potiphar's, that every thing was

intruſted to his care and management, and he was in effect the keeper of the priſoners rather than a priſoner himſelf.

After theſe things the chief butler and the chief baker of Pharaoh (XL.) by ſome miſdemeanors in their reſpective offices having greatly offended their ſovran the king of Egypt, were committed to the ſame priſon where Joſeph was. The king ordered them into the cuſtody of the captain of the guard, (whether the ſame with Potiphar or not is uncertain) and the captain of the guard delivered them over to Joſeph, but not to Joſeph immediately; for without doubt the captain of the guard gave them up into the hands of the keeper of the priſon, and the keeper of the priſon committed them to the care of Joſeph, ſo that Joſeph was intruſted with the charge of them as well as of all the other priſoners.

After they had continued ſome time in priſon, it happened that one and the ſame night they both dreamed, each his dream, which they knew portended ſome ſignal events, and made a deep impreſſion upon their minds. In the morning when Joſeph came in to look after his charge as uſual, he found their countenances much troubled and dejected, and inquired into the reaſon of it. They made anſwer, that they had each dreamed a dream, but being priſoners had no opportunity to conſult the ſoothſayers and wiſe men of Egypt about the interpretation. Joſeph intimated that the true interpretation of dreams did not depend upon human ſkill, but proceeded from God himſelf; and deſired them to tell him their dreams.

The chief butler began by relating his dream, that a vine was before him, and in the vine were three branches, it budded, bloſſomed, and cluſtered, and the cluſters brought forth ripe grapes; Pharaoh's cup was in his hand, and he took and preſſed the grapes into the cup, and gave the cup into Pharaoh's hand. Joſeph then told him the interpretation, that the three branches are three days, and yet within three days Pharaoh ſhould (2) "lift up his head," ſhould reckon with him, ſhould bring him to trial, and reſtore him to his office of chief butler or

(2) See Pilkington's Remarks on Scripture, p. 196.

(3) Hebr.

or cup-bearer. At the ſame time he deſired him in his proſperity to remember the poor interpreter of his dream, and to ſhow kindneſs unto him, to make mention of his name unto Pharaoh, and to deliver him out of this priſon; for indeed he was ſtolen away out of that part of the land of Canaan which the Hebrews inhabit, and here alſo he had been guilty of no crime that they ſhould caſt him into the dungeon, thus profeſſing only his own innocence, and no ways accuſing either his brothers or his maſter's wife.

The chief baker, perceiving that the interpretation was good and favorable, was encouraged alſo to relate his dream, that he was carrying three baſkets upon his head, and the uppermoſt baſket contained all ſorts of bake-meats for Pharaoh, and the birds did eat them out of the baſket which was upon his head. Joſeph freely informed him of the interpretation, that the three baſkets are three days, and yet within three days Pharaoh ſhould not only "lift up his head," but "lift up his head from off him;" ſhould not only bring him to trial but to condemnation, ſhould hang him on a tree, and the birds ſhould eat his fleſh from off his bones.

The third day after this was Pharaoh's birth-day, which uſed to be celebrated with great feſtivity, when the principal officers were called over by name, and appeared before him. The chief butler and the chief baker were cited among the reſt, and the one was acquitted, the other was condemned; the chief butler was reſtored to his office, the chief baker was hanged, according to Joſeph's interpretation. But yet the chief butler in his proſperity did not remember Joſeph, but forgot him as courtiers are apt to do; it being the deſign of providence to exerciſe Joſeph with ſtill more affliction, for after this he lay two years more in priſon.

At the end of two full years (XLI.) it happened that Pharaoh dreamed that he was ſtanding by the river; and behold, there came up out of the river ſeven kine fat and well-looking, and they fed in a meadow. After them came up ſeven other kine lean and ill-looking, ſuch as had never before been ſeen in Egypt, and they ſtood near the former upon the brink of the river. The iſſue was, that the ſeven

lean

lean kine did eat up the ſeven fat ones, and yet appeared not at all plumper or better, but looked as poor and ill-favored as they did before. This was Pharaoh's dream; and both the fat and the lean kine are properly ſaid to come up out of the river, the fertility or ſterility of Egypt depending much upon the courſe of the river Nile. For there being little or no rain in that country, the greater the overflowing of the river, the more plenteous the ſucceeding harveſt; and the lower and more confined the river, the ſcantier and more defective the harveſt in the ſame proportion. Pharaoh ſlept again, and dreamed a ſecond time; and behold, there grew upon one ſtalk ſeven ears of corn full and good. After them ſprung up ſeven other ears thin and blaſted with the eaſt wind, which wind is very drying and ſcorching in Egypt, blowing from the hot ſandy deſerts of Arabia. Here as in the former caſe, the ſeven thin ears of corn devoured the ſeven full ones; and Pharaoh awoke, and behold it was a dream, but a dream which made a deep impreſſion upon him. In the morning his ſpirit was exceedingly troubled, and he ſent and called for all the ſoothſayers and wiſe men of Egypt, and related to them his dreams, but none of them could give him the interpretation.

The chief butler then ſpake unto Pharaoh, acknowleged his former faults, for which his ſovran had been juſtly offended with him, and had committed him and the chief baker at the ſame time to priſon. During our confinement there, ſaid he, in one and the ſame night we both dreamed a dream; and there was in the houſe with us a young man, an Hebrew, ſervant to the keeper of the priſon: to him we recited our dreams, and he interpreted them for us; and the event proved in all reſpects exactly as he had declared; I was reſtored to mine office, and my fellow priſoner was executed agreeably to his interpretation. "Me he reſtored unto mine office, and him he hanged," (ver. 13.) What is here in the third perſon Houbigant would read in the ſecond, *Me* you *reſtored unto mine office*, &c. it being more likely in an addreſs to the king, that he ſhould attribute the final determination of their condition to his royal order than to a poor Hebrew pri-

ſoner; and in the original the letters are ſo ſimilar, that they might eaſily be miſtaken.

Upon this repreſentation Pharaoh ſent immediately for Joſeph, who as ſoon as he could be ſhaved and dreſſed, was brought in all haſte unto the king. The king was very gracious and ſaid, that having dreamed a dream, and no one being able to interpret it, he ſent for him whom he heard to be ſkilful in the interpretation of dreams. Joſeph replied with great modeſty, that it was not in his power, but he did not doubt that God would give Pharaoh a ſatisfactory anſwer. Hereupon the king recounted to him his two dreams with all their circumſtances: and Joſeph anſwered, that the meaning and intent of both was one and the ſame; the ſeven fat kine and the ſeven full ears of corn denoted ſeven years of plenty, the ſeven lean kine and the ſeven withered ears of corn denoted ſeven years of famin: and by theſe ſigns and ſymbols God ſignified unto Pharaoh what he intended to bring upon the earth. For there ſhould firſt come ſeven years of great plenty. After them ſhould ſucceed ſeven years of as great famin, which ſhould ſo grievouſly conſume the land, that all the former plenty ſhould be forgotten, and no more traces of it remain than if it had never exiſted. And the dream was doubled for the greater certainty, to ſhow that the thing was fully determined by God, and ſhould ſhortly come to paſs.

He therefore adviſed that Pharaoh ſhould look out for a prudent and able man, whom he might appoint as his high ſteward or bayliff over the land of Egypt; and that this man with proper officers under him ſhould be authorized to gather in the fifth part of all the produce of the land during the ſeven years of plenty, and lay it up in ſtore-houſes for the king in the different cities, that it might ſerve for food, and ſave the people from periſhing during the ſeven years of famin. This advice appeared ſo reaſonable to Pharaoh and all his ſervants, that Pharaoh ſaid to his ſervants, Where can we find a man ſo prudent and able, and ſo plainly indued with the ſpirit of God as this man is? And then turning to Joſeph he ſaid, that ſince God had revealed theſe things unto him, he was the moſt proper perſon to put in practice his

own

own advice, to carry his own counſel into execution. He would therefore conſtitute him his high ſteward over his houſehold; his ſervants ſhould all be obedient to the words of his mouth; he would only reſerve the ſupreme power and authority to himſelf.

Thus was Joſeph by a ſtrange turn of fortune or rather of providence advanced from priſon to be the king's deputy over all the land of Egypt: and Pharaoh took his ſignet ring from off his own finger and put it upon Joſeph's, inveſted him with robes of the fineſt ſilk or linen and with a chain of gold about his neck, cauſed him to ride in his ſecond chariot, and they proclaimed before him *Abrech*, that is *Bow the knee* as it is in our tranſlation, or *Tender father* as it is in the margin of our bibles, or *This is the father of the king* as it is in the Chaldee paraphraſe; but moſt probably the word is not of Hebrew extraction, but was ſome title of reſpect in the Egyptian language. Moreover Pharaoh ſaid unto Joſeph, (ver. 44.) "I am Pharaoh," I am ſovran, but the direction of all the reſt ſhall be in thee, I delegate my power to thee, "and without thee ſhall no man lift up hand or "foot in the land of Egypt." Pharaoh too called Joſeph's name *Zaphnath paaneah*, another Egyptian word in all probability, ſignifying *a diſcoverer* or *revealer of ſecrets* as it is generally underſtood, rather than *the Saviour of the world* as it is tranſlated in the Vulgar Latin: and he gave him alſo in marriage Aſenath the daughter of Potiphera prieſt of On. *Potiphera* is a different name from *Potiphar*, as his quality alſo was different; the one was captain of the guard, and Joſeph, we may preſume, would not have choſen to marry the daughter of ſo lewd a woman as Potiphar's wife; the other was prieſt or prince of On or Heliopolis, and ſuch an alliance would be very honorable and uſeful to Joſeph, and a great ſtrengthening of his intereſt, the prieſts in Egypt being the firſt order of men, and having always great weight and influence over the minds of the people.

Joſeph was thirty years old, when he ſtood before Pharaoh, and was raiſed to this honor and dignity; and he went out with next to royal power and authority to make his progreſs, and take a ſurvey of the country. During the ſeven years of plenty the land brought forth

fruit in ſuch abundance, that Joſeph at length gathered it in without account or number; and the corn which grew in the neighbourhood of every city, he laid up in ſtorehouſes within the ſame. During the ſeven years of plenty alſo his wife Aſenath bare unto him two ſons; the elder of whom he named *Manaſſeh*, that is *forgetting*, for "God," ſaid he, (ver. 51.) "hath made me forget all my toil and "all my father's houſe," the younger he named *Ephraim* that is *fruitful*, for (ver. 52.) "God hath made me fruitful in the land of "my affliction." When the ſeven years of plenty were ended, the ſeven years of famin began, as Joſeph had declared; and the famin prevailed in all the neighbouring countries, but in the land of Egypt there was bread, the remains of the former plenty. After a while this reſource failing, the people in want cried out unto Pharaoh for bread; and he referred them to Joſeph to do whatſoever he ſhould require of them; and Joſeph opened the ſtorehouſes in the cities, and ſold corn unto the Egyptians. The people of other countries alſo came into Egypt to Joſeph for to purchaſe corn, the famin being ſo grievous and general that there was none to be purchaſed any where elſe.

Canaan was afflicted with the famin as much as other countries; (XLII.) and when Jacob heard that there was corn in Egypt, he ſent his ten ſons down thither to buy ſome, but he did not ſend his ſon Benjamin Joſeph's brother with them for fear of the chances and perils of the journey. Accordingly they came down into Egypt, and made application, as all others did, to Joſeph the governor of the country, bowing down themſelves before him with their faces to the earth. Joſeph immediately knew his brethren, and remembered his dreams concerning them; but him they knew not, and the better to diſguiſe and conceal himſelf from them, he ſpake roughly unto them, aſked them from whence they came, ſaid that they were ſpies, to diſcover the nakedneſs of the land they were come. They aſſured him that they came only to buy food, they were no ſpies but true men, were all the ſons of one man in the land of Canaan, they were twelve brethren, one was dead, and the youngeſt remained at home with their father.

Joſeph

Joſeph ſaid that by this very thing it would appear, whether they were ſpies or not: by the life of Pharaoh they ſhould not depart hence, except their youngeſt brother ſhould come hither: one of them therefore ſhould be ſent to fetch him, all the reſt in the mean while ſhould remain in priſon, to prove whether there was any truth in them; otherwiſe they would plainly be convicted of being ſpies: and he committed them all together to priſon, where they remained three days. His heart the third day ſeemed to be more mollified, and declaring his fear of God he propoſed to them more equitable conditions, that only one of them ſhould remain bound in priſon, as a pledge of their veracity, the reſt ſhould all go carry corn for their wives and families, but they ſhould return to bring their youngeſt brother unto him, ſo their words would be verified, and their lives ſhould be preſerved. And to this they agreed.

They were now touched to the quick, and could not forbear acknowleging one to another their guilty behaviour towards their brother, in ſeeing the anguiſh of his ſoul and not pitying him, in hearing his cries and prayers and not regarding them; therefore this diſtreſs was juſtly brought upon them. Reuben alſo reproached them for their cruelty in not liſtening to his advice and ſparing their brother; therefore his blood was required of them. Little did they think all this while that Joſeph underſtood them, for he ſpake unto them by an interpreter; and he could not contain himſelf, but turned aſide and wept.

He ſoon returned to commune with them, took Simeon from them, and ordered him to be bound before their eyes. The Rabbis ſay that Simeon was choſen for this purpoſe, becauſe he firſt adviſed the making away with Joſeph. This may be very true, but it doth not appear from the hiſtory. Reuben was not taken for a very obvious reaſon, Simeon moſt probably was taken becauſe he was next in age to Reuben; and if he was not the firſt adviſer of violent meaſures, yet if he had concurred with Reuben, the weight and authority of the two eldeſt might poſſibly have prevented all this miſchief.

Joſeph had privately given orders to his ſervants to fill the mens ſacks with corn, and to reſtore every mans money into his ſack, and to give them proviſion for their journey: and ſo they laded their aſſes with the ſacks of corn, and departed. When they came to the inn or reſting place, as one of them opened his ſack to give his aſs ſome provender, he diſcovered his money lying in his ſack's mouth. He preſently acquainted his brethren with it, and it is not eaſy to ſay whether their ſurpriſe at this incident, or their fear was greater.

They returned as ſoon as they could to their father, and related to him every circumſtance of their journey, how the Governor of the country ſpake roughly unto them, and took them for ſpies; how they aſſured him that they were true men and no ſpies, were twelve brethren, and one was dead, the youngeſt was with their father in the land of Canaan; how the Governor ſaid, that hereby he ſhould prove them, he would permit all the reſt to carry food for the famin of their houſeholds, but inſiſted upon detaining one of them with him, till they ſhould bring their youngeſt brother unto him; then it would appear that they were true men and no ſpies, then their brother who was left behind ſhould be reſtored to them, and they ſhould have free leave to traffic in the land.

As they emptied their ſacks, they were ſurpriſed to ſee every man his money in his ſack, and both they and their father were much diſturbed, and terrified at the ſight. But Jacob had a deeper concern, and lamented their bereaving him of his children; Joſeph was dead, Simeon was in a manner dead, and now they would take Benjamin away; all theſe things muſt neceſſarily be a great affliction to him. Reuben entreated him to intruſt his ſon Benjamin to his care, and he would be anſwerable for him; if he did not bring him ſafe again, he would conſent that his own two ſons ſhould be ſlain: an argument more of paſſion than of reaſon, for of what advantage would it have been to Jacob, if he loſt his ſon, to be deprived alſo of two of his grandſons? Jacob was ſtill poſitive that his ſon Benjamin ſhould not go down with them; his brother Joſeph was dead, and he was left alone; if miſchief ſhould befall him in the journey, they would haſten

their

their father's end, and bring down his gray hairs with ſorrow to the grave.

The famin ſtill prevailed in the land; (XLIII.) and the longer it continued, of courſe the more grievous it grew. The proviſions which they had brought out of Egypt were now near conſumed, and Jacob was for ſending them again to buy ſome more corn. Reuben's application having not been ſucceſsful, Judah interpoſed, and ſaid to his father, that it was to no purpoſe for them to go without their youngeſt brother: if he would conſent to ſend Benjamin with them, they would go and buy more food; if he would not agree to ſend him, they would not go; for the Governor had ſolemnly proteſted, that they ſhould never ſee his face again unleſs their youngeſt brother ſhould come with them. Jacob aſked what occaſion they had to deal ſo hardly by him as to tell the Governor that they had another brother. They replied that the Governor examined ſtraitly into the ſtate of their family and kindred, (ver. 7.) "Is your father yet alive? have ye ano-" ther brother?" and they only returned the true anſwers to his queſtions, they could not foreſee or deviſe that he would inſiſt upon their bringing down their brother with them.

Judah ſtill preſſed his father to ſend Benjamin with him, as the only means to ſave himſelf and them and their little ones from periſhing by famin. It is obſervable that Benjamin, though he muſt then have been between 20 and 30 years old, is yet here called by Judah *a lad*, (ver. 8.) "Send the lad with me;" and ſo he might be called in compariſon with Judah, *lad* is a term of endearment, and it was uſual among the Hebrews, as (3) St. Jerome informs us, ſo to call the youngeſt of the family without regarding his age; and in like manner Solomon at the age of 18 is called (1 Kings III. 7.) "a little child." Moreover Judah engaged to his father, that he would be ſurety for him; of his hands he ſhould require him; and if he did not bring him again, and place him before him, he would be content to bear the blame for ever: if they had not been unſeaſonably delayed, they might have gone into Egypt, and have returned before this time.

The

(3) Hebr. Quæſt. Op. Tom. 2. Edit. Benedict.

(4) Herod.

The neceſſity of the caſe made Jacob to comply; and if it muſt be ſo, he deſired them to take of the beſt fruits in the land, the fruits which were moſt praiſed and celebrated in the land of Canaan, as a preſent to the Governor of Egypt, and alſo to take with them double money, the money which ſhould have been paid before and by ſome miſtake perhaps was brought back again, and other money to buy corn. At length too he brought out his conſent to Benjamin's going with them, and earneſtly prayed to God almighty to give them mercy before the Governor, that he might releaſe their other brother, and ſend Benjamin back again. "If I be bereaved of my children, I am be-"reaved." (ver. 14.) The loſs of my children will be a loſs indeed.

When they came down into Egypt, they preſented themſelves before Joſeph. It was probably in ſome public place, where he was giving audience to the different perſons who reſorted to him; for when he ſaw them and Benjamin with them, he gave orders to the ruler or ſteward of his houſe to conduct them home, to ſlay and make ready, for theſe men ſhould dine with him "at noon" it is ſaid (ver. 16.) that being then the uſual time of dinner. When they found that they were conducted to Joſeph's houſe, they were greatly afraid, and concluded it was on account of the money that was returned in their ſacks; an occaſion would now be taken to fall upon them, their aſſes ſhould be ſeiſed, and they themſelves be made ſlaves. At their entrance therefore into the houſe they addreſſed themſelves to the ſteward, and ſaid that they came down at the firſt time with an honeſt intent only to buy food, but in their return when they came to the inn and opened their ſacks, they were ſurpriſed to find every man his money in his ſack's mouth; this money therefore they had brought again, and likewiſe other money to buy corn; they were ſorry for the miſtake of which they were entirely innocent, they knew not who put their money in their ſacks.

It was related in the former chapter (ver. 27.) that "one of them "opened his ſack at the inn," and ſo diſcovered his money, and moſt probably *only one of them*, for (ver. 35.) the others were equally ſurpriſed at the diſcovery of their money when they emptied their ſacks

at

at home, and both they and their father were afraid. Here the fact is repreſented as if they had "all opened their ſacks at the inn," and found every man his money in his ſack. But here both parts of the former relation are for brevity joined together: and in all languages many things are ſpoken of plurally as done by more than one, which are to be underſtood ſingularly as done by one only: as it is ſaid (Matt. XXVII. 44. Mark XV. 32.) that the two thieves crucified with Jeſus reviled him, when in reality (Luke XXIII. 39.) only "one of them "railed on him." When the woman anointed Jeſus with precious ointment, it is ſaid by St. Matthew (XXVI. 8, 9.) and St. Mark (XIV. 4, 5.) that "the diſciples had indignation ſaying To what purpoſe is "this waſte? for this ointment might have been ſold for much, and "given to the poor: and they murmured againſt her:" whereas from St. John we learn (XII. 4, 5, 6.) that only "one of his diſciples, Ju-"das Iſcariot, Simon's ſon ſaid this; and this he ſaid, not that he "cared for the poor, but becauſe he was a thief."

But to return to our narration. The ſteward aſſured them, that they had no reaſon for being under any apprehenſions about their money, their God and the God of their father had given them treaſure in their ſacks, their money he had himſelf received; and he brought out their brother Simeon unto them, and gave water to them to waſh their feet, and provender to their aſſes. Theſe were all ſo many tokens and earneſts of a gracious reception; and they made ready their preſent againſt the time that Joſeph ſhould return home, for they underſtood that they were to dine with him.

At noon when Joſeph came home, they brought in their preſent, and offered it to him bowing down themſelves to the earth. He firſt inquired like a dutiful and good ſon, whether their father was well, the old man of whom they ſpake, whether he was yet living? They anſwered, that his ſervant their father was living and in good health. In the Samaritan copy and the Greek verſion it is added, "And Joſeph ſaid, Bleſſed be that man of the Lord;" and they bowed their heads, and made obeiſance. Then looking upon Benjamin, he aſked whether this was their youngeſt brother? and ſpake kindly unto

him, calling him his ſon, and wiſhing him God's grace and benediction. At the ſight of his own brother, his own mother's ſon, his bowels yearned within him; the tears were ready to burſt forth, and he went out haſtily into his chamber, and wept there. After giving ſome vent to his tears he waſhed his face, and commanding himſelf as well as he could he came back again, and ordered dinner to be ſet on the table.

Dinner was ſerved up on three tables, on one for him by himſelf, on another for them by themſelves, and on the third for the Egyptians by themſelves; for the Egyptians have ſo many peculiar rites and cuſtoms, that it is an abomination to them to eat with ſtrangers, with the Greeks, as (4) Herodotus teſtifies, as much as with the Hebrews. Another thing too was very remarkable, that the attendents placed the eleven brothers in due form and order, the eldeſt according to his ſeniority, and the youngeſt according to his youth; and they marveled one at another, how their ages ſhould come to be ſo well known. Joſeph, as maſter of the feaſt, ſent meſſes from his table to each of them, but Benjamin's meſs was five times as large as any of theirs: and as the text ſaith (ver. 34.) "they drank and were merry with him," but not more merry than wiſe. For it cannot be believed that they ſhould ſo far overcome their fears and anxiety as to indulge to any exceſs before the governor: and the ancient Egyptians are (5) celebrated as a people remarkable for their temperance and ſobriety.

After dinner (XLIV.) Joſeph commanded his ſteward, to fill the mens ſacks with corn as much as they could carry, to put every man's money in his ſack's mouth, and alſo to put his cup, his ſilver cup, in the ſack's mouth of the youngeſt: and the ſteward punctually executed his lord's commands. As ſoon as it was light the next morning, the men ſet out on their return: and they were not gone very far from the city, before Joſeph ordered his ſteward to go up after them and overtake, and to ſay unto them, Wherefore have ye requited ſo much good with evil? "Is not this it in which my lord drinketh?" (ver. 5.) The beginning of this verſe is too abrupt, and ſhould be ſupplied from the Greek verſion, "Wherefore have ye ſtolen the ſilver "cup?

(4) Herod. Lib. 2. Cap. 41. p. 105. Edit. Gale.

(5) Diod.

" cup? Is not this it, in which my lord drinketh, and whereby in-
" deed he divineth?" Perhaps the Egyptians might exerciſe ſome art of divination by their liquors, as ſome perſons pretend now a days to tell fortunes by the grounds of coffee and the like; and this might be ſaid in alluſion to that practice: Or perhaps the text may be better underſtood agreeably to the Arabic verſion, and to the rendring of the word in the margin of our bibles, " Is not this it, in which my lord
" drinketh, and whereby indeed he maketh trial of you?". So (6) Aben Ezra underſtands it, By this cup my lord hath tried you whether ye were honeſt men or not: and ſo Father Houbigant explains it, Joſeph's ſteward ſignifies that his maſter had made not a dubious conjecture about his cup where it was: and the words of Joſeph (ver. 15.) carry the ſame meaning, " Wot ye not that ſuch a man as I can cer-
" tainly divine?" Were you ignorant that ſuch a man as I am can rightly conjecture, I who can interpret dreams? Ye have done evil in committing this theft?

The ſteward ſoon overtook them, and ſpake unto them the very ſame words as his lord had commanded. They aſked, What reaſon he had to bring ſuch an accuſation againſt them; God forbid that they ſhould ever be guilty of ſo baſe a crime: the money that was found in their ſacks they had brought again out of the land of Canaan; and was it likely therefore that they ſhould commit ſo vile a robbery? No, they freely offered that the perſon, with whom the cup ſhould be found, ſhould die, and the reſt would all become his lord's bondſmen. He readily accepted their offer, but ſoftened the conditions, that he with whom the cup ſhould be found ſhould alone become his lord's ſervant, all the reſt ſhould be conſidered as blameleſs, and be ſet at liberty. Accordingly they took down every man his ſack to the ground, and opened it; the ſteward made the ſearch from the eldeſt to the youngeſt, and the ſilver cup was found in Benjamin's ſack. Upon this they rent their cloaths for grief and indignation, and lading every man his aſs again, they returned into the city.

When

(5) Diod. Sic. Lib. 1. p. 64. Edit. Rhodomani.

(6) See Houbigant in locum.

(7) Diod.

When they came to Joſeph's houſe, he was not yet gone abroad, and they fell proſtrate before him on the ground. He ſpake to them with ſome ſternneſs, What deed is this that ye have done? Did you not know or think, that ſuch a man as I am, an interpreter of dreams, can alſo give an almoſt certain gueſs who ran away with the cup? As Judah had engaged for Benjamin's ſafety, he thought himſelf firſt obliged to ſpeak, and ſaid What ſhall we ſay unto my lord? what defenſe and apology can we make? or how can we clear and juſtify ourſelves? our iniquity is too plainly detected, and we deſerve no better than to be made my lord's ſervants, we as well as he with whom the cup is found. Joſeph replied, That was too much, the man in whoſe hand the cup is found, he ſhall be my ſervant; as for the reſt of you, you may go up in peace unto your father.

Then Judah approached a little nearer, and deſired his permiſſion to ſpeak, Oh my lord, let thy ſervant I pray thee ſpeak a few words in my lord's ears, and let not thine anger burn againſt thy ſervant, for thou art inveſted with all the power of Pharaoh. My lord aſked his ſervants after the ſtate of our family, whether we had not a father and a brother: And we anſwered my lord, that we had a father, an old man, and he had a ſon of his old age, whoſe brother was dead, and he was left alone of his mother, and his father exceedingly loved him. My lord then commanded his ſervants, Bring him down unto me, that I may ſet mine eyes upon him. But we ſaid, that the lad could not leave his father, for if he ſhould leave his father, his father would ſurely die. However my lord inſiſted upon it, Except your youngeſt brother come down with you, you ſhall ſee my face no more. When we returned to our father, we related to him every thing that had paſſed: and after ſome time our father deſired us to go down again, and to buy ſome more food: But we made anſwer to our father, that we could not go down again without our youngeſt brother; it would be to no purpoſe, for the Governor had declared that he would not admit us into his preſence, except our youngeſt brother ſhould come with us. Our father thy ſervant thereupon ſaid unto us, that we knew very well that his wife bare unto him two ſons; the

one

one went out into the field, and he concluded he was torn in pieces by ſome wild beaſt, having ſeen nothing of him ſince that time; and if we ſhould take this other alſo from him, his laſt comfort, we ſhould bring down his gray hairs with ſorrow to the grave. Now therefore when I return to thy ſervant my father, and the lad be not with us, ſeeing that his life is wrapt up in the lad's life, it ſhall come to paſs, when he ſeeth that the lad is not with us, that he ſhall die, and thy ſervants ſhall in ſome meaſure be guilty of parricide in haſtening the death of our father before his time. For thy ſervant became ſurety for the lad unto my father, and promiſed and engaged that if I did not bring him ſafe again, I would be content to bear my father's diſpleaſure for ever. Now therefore I beſeech thee, let thy ſervant remain inſtead of the lad, a bond-man unto my lord; and let the lad return into the land of Canaan with his brethren. For how ſhall I be able to go up to my father, if the lad be not with us? or how can I bear to be a witneſs to the evil that ſhall come upon my father?

Joſeph could now (XLV.) no longer contain himſelf. He cauſed all his attendents to go out of the room, while he made himſelf known to his brethren. His tears then guſhed out without reſerve, and he cried ſo loud that the Egyptians and Pharaoh's ſervants heard. As ſoon as he could recover his ſpeech, he ſaid to his brethren, I am Joſeph: Is my father yet living? but they could not anſwer him a word, for they were troubled and terrified at his preſence, and ſtood at awful diſtance. Joſeph therefore encouraged them to come nearer, and ſaid to them I am your brother Joſeph, whom you ſold into Egypt: but be not grieved nor angry with yourſelves for it, for it was ordered ſo by divine providence, God ſent me hither before you to be a preſerver of life. For the famin hath prevailed in the land theſe two years, and there will be five years more wherein there will be neither ſeed-time nor harveſt: And God, as I ſay, providentially ſent me before you, to preſerve you and your families, and to ſave your lives by a great deliverance. It is not therefore your doing but God's; and his bleſſing hath enabled me to become as it were a father to Pharaoh, and lord of all his houſe, and ruler over all the land of Egypt. Haſte

you

you then and go up to my father, acquaint him with my advancement, and deſire him to come down unto me without delay: And tell him that he ſhall dwell in the land of Goſhen, and ſhall be near me, he and his children and his childrens children, his flocks and his herds and all that he hath; and there I will feed and nouriſh him, for there will be yet five years of famin, and preſerve you and your families from coming to poverty and want. You and your brother Benjamin both ſee and hear, that I ſpeak unto you myſelf in your own language, and no longer by an interpreter: And ye ſhall tell my father of all my glory in Egypt, and of all that your eyes have ſeen; and as ſoon as ye poſſibly can, ye ſhall bring my father down hither. He then fell upon his brother Benjamin's neck, and wept; and Benjamin wept upon his neck. Moreover he kiſſed and embraced all his brethren, and wept over them; and after that they communed freely together.

The report was ſoon propagated in Pharaoh's court, that Joſeph's brethren were come; and Pharaoh and his ſervants were well pleaſed to hear it. Pharaoh was in truth very kind and liberal upon the occaſion. He gave orders to Joſeph that his brethren ſhould go up again into the land of Canaan, and ſhould bring down their father and their families with them into Egypt; and he would receive and ſuſtain them in the beſt manner that the country could afford. He commanded Joſeph alſo to furniſh them with waggons for the better conveyance of their father, their wives, and their little ones, and to bid them not regard their houſhold ſtuff, for the beſt in all the land of Egypt ſhould be theirs. Joſeph accordingly ſupplied them with waggons and with proviſions for the way; and to each of them he gave changes of raiment, but to Benjamin five changes of raiment beſides three hundred pieces of ſilver; and to his father he ſent ten aſſes laden with the good things of Egypt, and ten ſhe-aſſes laden with corn and proviſions for his journey. So he diſmiſſed them, and ſtrictly charged them not to quarrel by the way.

As ſoon as they came home to Jacob their father, they told him the joyful news of Joſeph's being alive, and being governor over all the land

land of Egypt. Jacob was overcome with ſurpriſe, he was ready to faint away, and yet could ſcarcely believe them. But they related to him every thing that Joſeph had ſaid, and when he ſaw the waggons which Joſeph had ſent for him, theſe were ſuch a confirmation, that his ſpirit revived, and he was ſatisfied. He ſaid in tranſport of joy (ver. 28.) "It is enough; Joſeph my ſon is yet alive; I will go and "ſee him before I die."

Soon afterwards (XLVI.) Jacob ſet out upon his journey, he and all his family with him. In his way to Egypt he came to Beerſheba, which lay ſouth of Hebron where he had dwelt, (XXXV. 27.) and here he offered ſacrifices, this place having been the place of abode and the place of worſhip too of his fathers Abraham and Iſaac. After his ſacrifices, in the viſions of the night, God called unto him, and ſaid (ver. 3, 4.) "I am God, the God of thy father; fear not to go "down into Egypt; for I will there make of thee a great nation; I "will go down with thee into Egypt, and I will alſo ſurely bring thee "up again; and Joſeph ſhall put his hand upon thine eyes." All which particulars were exactly fulfilled, for his family grew up into a great nation in Egypt, he was brought up again from thence in his own body and in his poſterity, and Joſeph was preſent and performed the laſt offices to his father at his death.

Comforted and encouraged by theſe hopes, he roſe up from Beerſheba, and his ſons conveyed him and their wives and their little ones in the carriages which Pharaoh had ſent for them. They brought alſo their cattle, and their goods with them, being unwilling to treſpaſs too much upon Pharaoh's generoſity; and ſo they came into Egypt, Jacob, and all his ſons, and all his family. Reuben the firſt born with his four ſons, Simeon with his ſix ſons, Levi with his three ſons, Judah with his three ſons and two grandſons, Iſſachar with his four ſons, Zebulun with his three ſons; theſe were the ſons of Leah, and Dinah their ſiſter, in all 32 ſouls, or 33 including Jacob himſelf. Gad with his ſeven ſons, Aſher with his four ſons and one daughter and two grandſons; theſe were the ſons of Zilpah Leah's handmaid, in all 16 ſouls. Joſeph with his two ſons, Benjamin with his ten

sons, who though the youngest of all had yet the largest family, so that he must have married very early, and his children at this time must have been very young; these were the sons of Rachel, in all 14 souls. Dan with his son, Naphtali with his four sons; these were the sons of Bilhah Rachel's handmaid, in all seven souls. All the souls therefore descended from Jacob, who came into Egypt (besides his sons wives) were threescore and six; and if to these you add Jacob himself, and Joseph and Joseph's two sons born in Egypt, the whole number amounts to threescore and ten.

Here it should be noted, that St. Luke reckons the number (Acts VII. 14.) "threescore and fifteen souls:" but either St. Luke herein follows the authority of the Greek version, or the copyist of St. Luke hath altered his text to make it accord with the Greek version. In the Hebrew the number is plainly 70; enumerate the persons, and you will find that to be the right number; the same number is also specified by Moses elsewhere, in the beginning of the book of Exodus (I. 5.) "seventy souls," in the book of Deuteronomy (X. 22.) "threescore and ten persons." But in the Greek version, after the mention of Joseph and his two sons (ver. 20 of this chapter) there is a large interpolation of the five sons and grandsons of Manasseh and Ephraim, who were evidently not put in by Moses, for it was impossible for Manasseh and Ephraim at this time to have any children; they are mentioned afterwards in the book of Numbers and in the first book of Chronicles, and from thence were probably transcribed by way of note in the margin, and from the margin were inserted into the text; but at this time there were no such persons in being.

Jacob sent Judah before him to inform Joseph of his coming, and he and his family came into the land of Goshen, a well-watered country in the Lower Egypt, bordering upon Arabia and Palestine. Joseph instantly ordered his chariot to be got ready, and came in all haste to Goshen to meet his father, did reverence unto him, and fell upon his neck, and wept a good while in his bosom. Jacob said unto Joseph, (ver. 30.) "Now let me die, since I have seen thy face, because "thou art yet alive," somewhat in the same strain and spirit that good

Simeon

Simeon cried out with the infant Jeſus in his arms, (Luke II. 29, 30.) " Lord, now letteſt thou thy ſervant depart in peace according " to thy word, for mine eyes have ſeen thy ſalvation." Joſeph ſaid then to his father and to his brethren, that he would go up to Pharaoh to acquaint him, that his father and his family were arrived in obedience to his commands, that the men were ſhepherds by trade and occupation, and that they had brought their flocks and their herds and all that they had with them: And if it ſhould happen that Pharaoh ſhould aſk them what was their buſineſs, they ſhould anſwer to the ſame purpoſe, that they were ſhepherds as their fathers had been before them; as this would be the moſt likely means for their obtaining permiſſion to live by themſelves in the land of Goſhen; " for " (ver. 34.) every ſhepherd is an abomination unto the Egyptians."

It is not eaſy to diſcover the foundation and force of this reaſoning. Some ſay, that the Egyptians having been ſubdued and held in ſubjection ſeveral years by a people who were called *ſhepherds*, a ſhepherd was ever afterwards an abomination unto the Egyptians: and ſince the firſt writing of this I find that the learned Mr. Bryant in his Obſervations upon ancient hiſtory hath ſhown that there were a race of Arabian ſhepherds, who made a conqueſt of Egypt prior to the time of the Iſraelites. Others aſſert, that ſhepherds were an abomination unto the Egyptians, becauſe they ſacrificed and fed upon ſuch creatures as the Egyptians worſhipped: but it is not certain, that the worſhip of brute creatures was at this time eſtabliſhed in Egypt, though we have ſome reaſon to believe that it prevailed within a century or two after this time. But the Egyptians themſelves had ſhepherds as well as other people; Pharaoh had his cattle; and the Egyptians ſold their flocks and herds to Pharaoh for bread, as we ſhall ſee preſently: and what reaſon then is there for ſaying that " every ſhepherd is an " abomination unto the Egyptians?" The expreſſion muſt either be limited to every foreign ſhepherd, as it was an abomination unto the Egyptians to eat with the Hebrews or any foreigners. Or ſhepherds muſt have been conſidered as a low ſervile race of men, (as Diodo-

rus (7) intimates) and as ſuch were neglected and deſpiſed by the other Egyptians. And either of theſe was a very good argument for ſuffering Jacob and his family to dwell by themſelves.

Joſeph returned to court, (XLVII.) and acquainted Pharaoh, that his father and his brethren with their flocks and their herds and all that they had were arrived in the land of Goſhen. He preſented alſo five of his brethren, the choiceſt and beſt-looking of them, unto Pharaoh, who aſked them what was their occupation; and they anſwered, as Joſeph had inſtructed them, that they were ſhepherds as their fathers had been before them; and they requeſted of him, ſince the famin was ſo grievous that there was no paſture in the land of Canaan, that they might be permitted to ſojourn in the land of Goſhen. Pharaoh thereupon gave full commiſſion to Joſeph to place his father and his brethren in the land of Goſhen, or in any part of Egypt that he pleaſed: and if he found any among them of peculiar ſkill and activity, them he might conſtitute keepers of the royal cattle.

Joſeph afterwards preſented his father unto Pharaoh, and Jacob as the elder bleſſed Pharaoh as the younger. Pharaoh inquired what was his age, and he replied that the days of his pilgrimage were 130 years, his days were few and evil in compariſon, he had not attained unto the age of his forefathers; for his grandfather Abraham was 175 years old, and his father Iſaac was 180 when he died. At parting Jacob again bleſſed Pharaoh as he did at their firſt meeting, wiſhing all health and happineſs to him and his kingdom.

Joſeph thus authorized by Pharaoh ſettled his father and his brethren in that part of the land of Goſhen, which was afterwards called the land of Rameſes, where the children of Iſrael were forced to build a city of the ſame name, ſo called from one of the kings of Egypt. It was one of the richeſt and moſt fruitful parts of Egypt; and there Joſeph ſuſtained his father and his brethren and their houſeholds from the greateſt to the leaſt, and preſerved them from periſhing by famin.

The

(7) Diod. Sic. Lib. 1. p. 67. Edit. Rhod.

(8) See

The famin indeed was ſo grievous, that there was no bread in all the land of Egypt and in all the land of Canaan: and the people having conſumed all their ſtores purchaſed corn of Joſeph with money, which money like a faithful miniſter he depoſited in the king's treaſury. When their money failed, the Egyptians were in great diſtreſs, and Joſeph offered to take their cattle in lieu of money; ſo that with their flocks and herds, their horſes and aſſes, they procured a ſupply of bread for another year. The year following, having no more money and no more cattle, they had nothing to ſell but their lands and themſelves to ſave themſelves from ſtarving; by which means all the lands in Egypt became Pharaoh's property, and all the people his ſervants. "And as for the people (ver. 21.) he removed them to cities "from one end of the borders of Egypt even to the other end thereof." It is not to be underſtood that Joſeph removed the people from the cities at the one extremity of Egypt to the cities at the other extremity, in order to induce them more quietly to ſurrender and forget their former habitations. He ſtill left the old lands to the old poſſeſſors, who beſt knew the nature of them, and only removed the people throughout Egypt out of the country into the cities, for their more convenient and eaſy ſupport and ſubſiſtence, having (XLI. 48.) "gathered up all the food in the land of Egypt, and laid up the food "in the cities; the food of the field which was round about every "city, laid he up in the ſame."

Pharaoh thus became proprietor of all the lands of the people, but the prieſts lands remained unalienated; for beſides their own lands, the prieſts as the miniſters of religion had a portion of proviſions aſſigned them by Pharaoh, which was ſufficient for their maintenance, ſo that they had no occaſion to ſell their lands.

Under theſe difficulties the people ſtruggled for a ſubſiſtence till the laſt year of the famin, when Joſeph gave them not only corn to eat, but ſeed alſo to ſow the land; and required of them that they ſhould hold the lands by this tenure, the fifth part of the increaſe they ſhould give unto Pharaoh, the other four parts they might reſerve for their own uſe and their families; to which condition they moſt gladly

agreed, with all due ſubmiſſion and thankfulneſs for the preſervation of their lives. All the lands in Egypt, except the prieſts, being now properly Pharaoh's, the whole produce or any part of it might juſtly have been exacted in Pharaoh's name; but Joſeph was far from impoſing any hard or extraordinary burdens, he was ſurely very moderate in eſtabliſhing it as a law, a law which prevailed long afterwards, that the fifth part only ſhould be the king's, which was no more than the government had demanded and the people had paid (XLI. 34.) when the lands were their own property.

All this while the children of Iſrael ſojourned in the land of Goſhen, were maintained there by Joſeph, and in time acquired poſſeſſions, and increaſed and multiplied to a very great degree. Iſrael himſelf lived 17 years after his coming into Egypt; he was 130 years old when he was firſt preſented unto Pharaoh; ſo that the whole period of his life was 147 years.

Not long before his death he called his ſon Joſeph, and entreated him, if he had any regard for him, to " put his hand under his thigh," that is to ſwear unto him, (the ſame ceremonial which Abraham had required of Eliezer his ſteward, and which we may ſuppoſe was the cuſtomary form and manner of taking an oath in thoſe days) that he would deal kindly and truly with him, and not bury him in Egypt, ſtill looking upon the land of Canaan as the land of his and his childrens inheritance. Here Father Houbigant moſt ingeniouſly inſerts the 7th verſe of the next chapter, which ſeemeth to come in there abruptly and nothing to the purpoſe, but is very proper and pertinent in this place. " And as for me, when I came from Padan, Rachel " died by me in the land of Canaan, in the way, when yet there was " but a little way to come unto Ephrath; and I buried her there in " the way of Ephrath, the ſame is Bethlehem." What relation hath this to the bleſſing of Joſeph's ſons Ephraim and Manaſſeh, and adopting them for his own ſons? but it was natural enough to mention his beloved wife Rachel's burying-place, when he was giving directions about his own, and deſiring to be buried elſewhere. As Rachel had died in a journey near unto Ephrath or Bethlehem, her huſband had

buried

buried her there; but he himſelf deſired to have his own body laid in the ſame ſepulchre with his fathers, Abraham and Iſaac. Joſeph promiſed him to do ſo, but Jacob for the greater certainty ſtill required his oath; with which when Joſeph had complied, Jacob was perfectly ſatisfied, and laid himſelf down again upon his bed.

Some little time afterwards (XLVIII.) word was brought to Joſeph that his father was very ill, and he took his two ſons with him, Manaſſeh and Ephraim, to viſit their grandfather and to receive his benediction. When Jacob was informed that Joſeph was coming, he exerted his ſtrength and raiſed himſelf up in his bed. He then recited to Joſeph how God had appeared unto him at Luz, and had bleſſed him with the promiſe of a moſt numerous poſterity, and the poſſeſſion of the land of Canaan to his ſeed after him. At the ſame time he declared his adoption of Joſeph's two ſons, Ephraim and Manaſſeh, for his own ſons, as much as Reuben and Simeon were; Joſeph's other ſons ſhould be counted Joſeph's, and be reckoned as of the tribes of Ephraim and Manaſſeh.

This declaration he made not knowing that Ephraim and Manaſſeh were preſent, for his eyes were dim through age ſo that he could not ſee clearly; but ſeeing ſome perſons imperfectly he aſked who they were. Joſeph anſwering that they were his two ſons, he deſired them to be brought nearer unto him and he kiſſed and embraced them. I little thought, ſaid he to Joſeph, of ſeeing thy face any more, and now God hath made me happy with the ſight of thy children alſo.

Joſeph had brought his two ſons with great reverence unto his father, Ephraim in his right hand towards Iſrael's left hand, and Manaſſeh in his left hand towards Iſrael's right hand: but Iſrael ſtretched out his right hand, and laid it upon Ephraim's head who was the younger, and his left hand upon Manaſſeh's head although he was the elder; and this he did knowingly by prophetic inſtinct and direction. He then ſolemnly invoked God, the God of his fathers Abraham and Iſaac, the God who had ſupported him all his life long unto this day, and by the miniſtry of an angel had delivered him from all evil, to bleſs the lads, that they might be named after his name and the

name

name of his fathers Abraham and Iſaac, and that each of them might increaſe into a multitude of people. When Joſeph obſerved that his father laid his right hand upon Ephraim's head, he was diſpleaſed, and ſuppoſing it was a miſtake he endevored to remove it unto Manaſſeh's head, ſaying (ver. 18.) "this is the firſt born, put thy right "hand upon his head." But his father refuſed, and ſaid that he alſo ſhould become a great people, but truly his younger brother ſhould be greater than he, and his poſterity ſhould grow up into a mighty nation. And he bleſſed them both, ſaying that it ſhould be a common form of bleſſing in Iſrael, "God make thee as Ephraim and as "Manaſſeh," thus ſetting Ephraim before Manaſſeh.

Many are the inſtances of younger brothers preferred to the elder, Abel to Cain, Shem to Japheth, Abraham to Haran, Iſaac to Iſhmael, Jacob to Eſau, and now Ephraim to Manaſſeh; and Moſes might be the more particular in relating theſe incidents, as the Moabites, Ammonites, Iſhmaelites, and Idumæans might claim ſome ſuperiority over the Iſraelites on account of their primogeniture.

Iſrael alſo ſaid unto Joſeph, that he ſhould die very ſoon, but God would be with his poſterity, and would bring them again into the land of their fathers; and that moreover he gave unto him (ver. 22.) "one portion above his brethren, which he took out of the hand of "the Amorite with his ſword and with his bow," meaning Sichem, which, as St. John ſaith, (IV. 5.) was "near to the parcel of ground "which Jacob gave to his ſon Joſeph." It was related before (XXXIII. 19.) that "Jacob bought a parcel of a field, where he had ſpread his "tent, at the hand of the children of Hamor Shechem's father for an "hundred pieces of money:" but if he "bought it with money," how can he be ſaid to "take it out of the hand of the Amorite with "his ſword and with his bow?" It doth not appear that money was ſtamped with *ſwords* or *bows* in thoſe days. It was partly purchaſed, and partly acquired by right of war, though Jacob was far from approving the deed: and it became afterwards (Joſh. XXIV. 32.) "the "inheritance of the children of Joſeph." Or we may ſuppoſe, that as Jacob purchaſed this field, the Amorites took it again by force,

and

and Jacob retook it, though this tranſaction be not related in hiſtory. Jacob intimates that Joſeph ſhould be buried in this place, and he actually was ſo, as we may ſee in the concluſion of the book of Joſhua.

After Jacob had thus bleſſed and adopted his two grandſons, he ſummoned all his ſons together (XLIX.) to hear his final benediction, wherein were involved the future fortunes of their families and tribes. But having treated a little of theſe ſubjects, and inlarged particularly on the part relating to Judah, in one of the Diſſertations on the Prophecies, I ſhall be the more conciſe in this place, and refer the reader for fuller ſatisfaction to Dr. Durell's and other learned commentaries on this chapter.

Reuben, though he was the firſt-born, yet ſhould forfeit his privileges of primogeniture, and have no ſuperior excellency, becauſe he defiled his father's bed: and we hear of nothing excellent or extraordinary done by that tribe.

Simeon and *Levi* in the affair of the Shechemites were brothers in cruelty as much as they were by blood; for (ver. 6.) "in their anger "they ſlew men, and in their ſelf-will they digged down a wall," or rather "in their fury they deſtroyed the princes;" their union was evil, and ſhould be puniſhed by diviſion: and accordingly they were "divided in Jacob, and ſcattered in Iſrael," having their inheritance among the other tribes, and none properly of their own.

Judah according to his name ſhould deſerve and obtain *praiſe*; his tribe ſhould be memorable for their warlike exploits; his tribe ſhould continue until the coming of Shiloh or the Meſſiah, who ſhould be born of his race; his habitation ſhould be among fruitful vineyards: and the vineyards of Engedi and of Sorek, ſo famous in ſcripture, were in this tribe, as was the brook of Eſhcol, from whence the ſpies brought thoſe extraordinary bunches of grapes.

Zebulun's portion ſhould extend to the ſea-coaſt, and to Sidon, and he ſhould carry on traffic and commerce in ſhips: and accordingly (Joſh. XIX. 11.) "their border went up toward the ſea."

Iſſachar ſhould be like a ſtrong aſs couching down between two burdens, ſhould be quiet and at eaſe in his pleaſant paſture, and rather

ſubmit to pay tribute than attempt wars and conqueſts. And the vale of Jezreel and other parts, wherein this tribe was ſituated, were fruitful to admiration. Theſe were the ſix ſons of Leah, but Zebulun the youngeſt of all is ſet before Iſſachar, who was born immediately before him, I know not for what reaſon, unleſs the order was inverted by the miſtake of ſome tranſcriber, or unleſs it was thought nobler and better to deal in merchandiſe than to be tributary to any power.

Dan according to his name ſhould be a *judge* in Iſrael, and as eminent as moſt of the other tribes; he is compared (ver. 17.) to "a ſer-"pent by the way, an adder in the path, that biteth the horſe-heels, "ſo that his rider ſhall fall backward;" he ſhould excel in ſtratagems of war, and the Danites, (Judg. XVIII.) ſurpriſed Laiſh, "a "people that were at quiet and ſecure, and they ſmote them with the "edge of the ſword, and burnt the city with fire," afterwards built another city called "Dan after the name of their father," and were the firſt of the tribes who publicly ſet up idolatrous worſhip. "I "have (ver. 18.) waited for thy ſalvation, O Lord." Some ſuppoſe that this hath no relation to the foregoing prophecy, and that Jacob now growing faint made this apoſtrophe wiſhing for a happy diſſolution. Others refer this prophecy to Samſon, who was of this tribe; but Jacob had moſt probably (8) ſublimer views, and expected not only ſalvation by Samſon, but a greater one by the Meſſiah; for upon the mention of the ſerpent, the firſt enemy and deceiver of mankind, it was natural to reflect upon the great deliverer who was to bruiſe the ſerpent's head.

Gad ſignifies *a troop*, and in alluſion to his name is it ſaid (ver. 19.) "a troop ſhall overcome him, but he ſhall overcome at the laſt:" and this tribe being ſeated beyond Jordan was expoſed to the incurſions of the neighbouring nations, but at length prevailed over them. (1 Chron. V. 18, &c.)

Aſher is promiſed a rich and fruitful country, and his very name implies *bleſſedneſs*. His portion was accordingly fruitful in corn and oil, as Moſes alſo (Deut. XXXIII. 24.) predicted.

Naphtali

(8) See Biſhop Sherlock in the Additions to his Uſe and Intent of Prophecy.

(9) Juſtini

Naphtali is ſaid to be "a hind let looſe," and to "give goodly "words:" and this is applied to "the goodly words," the beautiful ſong of Deborah and Barak, who was of Naphtali. But this is little and trifling in compariſon. "The goodly words," the glad tidings of the goſpel came firſt from Naphtali, our Saviour himſelf living and preaching in Galilee, and moſt of his apoſtles being of that country, from whence they ſpread like a hind let looſe over the face of the earth. Dr. Durell expounds and tranſlates the words otherwiſe, "Naphtali is a ſpreading oak, which produceth beautiful boughs."

Joſeph is likened to "a bullock, a bullock near a fountain;" and extraordinary temporal bleſſings of all kinds are aſſured to him in recompenſe for his former ſufferings.

Benjamin ſhould "ravin as a wolf," ſhould be a fierce and warlike tribe, and ſhould continue from "morning" till "night," from the beginning to the end of the Jewiſh ſtate, as the hiſtory of this tribe ſufficiently teſtifies.

In this manner Jacob delivered his final bleſſing to each of his ſons, and charged them to carry his dead body into the land of Canaan as he had before requeſted of Joſeph, and alſo to bury him in the cave that is in the field of Machpelah, which Abraham bought of Ephron the Hittite for the poſſeſſion of a burying-place, where Abraham and Sarah were buried, where Iſaac and Rebecca likewiſe were buried, and where he himſelf had alſo buried his wife Leah. His ſons promiſed obedience to his commands; and then "he gathered up his feet into "the bed," which we may ſuppoſe hung down on the bed's ſide while he was giving his bleſſing, and ſoon after he expired.

Joſeph with great tenderneſs (L.) fell upon his father's face, wept over him, and kiſſed him, then ordered the phyſicians his ſervants to embalm him, as was the manner of the Egyptians. Forty days as uſual were employed in embalming him, and the Egyptians mourned for him threeſcore and ten days. When theſe ſeventy days were ended, Joſeph ſpake unto the domeſtics of Pharaoh, for being himſelf in deep mourning he could not properly go to court, and we find afterwards (Eſth. IV. 2.) that it was a general cuſtom for perſons in mourning

" not to enter into the king's gate." He therefore ſpake unto ſome of Pharaoh's officers, and deſired them to acquaint their maſter, how his father had adjured him to carry him into the land of Canaan, and to bury him in the grave which he had digged for himſelf in the ſame cave with his fathers Abraham and Iſaac, and he requeſted Pharaoh's permiſſion to go up and bury his father, and he would ſoon return; which permiſſion was readily granted, the king being unwilling by any means to hinder his compliance with his oath.

Accordingly Joſeph went up with his father's body; and a great company both chariots and horſemen, out of reſpect to him went up with him, ſeveral of Pharaoh's officers and of the princes and elders of Egypt, all his own family, his brethren and all their families, except their little ones and a few others with them who were left behind in the land of Goſhen. They came in funeral proceſſion to a place called " Atad," which is " beyond Jordan" to thoſe who come into Canaan as Joſeph did now and the Iſraelites did afterwards, but " on this ſide " Jordan" with reſpect to thoſe who dwell in the land of Canaan. There they mourned for Jacob ſeven days, as the cuſtom was, with ſo great lamentation, that the Canaanites the inhabitants of the country called the place " Abel-mizraim," that is " the mourning of " the Egyptians." What Jacob had laſt given in charge to his ſons, they faithfully executed by burying him in the cave of the field of Machpelah, which Abraham had bought of Ephron the Hittite, and where Abraham and Iſaac lay buried. After the funeral Joſeph and his brethren and all his company returned into Egypt.

Joſeph's brethren were afraid, now their father was dead, that he would wreak his whole vengeance upon them; and they ſent meſſengers to him ſaying, that it was their father's earneſt requeſt to him a little before he died, that he would forgive their treſpaſſes againſt him; and they themſelves in the humbleſt manner implored his forgiveneſs. So very ſuſpicious were they and apprehenſive of his reſentment,

(9) Juſtini Lib. 36. Cap. 2. p. 522. Edit. Grævii. Minimus ætate inter fratres Joſeph fuit; cujus excellens ingenium veriti fratres clam interceptum peregrinis mercatoribus vendiderunt. A quibus deportatus in Ægyptum, cum magicas ibi artes ſolerti ingenio percepiſſet, brevi ipſi regi percarus fuit. Nam et prodigiorum ſagaciſſimus erat, et ſomniorum primus intelligentiam condidit; nihilque

sentment, but he was of a nobler and more generous nature, and at the hearing of their message was melted into tears. They themselves also came in person, and fell down before him, offering to become his servants. But he exhorted them not to fear; vengeance belongeth to God, not to man; what they had designed against him for evil, God had turned to good by making him the happy instrument, as it appeared this day, of saving much people alive. They had therefore no reason to be afraid; he would ever continue his favor to them and to their families, would nourish them and deal kindly with them. With such gracious assurances he dispelled their fears, and comforted their hearts.

His brethren and their families still continued to dwell in Egypt, and he in full power to foster and protect them. He lived to see Ephraim's children of the third generation, and Manasseh's of the second, and to fondle them upon his knees. When the time came, he was sensible of his approaching dissolution, and told his brethren that he should die, but God would surely visit them, and bring them out of this land into the land which he had promised to their fathers, Abraham Isaac and Jacob: and he took an oath of them, as his father had of him, that they would carry up his bones from hence, looking upon the land of Canaan as their possession and inheritance. So Joseph died, when he was one hundred and ten years old; and his body was embalmed, and laid in a coffin in Egypt. It was afterwards carried away by the Israelites (Exod. XIII. 19.) agreeably to the oath that their fathers had given to Joseph; and was buried (Josh. XXIV. 32.) in Sichem, in the parcel of ground which Jacob bought of the sons of Hamor, and afterwards gave for a portion and inheritance to Joseph.

This account of Joseph cannot be better closed than with the character given of him by Justin, which though mixed with some mistakes may yet serve to show in what high estimation his name and memory were held by Heathens as well as by Jews and Christians. Speaking of Israel and his ten sons (9) he says, 'The youngest among the brothers

que divini juris humanique ei incognitum videbatur: adeo, ut etiam sterilitatem agrorum ante multos annos providerit; periisletque omnis Ægyptus fame, nisi monitu ejus rex edicto servari per multos annos fruges jussisset; tantaque experimenta ejus fuerunt, ut non ab homine, sed a Deo responsa dari viderentur.

'was Joſeph, of whoſe excellent wit the other brothers being jealous,
'they privately intercepted him, and ſold him to foreign merchants.
'By whom being carried down into Egygt, when there with great
'ingenuity he had made himſelf a perfect maſter of magical arts, he
'became in a little time a favorite with the king himſelf. For he
'was moſt ſagacious in the ſignification of prodigies, and firſt eſta-
'bliſhed the art of interpretation of dreams, and nothing of divine
'or human law ſeemed unknown to him; inſomuch that he foreſaw
'even the ſterility of the fields many years before, and all Egypt had
'periſhed by famin, if the king by his advice had not iſſued an edict
'commanding the corn to be ſaved for many years; and he was of
'ſuch experienced knowlege, that his anſwers ſeemed to be given not
'by a man but by a god.'

DISSERTATION XI.

On David and Nathan.

NEXT after Moſes the moſt celebrated writer of the Jewiſh nation was David, (2 Sam. XXIII. 1.) "the man who was raiſed "up on high, the anointed of the God of Jacob, and the ſweet "pſalmiſt of Iſrael." But as mens faults and failings are for the moſt part ſooner obſerved and longer remembered than their virtues and excellencies; ſo no part of David's life and character hath furniſhed more matter for diſcourſe and reflection than his criminal conduct with regard to Bathſheba and Uriah. (See 2 Sam. XI. XII.) It would be an affront almoſt to your memories and underſtandings to be particular in relating the circumſtances of this tranſaction, or to ſuppoſe that ſo material a part of ſacred hiſtory could eſcape your knowlege or remembrance.

membrance. Scarce any ſtory is more ſtriking and affecting, or for different reaſons is better known and remembered by thoſe who do not reverence the ſcripture as well as by thoſe who do. It may be ſufficient therefore juſt to remind you, that David had debauched the wife of Uriah, and (as one ſin uſually draweth on another) had murdered the huſband to conceal his adultery with the wife. Conceal it he might perhaps from men, but he could not poſſibly from the all-ſeeing eye of God, who commiſſions the prophet Nathan to reprove him. The prophet, the better to work his purpoſe, addreſſeth the king with the memorable parable of the poor man and his lamb: and David provoked at ſuch a flagrant act of injuſtice ſaid to Nathan, "As the Lord liveth, the man that hath done this thing ſhall ſurely "die: And Nathan ſaid to David Thou art the man." This little opening will give light enough to the enſuing diſcourſe, and inſtead of inlarging farther upon the circumſtances of the ſtory, let us rather endevor to make ſome uſeful and inſtructive obſervations upon ſo remarkable a tranſaction. It is the principal end of reading hiſtory, to grow wiſer and better by making juſt obſervations and reflections upon it.

1. We may obſerve from hence the frailty and wickedneſs of human nature, that even the greateſt and the beſt of men are ſubject to like paſſions and infirmities, and ſometimes commit enormities as bad as the worſt of mankind. The man after God's own heart could be guilty of adultery and murder: but with what propriety then can he be called "the man after God's own heart?" Such he certainly was not in theſe inſtances; but he might be fairly intitled to this appellation in other actions of his life. The phraſe is commonly uſed and underſtood in too comprehenſive a ſenſe, as if it implied all moral virtues of every kind; whereas it is ſpoken only in oppoſition to the character of Saul, who had greatly offended in preſuming to offer ſacrifice, without waiting for Samuel, contrary to the expreſs orders of God by that prophet; and for this and other acts of diſobedience his kingdom was to be taken from him, and was to be given to David. (1 Sam. XIII. 13, 14.) "And Samuel ſaid to Saul, Thou haſt done

" foolishly; thou hast not kept the commandment of the Lord thy " God, which he commanded thee: for now would the Lord have " established thy kingdom upon Israel for ever. But now thy king- " dom shall not continue: the Lord hath sought him *a man after* " *his own heart*, and the Lord hath commanded him to be captain " over his people, because thou hast not kept that which the Lord " commanded thee." It relates therefore not so much to his private as to his public character, not so much to his moral behaviour as a man, as to his political conduct as a king, that he should not like Saul disobey the divine commands given by the prophets, should not be guilty of any idolatrous or strange worship, should walk in all the ordinances of the Lord blameless, should accomplish the great ends and purposes for which he was advanced to the throne: and in this sense, in comparison with and in opposition to Saul, he well deserves to be called " the man after God's heart," and may in some measure be considered as a second founder of the Jewish church and state. His name was held in such esteem and reverence by his own nation, that the succeeding princes are reckoned good or bad as they resembled him or not: and when the sacred historians describe the reign of any good king, they say to his honor, that " he did that which was right in " the eyes of the Lord, as did David his father;" when they give the history of any bad king, they mention it to his reproach, that " his heart was not perfect with the Lord his God, as the heart of " David his father;" of a king rather good than bad the character is, that " he did that which was right in the sight of the Lord, yet not " like David his father."

If then such a man could be guilty of adultery and murder, how great reason have others to be cautious and upon their guard, and he (1 Cor. X. 12.) " that thinketh he standeth to take heed lest he fall." It is strange sort of doctrin to assert, but strange as it is it hath been asserted, and by several of our modern enthusiasts, that the regenerate and elect are secured from sinning; and after men are once become children of grace, they cannot again become children of wrath. One of the Articles of our Church (Art. 16.) is leveled against this doctrin,

and every day's experience ſufficiently confutes it. This is a greater privilege than any that is claimed by the Pope; for though he pretends to be infallible, yet he doth not arrogate the title of impeccable too. Alas! there is not a ſoul upon earth that is pure from all ſtain and pollution of ſin. "In many things (James III. 2.) we offend "all:" and neither the piety of David, nor the wiſdom of Solomon, nor the reſolution of Peter could preſerve them from falling. But ſhall we therefore continue in ſin, or will ſuch examples authorize our tranſgreſſions? God forbid. Such examples are recorded not for our imitation but for caution. It will be no excuſe for the murderer and adulterer to be like David in his crimes, unleſs he is like him alſo in his repentance. He was a ſinner, but yet not an habitual ſinner. As he was a very great offender, ſo he was a very ſincere penitent, and gave as effectual proofs of the one as of the other. It is eaſy to imitate him in his vices, but the difficulty the glory is to reſemble in his virtues. Many may have copied after him in the former, but few have equalled him in the latter.

2. We may obſerve from hence the fairneſs and impartiality of ſcripture-hiſtory, that like its divine author it is no reſpecter of perſons, but repreſents as well the faults as the virtues of the greateſt ſaints. Some more nice perhaps than wiſe have pretended to take great exception at the character of David, and it muſt be allowed indeed not to be a perfect character, but a mixture of much good with ſome bad behaviour, of many virtuous qualities with few criminal actions. But if you cannot entirely approve the character of David, you cannot however but acknowlege the openneſs and ingenuity of the ſacred writers, who diſguiſe none of his faults, paint him in his proper colors, and cenſure him no leſs for what deſerves cenſure than commend him for what merits commendation. And if ſuch an excellent perſon, who did ſo many and ſo great things for his church and nation, could not eſcape the cenſures of impartial poſterity, let other princes and governors learn from this inſtance that their faults will not die with them, and beware of the teſtimony of authentic hiſtory. This certainly is an internal argument of the truth and excellence of ſcripture-

hiſtory,

hiſtory, that the faults of the ſacred writers themſelves, the paſſions and infirmities of Moſes, the murder and adultery of David, the idolatry of Solomon, St. Peter's denying of Chriſt, and the deſertion of all the apoſtles, are as faithfully regiſtered and recorded as their virtues. There is an exception of only one perſon, (1 Pet. II. 22.) " who did " no ſin, neither was guile found in his mouth;" and that is the Son of God bleſſed for ever. Moſt other hiſtories, full of the partial views and paſſions of men, abound with falſe panegyric or falſe ſatir; but the hiſtory of the Bible may emphatically be ſtiled the hiſtory of truth.

3. We may obſerve from hence what art and addreſs are requiſite in reproving of perſons, and eſpecially in reproving of our ſuperiors. Few people can patiently endure to be told of their faults, much leſs can ſuperiors bear it from their inferiors; and it muſt be managed with prudence and diſcretion, or otherwiſe will do more harm than good. The prophet Nathan, though commiſſioned by God, yet preſerves the decency and reſpect due to a king. He doth not begin directly upbraiding him with his crimes in a magiſterial tone; but inſinuates his complaint in a well deviſed parable, and thereby induces the king, before he was aware, to condemn himſelf in a third perſon. We have an inſtance of the like judicious conduct in St. Paul, who when he was ſent for to preach before Felix (Acts XXIV.) concerning the faith in Chriſt, was willing not to let ſlip the opportunity of reproving the governor for his faults, but yet had the delicacy not to reprove him openly, not to tax him perſonally with the injuſtice of his government and the diſſoluteneſs of his life, but only " reaſoned of righte- " ouſneſs temperance and judgment to come" in general terms, leaving it to his conſcience to make the particular application, and his conſcience urged it ſo home that " Felix trembled." Reproof, like phyſic, may be frequently wholſome, ſometimes neceſſary, but to the generality of mankind it is extremely nauſeous, and muſt be gilded or conveyed in ſome pleaſant vehicle to make one ſwallow it without diſguſt or loathing. There depends as much upon the manner of reproving, as upon the reproof itſelf: and if you are guilty of any rude-

neſs

neſs or indecency, you will offend more than you will reform, and men will be prejudiced not only againſt your perſon but againſt your doctrin on account of your perſon, and will reject the moſt rational advice out of diſlike to the adviſer. Softneſs and gentleneſs generally prevail more than the bittereſt invectives and loudeſt complaints. An angel would not bring even againſt a devil (Jude 9.) " a railing ac- " cuſation." Ill manners and ill language hurt only thoſe who employ them. The genteeleſt ſatir is always the keeneſt, and pleaſeth even whilſt it maketh us ſmart, the words " ſmoother than oil," and yet be they " very ſwords."

4. We may obſerve from hence the great antiquity and uſefulneſs of parables, and why they occur ſo frequently in the ſacred writings. The oldeſt parable extant is Jotham's of the trees, and next to that may be reckoned this of Nathan of the poor man and his lamb: and where in all the treaſures of Greek and Roman learning can you find any ſo ancient or ſo beautiful? The great uſe of a parable is to inſinuate truth in the leaſt offenſive and moſt agreeable manner. It conveys a moral by a familiar example, entertains as it inſtructs, and at the ſame time that it exerciſeth the judgment pleaſeth the imagination. We have the pleaſure of making the application ourſelves, and ſeem to be our own adviſers while we really are following the dictates of another. The truth ſpoken bluntly at firſt might perhaps have ſhocked and offended the king; but cloathed in a parable he admits it before he was ſenſible of its import and tendency, and is deceived as it were into a confeſſion of his own guilt and unworthineſs.

As a parable hath generally a better effect upon the hearers, ſo likewiſe is it ſafer for the ſpeaker than the naked truth, and ſcreeneth him from the rage and reſentment of thoſe who perhaps otherwiſe might be greatly offended. It hath therefore been ſo cuſtomary for political writers in all ages to dreſs their thoughts and diſguiſe their reflections in fables and allegories, not only for entertainment and to pleaſe with variety, but alſo for their own preſervation and to evade the penalties of the law. A ſedition at Rome, we know, was appeaſed by a fable of the belly and other members. The people would hear a

parable, when they would not hear reaſon; and the ſpeaker might have been torn to pieces, if he had ſpoken plainly what had ſo good an effect in this figurative language. It was without doubt out of caution and reſpect to majeſty, that the prophet did not bring his accuſation openly at firſt, but artfully amuſes and entertains the king with a charming parable, and then when he had gotten his authority on his ſide chargeth him home "Thou art the man."

For the ſame reaſons our bleſſed Saviour veileth his diſcourſe ſo frequently in parables, to inſinuate an offenſive truth in the leaſt offenſive manner, as well as to ſecure himſelf from the malice of his enemies. And a moſt memorable inſtance we have (ſee Matt. XXI. Mark XII. Luke XX.) in the parable of the vineyard let out to wicked huſbandmen, wherein our Saviour foretells the reprobation of the Jews and the calling of the Gentiles. No doctrin could be more offenſive to the Phariſees, and they perceived plainly enough that it was ſpoken againſt them, but yet as it was a parable, they could not lay hold on him, but feared the people.

5. We may obſerve from hence that great courage is requiſite as well as great art and addreſs in reproving of our ſuperiors, and no one ſhould preſume to do it who is not properly qualified and hath not a legitimate call to this office. There is no need to ſet forth the dangers, to which they expoſe themſelves who reprove wickedneſs in high places; and they ſhould not only have the ſtricteſt truth and honor, a good intention and a good conſcience to ſupport them, but ſhould alſo be ſufficiently authorized by the laws of men or the laws of God. It is a moſt ſhameful and abominable abuſe of liberty for low vile wretches from their dark coverts to be continually pelting and inſulting the greateſt and moſt illuſtrious characters, like as "Shimei (2 Sam. XVI) went along on the hill's ſide, curſing David, "throwing ſtones and caſting duſt," inſomuch that "Abiſhai ſaid "Why ſhould this dead dog curſe my lord the king?" His crime was pardoned, but vengeance at laſt fell heavy upon him. John the Baptiſt (Mark VI.) exerted great reſolution in rebuking Herod the tetrarch for "marrying his brother Philip's wife," declaring "it was not law-

" ful for him to have her:" but then John the Baptiſt had proper authority, " John (John I. 6.) was a man ſent from God;" and " He-
" rod knew that he was a juſt man and an holy, and when he heard
" him, he did many things, and heard him gladly;" and yet his free ſpeaking coſt him his life. Nathan's reproof produced a better effect, and met with a more gracious reception from David, and yet after the firſt preparation it was delivered in very harſh and ſevere terms. " And Nathan ſaid to David, Thou art the man. Thus ſaith the
" Lord God of Iſrael, I anointed thee king over Iſrael, and I delivered
" thee out of the hand of Saul: And I gave thee thy maſter's houſe,
" and thy maſter's wives into thy boſom, and gave thee the houſe of
" Iſrael and of Judah; and if that had been too little, I would more-
" over have given unto thee ſuch and ſuch things. Wherefore haſt
" thou deſpiſed the commandment of the Lord, to do evil in his
" ſight? thou haſt killed Uriah the Hittite with the ſword, and haſt
" taken his wife to be thy wife, and haſt ſlain him with the ſword of
" the children of Ammon. Now therefore the ſword ſhall never de-
" part from thine houſe; becauſe thou haſt deſpiſed me, and haſt
" taken the wife of Uriah the Hittite to be thy wife. Thus ſaith the
" Lord, Behold, I will raiſe up evil againſt thee out of thine own
" houſe, and I will take thy wives before thine eyes, and give them
" unto thy neighbour, and he ſhall lie with thy wives in the ſight of
" the ſun. For thou didſt it ſecretly: but I will do this thing
" before all Iſrael, and before the ſun." Theſe were dreadful menaces indeed: but David knew very well that Nathan ſpoke in the name and by the authority of God, and readily made his ſubmiſſions, acknowleging " I have ſinned againſt the Lord." Nathan, though he pronounced his pardon, yet added, " Howbeit, becauſe by this
" deed thou haſt given great occaſion to the enemies of the Lord to
" blaſpheme;" and the enemies of the Lord have taken occaſion from hence to blaſpheme ever ſince; " the child alſo that is born unto
" thee ſhall ſurely die." A man's ſins may be forgiven, and yet his puniſhment may not entirely be remitted. The ſpeedy death of the child and accompliſhment afterwards by Abſalom of all the evils de-

nounced by Nathan were alſo farther proofs that he was a prophet of the Lord: and David was ſo far from bearing any reſentment in his mind, that (2 Sam. XII. 25.) " he ſent" Solomon " under the hand" or direction " of Nathan," committed to his care the education of his ſon Solomon, and lived in entire friendſhip with him to his death.

6. We may obſerve from hence how ready impartial reaſon is to condemn any flagrant act of impiety and wickedneſs. At the hearing only of a barbarous inſtance of tyranny and oppreſſion David is filled with juſt indignation, and denounceth vengeance without heſitating or pitying, " As the Lord liveth, the man that hath done this " thing ſhall ſurely die." And indeed it is only our partial views of things, our blinded paſſions and miſtaken intereſts, which can ever make us think favorably of vice. If partiality and paſſion were removed, and we were to behold it in its native colors as it is really in itſelf, we ſhould be ſhocked at its deformity, and could not look upon it without hatred and abhorrence. As the ancients uſed to ſay, that if the ſcales were taken from our eyes, and we could ſee the very form and face as it were of virtue, it would excite the love, ſo we may ſay the contrary of vice, that it would raiſe the deteſtation of all beholders. It is not only the ſentiment of a David. All mankind have a natural abhorrence of vice, and it diſcovers itſelf without much thought and reflection in an inſtant, at the bare hearing of any flagrant act of wickedneſs, and much more at ſeeing it, and ſtill moſt of all when we ourſelves are loſers and ſufferers by it. It is not only our reaſon that condemns it, but a ſort of inſtinct riſeth in us againſt it. Our very blood is put into a new motion, our ſpirits catch the alarm; and we are not only ſenſible of the horror of the crime, but we really feel it. Such antipathy to vice hath God wrought into our very frame and conſtitution, and whoever deviates from virtue degenerates as much from pure and uncorrupted nature.

7. Laſtly we may obſerve from hence (for I would not multiply obſervations more than can eaſily be remembered) how very apt we are to deceive ourſelves, how little we know of our own faults and follies, and frequently condemn others for ſuch things as we practiſe ourſelves.

A more remarkable inſtance of this ſelf-ignorance and ſelf-deceit we cannot have than in the ſtory before us. A man of David's natural good ſenſe and underſtanding in the law muſt know that adultery and murder were hainous ſins, muſt know that he had committed them and thereby incurred the divine diſpleaſure. But without doubt he had framed ſome ſoftening excuſes to himſelf, and palliated the matter to his own conſcience; for it doth not appear from the relation, that he had felt any remorſe or teſtified the leaſt contrition. Nay when the prophet Nathan was ſent to reprove him, and for decency's ſake reproved him in a parable, he little imagined it was his own caſe, and was ready enough to condemn another for his crimes when he had been guilty of worſe himſelf. He could not ſee his own face in the mirror, and was ſo little ſtruck with the likeneſs, was ſo little ſenſible of his own faults, that the prophet himſelf was forced to make the proper application and charge it directly upon him, "Thou art the "man."

And indeed it is ſurpriſing to obſerve how little the generality of mankind know of themſelves and their own characters, how ſtrangely they impoſe upon themſelves in the moſt material articles of life, and are as quick-ſighted to ſpy out another's failings as they are blind to their own. It is no unuſual thing to hear the covetous railing at covetouſneſs, and the extravagant declaiming againſt extravagance, and giving leſſons of œconomy and frugality for which they will never be the better or richer themſelves: and the greateſt dealers in ſcandal and defamation are themſelves uſually as bad as they would repreſent others. Our own faults we throw into the wallet behind us, and always look at ourſelves in the glaſs that flatters us, and (ſo little do we know our own ſelves) we fondly imagin that we are free from the vices to which we are ſubject, and poſſeſſed of the virtues to which we are ſtrangers. Some perſons are ſo very conceited and opinionated of their own ways and manners, that they will hardly allow themſelves at any time to be in the wrong; and of the reſt who are more modeſt and humble, you ſhall rarely know any one, unleſs it be through the force of ſome bodily diſtemper, diffident of his own abilities and diſ-

ſatisfied

ſatisfied with himſelf. A man is commonly his own greateſt admirer; and it often happens that they ſhall ſet the higheſt value upon themſelves, who have the leaſt reaſon to value themſelves at all. We are all of us indeed for juſtifying our own conduct, and when any thing hath been tranſacted confeſſedly bad indeed that cannot be juſtified, we are willing however to ſhift off the blame from ourſelves unto others, and one ſays "Lord is it I," and another "Lord is it I," like our firſt parents the man transferring the blame upon the woman and the woman upon the ſerpent; and ſo we eaſily excuſe ourſelves to ourſelves, and have need of ſome friendly reprover to ſay to us as Nathan ſaid to David "Thou art the man."

One would wonder indeed how it was poſſible for men to be ſo deceived and miſtaken in themſelves, but we ſhall generally find it owing to want of due reflection and examination of their own conduct; for we can know ourſelves no more than other things without ſome ſtudy and application. Some cannot even bear to deſcend into themſelves, they know in the general that their behaviour is not to be juſtified; but all particular inquiries they forbear, like ſpendthrifts who go on from bad to worſe, and never ſettle their accounts for fear of finding themſelves bankrupt and undone. Others are ſo taken up with the pleaſures, or immerſed in the cares and buſineſs of life, that they have as little leiſure as inclination to ſearch and examin themſelves; they are better acquainted with the character of others than their own, and are quick-ſighted enough to "behold (Matt. VII. 3.) "the mote that is in their brother's eye, but conſider not the beam "that is in their own eye." To want of due reflection is generally added ſelf-love, which is another great occaſion of ſelf-deceit; as a man is ever liable to be moſt abuſed, where he repoſeth the greateſt confidence. Nothing betrays and deludes a man more fatally than flattery, and no flatterer like his own vanity. Love is always blind to the failings of the party beloved; and no wonder then that we are as much blinder to our own, as we commonly love ourſelves better. Beſides, our intereſt, our paſſions, our vices ſtrangely warp and pervert our judgment, and incline us to think favorably of that in ourſelves,

which

which we ſhould make no ſcruple of condemning in others. Guilt is an uneaſy ſituation; and we cannot bear to be uneaſy, and therefore invent evaſions and excuſes for ourſelves, and are as eaſy caſuiſts in our own caſe, as we are rigid and ſevere to our neighbours. (Rom. II. 1, 3.) "Therefore thou art inexcuſable, O man, whoſoever thou "art that judgeſt, for wherein thou judgeſt another thou condemneſt "thyſelf; for thou that judgeſt doeſt the ſame things: And thinkeſt "thou this, O man, that judgeſt them which do ſuch things and "doeſt the ſame, that thou ſhalt eſcape the judgment of God?"

Let us therefore turn the edge of our reflections from others upon ourſelves, for here the very beſt of us may find ſufficient matter to employ them. It is prudence indeed to guard againſt the deceits of others, but ſtill we ſhould beware of our greateſt deceiver, ourſelves. We are moſt liable to be deceived, where we are moſt ſecure; and a man imagins that himſelf is his beſt friend, and himſelf often proveth his worſt enemy.

If we would not deceive ourſelves, let us endevor to know ourſelves, ſcrutinize the inmoſt receſſes of our hearts, reflect frequently upon our behaviour, compare our life and converſation with the law of God, attend to the opinions of others concerning us as well as our own, and particularly obſerve what is ſpoken againſt us by our enemies; for generally there is more truth and ſincerity in the cenſures of our enemies than in the compliments and commendations of our friends.

But after the niceſt ſcrutiny and examination of ourſelves, ſtill ſome things may eſcape our knowlege and obſervation, for (Pſal. XIX. 12.) "who can tell how oft he offendeth?" and therefore beſides endevoring to know ourſelves, let us beg of God to "cleanſe us" alſo "from "our ſecret faults."

And ſelf-love let us particularly guard againſt, and not be too confident of our own abilities, but entertain a wiſe jealouſy a prudent diſtruſt of ourſelves as well as of others, and learn (Rom. XII. 3.) "not to think of ourſelves more highly than we ought to think, but "to think ſoberly."

Moreover

Moreover let us at leaſt in every thing of moment ſubſtitute another in the room of one's ſelf, and one's ſelf in the room of another, and then conſider what he might reaſonably expect in our circumſtance and we ſhould expect in his, and behave accordingly. Self is always partial, and draweth us aſide as the bias doth the bowl, and the beſt way to cure ourſelves of this unreaſonable partiality is to judge of our own caſe not as our own caſe, but remove it as much as poſſible to a ſecond or third perſon. This our Saviour himſelf adviſes when he commands (Matt. XXII. 39.) " Thou ſhalt love thy neighbour as " thyſelf," and (Matt. VII. 12.) " Whatſoever ye would that men " ſhould do to you, do ye even ſo to them."

Finally we have a faithful monitor within our breaſt, and let us attend to its admonitions, and it will remonſtrate as often as there ſhall be occaſion " Thou art the man." Every man hath not a prophet to reprove him when he hath offended, but every man's own heart may be to him as a prophet, and will reprove him as honeſtly, if he will but honeſtly hearken to it. When we read or hear any general precepts or diſcourſe againſt ſin, or any particular hiſtory parable or allegory, conſcience if we be guilty will be apt to reproach us, and make the proper application " Thou art the man;" and we ſhould attend to its reproofs as David to Nathan's. David not only acknowleged his fault, " I have ſinned againſt the Lord," but hath alſo left his repentance upon record in the 51ſt pſalm. (ver. 3, 14.) " I ac- " knowlege my tranſgreſſions," ſaith he, " and my ſin is ever before " me: Deliver me from blood-guiltineſs, O God, thou God of my " ſalvation; and my tongue ſhall ſing aloud of thy righteouſneſs:" And if we ſincerely repent and acknowlege our faults like him, like him we ſhall be pardoned. What a mighty encouragement is this to returning ſinners, that if their offenſes have been ever ſo hainous, yet upon their ſincere repentance and reformation they will all be blotted out, and never more remembered through the merits of their bleſſed Saviour and Redeemer? (Iſa. I. 16, &c) " Waſh ye, make you clean, " put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes, ceaſe to " do evil, learn to do well;" and then " ſaith the Lord, though

" your

" your ſins be as ſcarlet, they ſhall be as white as ſnow; though they " be red like crimſon, they ſhall be as wool." O hear this comfortable truth, all ye who have ſinned againſt the Lord: and thanks be to God who in his holy word hath revealed it. Repent like David, and like David be forgiven. " And David ſaid unto Nathan, I have " ſinned againſt the Lord. And Nathan ſaid unto David, The Lord " alſo hath put away thy ſin; thou ſhalt not die."

DISSERTATION XII.

On religious melancholy.

AS David was memorable for curing Saul's melancholy, he may perhaps be able to furniſh us with the beſt remedies for that malady in other caſes. The caſe of Saul was ſomething remarkable. (1 Sam. XVI. 14.) " The ſpirit of the Lord departed from Saul, and " an evil ſpirit from the Lord troubled" or terrified " him." " The " ſpirit of the Lord," which came upon him after his inauguration, (Chap. X. 6. XI. 6.) the ſpirit of a ſound mind, of great underſtanding, of ſignal courage, of princely virtues, whereof he had given ſeveral proofs in the former part of his reign, had now " departed from " him:" and " an evil ſpirit from the Lord," or by the permiſſion of the Lord, " troubled him;" the ſpirit of melancholy and diſcontent, of jealouſy and envy, of malice and cruelty, of fury and frenzy, agitated and diſturbed his mind all the remaining part of his life and reign. Many of thoſe which are commonly conſidered as natural effects, and bodily diſtempers, were by the Jews aſcribed to the inviſible agency of good or bad ſpirits: and whether they were wrong or right in this opinion, is no part of our preſent inquiry, but poſſibly may be made the ſubject of ſome future diſſertation.

Whatever was the cauſe of Saul's frenzy and diſorder, the effects were viſible enough; and his ſervants adviſed him, that ſome one ſhould be ſought out, who was ſkilful in playing upon the harp, as the beſt method of effecting his cure. (ver. 16.) "Let our Lord now "command thy ſervants which are before thee, to ſeek out a man "who is a cunning player on an harp; and it ſhall come to paſs when "the evil ſpirit from God is upon thee, that he ſhall play with his "hand, and thou ſhalt be well." Pythagoras, as we learn from (1) Seneca, quieted the perturbations of the mind with a harp. Some ancient phyſicians alſo (2) have taught us, that ſymphonies, cymbals, and noiſes avail much to the diſſipating of ſad thoughts. Saul's ſervants had the ſame notion, and upon Saul's approbation of it, one of his ſervants recommended David to him for this purpoſe (ver. 18.) "Then anſwered one of the ſervants and ſaid, Behold I have ſeen a "ſon of Jeſſe the Bethlehemite, that is cunning in playing, and a "mighty valiant man, and a man of war, and prudent in matters, "and a comely perſon, and the Lord is with him." He was therefore ſent for immediately to court, and fully anſwered the character which was given of him, and ſhowed ſuch maſtery upon the harp, that his muſic relieved and diverted Saul in his fits, and chaſed all gloom and melancholy from his mind. (ver. 23.) "And it came to "paſs, when the evil ſpirit from God was upon Saul, that David took "an harp, and played with his hand; ſo Saul was refreſhed, and was "well, and the evil ſpirit departed from him." But this proved not a radical, but only a temporary cure; for after ſome time Saul's fits of frenzy returned, and while David was playing before him, Saul twice attempted with a javelin to ſlay him, (Chap. XVIII. and XIX.) and David eſcaped with difficulty.

It is to be hoped that a better and more permanent effect may follow from David's ſuggeſtions for the cure of religious melancholy. For of all caſes of conſcience there are none which merit more our pity and aſſiſtance than the groundleſs fears and ſcruples of thoſe, who la-

bor

(1) Seneca de Ira. Lib. 3. Cap. 9. Pythagoras perturbationes animi lyra componebat.

(2) Jam

bor under what we call *religious melancholy*. It may be ſaid indeed that this is not the general bent and inclination of this age; the general bent and inclination of this age is a too eager purſuit of pleaſure, they live in a continual diſſipation of pleaſure. But extremes are apt to produce one another. Men by avoiding irreligion often fall into ſuperſtition, from being too little become "righteous overmuch," from the worſt of ſinners ſet up for the greateſt ſaints; and their number hath greatly increaſed, eſpecially ſince a certain ſect hath of late years riſen among us, whoſe pretence is ſuperior godlineſs, but their godlineſs is ſpiritual pride, or enthuſiaſm, or hypocriſy, or filthy lucre, wringing from the hard hands of poor ignorant people their little ſuſtenance, and in cruel return filling their heads with the ſtrangeſt wildeſt abſurdeſt notions of religion.

Whatever cauſes may concur, as there are ſome perſons who think much better of themſelves than they deſerve, ſo there are others who think much worſe, and imagin themſelves to be children of wrath and devoted to death, when they are in truth children of grace and heirs of eternal life. No one elſe can reproach them with any wickedneſs, but they are continually reproaching and accuſing themſelves. Their imaginary guilt diſturbs them more than real guilt doth others; nor could they be more miſerable ſpectacles, if they had committed murder, and were haunted by furies. A greater calamity, I think, cannot befall human creatures in this world. Let their circumſtances be ever ſo eaſy and happy in other reſpects, this ſingle misfortune will imbitter all the enjoyments of life, and render life itſelf a burden. Having no ſatisfaction in their own minds, they can have none in any thing elſe. Uneaſy to themſelves they muſt be uneaſy to all others. It is enough to make a good-natured perſon melancholy himſelf to ſee their tears, to hear their groans, and be a witneſs of their deſpair. Were there any real grounds of ſorrow, were there any reaſonable cauſe of complaint, we might hope to quiet and compoſe their minds by anſwering reaſons with better reaſons; but as the diſorder exiſts

(2) Jam olim enim medici ad diſcutiendas triſtes cogitationes ſymphonias, cymbala, ſtrepituſque procere docuerunt. Vid. Celſum. Lib. 3. Cap. 18. Mead Medica Sacra. Cap. 3. Regis Sauli Morbus.

chiefly in their own imaginations, they are the more difficult to be treated with, and the harder to be cured. General diſcourſes upon this ſubject will be of little uſe or ſignificance; may amuſe perhaps in hearing, but will fail in practice. We muſt learn their particular complaints, and make our applications accordingly, if we would adviſe with any ſucceſs. The phyſician, whether ſpiritual or temporal, muſt know the patient's caſe, before he can preſcribe the cure. Let us therefore conſider the caſes of this kind which moſt frequently occur in life, and then endevor to adminiſter proper remedies, to each particular caſe its particular cure; ſo that every diſconſolate Chriſtian may be enabled to aſk himſelf with the good pſalmiſt, (Pſal. XLII. 11.) "Why art thou caſt down, O my ſoul, and why art thou diſ-"quieted within me?" and may not only be enabled to aſk it but to anſwer it too.

I. Under our firſt general head we are to conſider the caſes of this kind which moſt frequently occur in life; for we might as well pretend to draw the exact ſituation of the clouds, as to deſcribe all the rovings and wandrings of a diſordered imagination. The caſes of this kind which moſt frequently occur are ſuch as theſe, and to theſe perhaps moſt of the reſt are reducible.

1. The moſt uſual cauſe of this complaint is indiſpoſition of body. It is occaſioned by hypocondriac or hyſteric diſorders; the blood is thick and doth not circulate freely; the animal ſpirits are ſluggiſh, and do not perform their proper functions; and the diſtempers of the body overcloud and eclipſe the natural brightneſs of the mind. If religious melancholy be not entirely occaſioned, yet at leaſt it is conſtantly attended by indiſpoſition of body, which often begets it where it is not, and always nouriſheth and increaſeth it where it is. This, I ſay, is the moſt uſual cauſe of this complaint, though the perſons themſelves will impute it rather to ſome other cauſes.

As 2. they will aſcribe it wholly to indiſpoſition of mind rather than of body. They will tell you that they are perpetually haunted by evil thoughts, which riſe in their mind whether they will or not. They endevor all they can to ſuppreſs them, but without effect; the

more they reſiſt, the more they are overcome; nor can they be free from them, even while they are performing the moſt ſolemn acts of devotion. Churches and altars, which are ſanctuaries to other ſinners, are none to them. Evil thoughts will ſtill intrude, defile their beſt works, and turn their very prayers into ſin.

Or 3. they interpret ſome paſſages of ſcripture to their own uneaſineſs, and directly contrary to the bee that can extract honey out of weeds, they gather poiſon and death itſelf from the tree of life. They have been guilty (Matt. XII. 32.) of "the ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt," and are "not to be forgiven neither in this world neither in the world "to come." They have (Heb. X. 26, 27.) "ſinned wilfully after "that they had received the knowlege of the truth," and "there re- "maineth no more ſacrifice for ſins, but a certain fearful looking for "of judgment." They have ſinned "the ſin unto death," (1 John V. 16.) and are not to be "prayed for" their caſe is ſo deſperate! A wild imagination may collect any thing from any thing; but uſually they ſingle out ſuch texts as theſe, in which they imagin they hear the ſentence of God againſt themſelves, and read their own damnation.

Or 4. they entertain mean and unworthy notions of themſelves, and depreciate both their faith and their practice. They are deſtitute of the true, ſaving, juſtifying faith; and never kindle into that fervor and rapture, which animates and inflames the devotion of others. They are likewiſe very deficient (they will ſay) in practice as well as in belief; are ſubject to many frailties and infirmities; daily incur the guilt of new ſins, before they repent duly of the old; and in ſhort are as deſtitute of true repentance as they are of true faith.

Or 5. they lie under terrible apprehenſions of the devil and of the power that he hath over them. They are delivered over to Satan, and he is continually tempting and ſolliciting them to evil. He is the ſpirit that worketh in the children of diſobedience, but in them more eſpecially; and leadeth them captive at pleaſure.

Or 6. they have almoſt as dreadful notions of God as they have of the devil. God's mercies which extend to all are denied to them. His

decrees

decrees are paſſed againſt them. He hath forſaken them, and withdrawn his grace and holy ſpirit from them; caſt them away from the light of his preſence, and predeſtinated them to eternal damnation.

It would be tedious to deſcend into a more minute detail of the ſeveral ſpecies and ſymptoms of religious melancholy; but the principal inſtances and moſt uſual occaſions of it in men, I conceive, are theſe here ſpecified, indiſpoſition of body, or evil thoughts ariſing involuntary in the mind; miſtaken interpretations of ſcripture, or unworthy notions of themſelves; imagined powers and temptations of the devil, or imagined decrees of God, and in conſequence of thoſe decrees his deſertion and withdrawing of his holy ſpirit from them.

II. Having conſidered the caſes of this kind which moſt frequently occur in life, let us under our ſecond general head endevor to adminiſter proper remedies, to each particular caſe its particular cure.

1. If your religious melancholy is occaſioned by indiſpoſition of body, the cure belongs to the phyſician rather than to the divine; at leaſt there is as great a neceſſity for the one as for the other. But the difficulty is to convince you, that this mental diſorder ariſeth from bodily infirmity; and yet methinks you might be convinced, when you find your mind (as without doubt you do find your mind) at ſome ſeaſons worſe, at ſome better, juſt as your bodily infirmity increaſeth or decreaſeth. When the wind and the weather affect you, when you have not had your due portion of ſleep, when any croſs accident ruffles and diſturbs you, when your health is bad and your ſpirits are low, then you are moſt perplexed with theſe doubts and ſcruples, then the terrors of the Lord ſet themſelves moſt in array againſt you: whereas when the wind is favorable and the weather ſerene, when you happen to have reſted well, when your affairs run on ſmooth and eaſy, when you are in tolerable health and ſpirits, then you feel little or nothing of theſe diſmal apprehenſions, then you look and think and act like another creature. And do not all theſe circumſtances plainly evince, that the indiſpoſition of your mind ariſeth from the indiſpoſition of your body? And therefore you ſhould by no means charge it upon God and religion, but be patient under it as under a bodily diſeaſe.

Conſult

Conſult your phyſician. Recover the health of your body, and you will regain the peace of your mind. Spiritual advice will avail little to remove the effects without phyſic to prevent the cauſe.

A divine however, without going out of his province, may preſcribe ſobriety and temperance. Live as abſtemious, and uſe as much exerciſe as you can. Indulgent people, who know no better, will recommend living freely, or what they call living well, as the moſt effectual means to keep up your ſpirits; but this diſorder proceeds not ſo much from poorneſs as from richneſs of blood, and high living like adding fuel to the fire, will increaſe and inflame it more. "This "kind" of evil ſpirit, as our Saviour ſaith, (Matt. XVII. 21.) "goeth "not out but by prayer and faſting."

You ſhould alſo, if you would keep yourſelf ſober and in your ſenſes, carefully avoid all intercourſe with ſuch as turn faith into frenzy and religion into madneſs. The ſpirit, whether good or bad, is eaſily imparted; and as Saul among the prophets was ſeiſed with the ſpirit of prophecy, ſo by converſing with enthuſiaſts you will certainly catch the infection of enthuſiaſm, ſee viſions, hear voices, feel præternatural impreſſions, and what not. It is a ſerious and a ſorrowful truth, and you may be aſſured of it, as I myſelf have ſeveral times been aſſured, by the governors and phyſicians of the hoſpitals, that more miſerable creatures have been admitted into St. Luke's and Bethlehem from following the Methodiſts than from all other cauſes whatever. They had at firſt ſome flaw or defect in their heads, otherwiſe they would not have been the diſciples of ſuch maſters, and Methodiſm happening to ſtrike upon that weak part quite turned their brains.

As a farther confirmation that this indiſpoſition doth run in the blood, you cannot but have obſerved, that as all other maniac diſorders, ſo this likewiſe is often hereditary, and deſcends from the parents to the children. It is therefore very much to be wiſhed, that if ſuch perſons will not take effectual care of themſelves, they would at leaſt refrain, or were compelled to refrain, from marriage, and not entail melancholy and miſery from generation to generation.

2. If

2. If your religious melancholy is occaſioned by evil thoughts ariſing involuntary in your mind, you ought for that very reaſon not to be melancholy, becauſe they ariſe involuntary. The motions of the mind are not always to be controlled any more than thoſe of the body. In ſome inſtances we can no more command the circulation of thought, than we can the circulation of the blood. Evil thoughts will ſometimes dart into our heads we know not how or why or wherefore; but you may depend upon it, that there is no ſin in them, they are rather trials and occaſions of virtue, as long as you never cheriſh and indulge them, as long as you deteſt and abhor them. It is a misfortune indeed to be troubled with them, but it is not a fault; your conſenting to them only can make them criminal. There is no harm in them, if you would only think there was no harm, and would let them go as they come without your notice and attention. It is your fear of them and your dread of them that incites them the more. Neglect them, and they will die away of themſelves.

And that you may be the better enabled to neglect them, make uſe of all proper precautions, live not too much alone, frequent good company, and employ all other means to promote natural health and chearfulneſs. But particularly beware of idleneſs. An idle head is a cage for wicked uneaſy thoughts. The more you apply to buſineſs and to reading, the leſs you will be ſollicited by them, and the leſs at leiſure to obſerve them. If it be therefore only for the prevention of evil thoughts, be conſtantly employed. "Study to be quiet (1 Theſſ. "IV. 11.) and to do your own buſineſs." "Be not (Heb. XIII. 9.) "carried about with divers and ſtrange doctrins." Affect no novelties and ſingularities. Have no "itching ears." Be content with your regularly appointed paſtors, for any of them will preach much better doctrin than any of you will practiſe. And the better to divert melancholy, let your reading be rather lightſome entertaining books than dark gloomy authors, rather ſometimes poetry hiſtory and ſuch arguments as will furniſh your mind with pleaſing ideas, than always homilies and manuals of devotion, which are as improper for you as they are proper for others.

But above all take eſpecial care, that your hymns and prayers themſelves be not ſinful, be not rhapſodies of folly lewdneſs and blaſphemy, as is too often the caſe, and hath been proved in variety of inſtances. For (Matt. VI. 23.) " if the light that is in thee be darkneſs, how " great is that darkneſs!" If that which ſhould be the cure of evil, be the cauſe of evil, how great muſt be that evil! But if your prayers are ſuch that you may " pray with the ſpirit," and " pray with the " underſtanding alſo," though ſometimes evil thoughts may forcibly intrude upon your religious ſervice, and render it leſs pleaſing to yourſelf, yet it will not under theſe ſtruggles and difficulties be leſs acceptable to God. " The ſacrifices of God (Pſal. LI. 17.) are a " troubled ſpirit; a broken and a contrite heart he will not deſpiſe." He will not condemn you for imperfections which you cannot help. " The bruiſed reed will he not break, (Matt. XII. 20.) the ſmoaking " flax will he not quench." Theſe infirmities may make your condition more uneaſy in this world; but reſt aſſured, they will never be laid to your charge in the world to come.

3. If your religious melancholy is occaſioned by miſtaken interpretations of ſcripture, right interpretations are the proper cure. A little better knowlege will diſpel all thoſe doubts and ſcruples, which ignorance had raiſed. Things appear greater and more terrible through a miſt; day-light and the ſun ſhow them in their true colors and proportions.

You are afraid that you have committed " the ſin againſt the Holy " Ghoſt," but the *ſin* againſt the Holy Ghoſt is not once mentioned in ſcripture. The *blaſphemy* againſt the Holy Ghoſt is mentioned indeed, and that is obſtinately aſcribing the miracles plainly and viſibly wrought by the power of the Holy Ghoſt to the power of the devil. But have you ſeen our Saviour caſt out devils? Have you expreſly declared that he caſteth out Satan by Satan? You have ſeen no ſuch thing, you have ſaid no ſuch thing; and how then can you be guilty of the blaſphemy againſt the Holy Ghoſt? how can you be thus afraid where no fear is? You would not any more torment yourſelf about the ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, if you underſtood rightly what the

blaſphemy againſt the Holy Ghoſt is, that it is nothing more or leſs than ſaying that Chriſt worketh miracles and caſteth out devils by the power of the devils.

So neither would you ſuſpect yourſelf to have committed "the wil-"ful ſin after baptiſm," nor "the ſin unto death," if you rightly conceived what they are and wherein they conſiſt. "The wilful ſin "after baptiſm" mentioned by St. Paul, for which he ſaith, "there "remaineth no more ſacrifice but a certain fearful looking for of judg-"ment;" and "the ſin unto death" mentioned by St. John, of which he ſpeaketh ſo deſperately and ſaith, "I do not ſay that ye "ſhall pray for it;" are both of them the ſame thing, namely a total apoſtaſy from the faith, when men renounce Chriſtianity, and turn Jews or Turks, Infidels or Heathens. And neither is this abſolutely impoſſible to be forgiven, but only it is extremely difficult to be forgiven, becauſe it is extremely difficult and in a manner "impoſſible," as the apoſtle expreſſeth it in another place, (Heb. VI. 4, 6.) "to re-"new them again unto repentance." But is this at all your caſe? or rather are not you ready to profeſs (Mark IX. 24.) "Lord, I believe, "help thou mine unbelief?"

In like manner, if any other paſſage of ſcripture perplexes and diſturbs you, have recourſe to the beſt commentators, or conſult with perſons of ſuperior knowlege in theſe matters; not thoſe, who without learning or knowlege as without licence or authority invade the office of preachers and teachers, and poſſibly may be able to recite ſeveral texts of ſcripture by rote, yet are totally ignorant of their true ſenſe and meaning, for they are "blind leaders of the blind," (Matt. XV. 14.) and we are aſſured their end will be that "both ſhall fall "into the ditch;" but thoſe, who have enjoyed the advantages of a liberal education, have made theſe things their particular ſtudy, are lawfully called to the work of the miniſtry, and conſequently are beſt qualified to rectify your miſtakes. "for the prieſt's lips ſhould keep "knowlege, (Mal. II. 7.) and you ſhould ſeek the law at his mouth." But more than all humbly beg of God that he would ſend you "the "Comforter, (John XVI. 13.) the Spirit of truth to guide you into "all

" all truth." The ſcripture is deſigned as " the ſavor of life unto " life," (2 Cor. II. 16.) and you do wrong to make it " the ſavor " of death unto death."

4. If your religious melancholy is occaſioned by unworthy notions of yourſelf, you ſhould conſider that as it is a fault to think more highly, ſo likewiſe is it to think more lowly, of yourſelf than you ought to think. You ſay that you are deſtitute of the true ſaving juſtifying faith; but what is your notion of the true ſaving juſtifying faith? You have not that plerophory, that fulneſs of aſſurance, that infallible certainty of your own ſalvation, which ſome modern ſectaries boaſt of. And ſo much the better, for that is nothing but ſpiritual pride and preſumption in a fallible creature before an all-perfect judge. As St. Paul ſaith, (1 Cor. IV. 4.) " I know nothing by " myſelf," I am not conſcious of any evil, " yet am I not hereby " juſtified, but he that judgeth me is the Lord." As St. John ſaith, (1 John III. 20.) " God is greater than our heart, and knoweth all " things." But though you be not poſſeſſed of this vain and enthuſiaſtical, yet you may have a rational and well-grounded faith. For do you not believe in a God and a providence and a ſtate of rewards and puniſhments in a world to come? Do you not believe that Jeſus is (Matt. XVI. 16.) " the Chriſt the ſon of the living God," and embrace the goſpel, and endevor to frame your life according to it? And doth not the apoſtle ſay (Acts XVI. 31.) " Believe on the Lord Je- " ſus Chriſt and thou ſhalt be ſaved?" Doth not our Saviour himſelf aſſure us (John III. 16.) that " whoſoever believeth in him ſhall not " periſh but have everlaſting life?" Only your faith muſt be proved and manifeſted by good works; for as works without faith are vain, ſo faith without works is vain alſo.

But you never kindle into that fervor and rapture which animates and inflames the devotion of others. And perhaps you are not naturally of ſo ſanguin a complexion or ſo warm and lively a temper as others. A man may be a very good man, and love God very ſincerely, without any of that ſeraphic love, which ſome myſtical writers have deſcribed not to ſay in ſuch luſcious, in ſuch unintelligible language.

The beſt love of God is to " keep his commandments," (1 John V. 3.) better than all the rants of enthuſiaſm, better than all the ſallies of the moſt rapturous devotion; and certainly it is nobler to ſerve God upon principles of reaſon than by the impulſe of paſſion. Your religion ſhould be what St. Paul recommends (Rom. XII. 1.) " a reaſonable " ſervice," and not what Solomon diſſuades (Eccleſ. V. 1.) " the ſa- " crifice of fools."

But you are very deficient in practice as well as in belief, and are as deſtitute of true repentance as you are of true faith. I had much rather that you ſhould acknowlege your faults, than that with modern ſaints you ſhould pretend to ſinleſs perfection; much rather that with the humble publican (Luke XVIII. 11—14.) you " would not ſo much as " lift up your eyes unto heaven, but ſmite upon your breaſt ſaying God " be merciful to me a ſinner," than that with the proud phariſee you ſhould " thank God that you are not as other men are:" you know " which of theſe went down to his houſe juſtified rather than the " other." " If we ſay that we have no ſin, (1 John I. 8.) we de- " ceive ourſelves, and the truth is not in us." The truth cannot be in thoſe, who with all their pretences to better faith have not alſo better morals; but ſo far from better morals, they are made worſe in all capacities and relations of life, as parents or children, as maſters or ſervants; ſo far from ſinleſs perfection, it is rare, very rare, to find one, and eſpecially a teacher, indued with common honeſty. It may ſound harſh thus to condemn any ſect in general, but I ſpeak as far as my own experience extends. I have never had any dealings or intercourſe with any of this ſect, tradeſmen ſervants or others, but I found they would cant and diſſemble, would equivocate and lie, and cheat you if they could: and I have heard many others atteſt and complain of the ſame. But brethren, " be not deceived, God is not mocked, " he" and he only " that doeth righteouſneſs, is righteous."

Indeed if you live in the commiſſion of any wilful ſin, you are not therefore, as ſome teach, the fitter object of mercy, nor are you (Rom. VI. 1.) to " continue in ſin that grace may abound:" but you have more than ſufficient reaſon to be troubled, and ought not to be eaſy, till

till you have made your peace with God, and given proofs of repentance and reformation. But for ſlight offenſes of omiſſion or ſurpriſe, for little human frailties and infirmities, " God will not be extreme " to mark what is done amiſs; if he ſhould, who may abide it? " But there is mercy with him;" and through the merits of our Saviour your ſincere but imperfect endevors after righteouſneſs will be accepted. And be not diſcouraged; for theſe doubts and miſgivings are indications of a tender and not of an evil conſcience; and rightly underſtood are matter of comfort and encouragement rather than of uneaſineſs and deſpair. If you were really as bad as you think yourſelf, ſuch a ſinner, ſuch an infidel; you would not be ſo terrified and perplexed with theſe fears and ſcruples. The worſt of men are the freeſt from them, the beſt are the moſt ſubject to them; and generally they prevail moſt there, where is leaſt ground or occaſion for them. If you would but have the courage to think ſo, you do litterally fulfil the command (Phil. II. 12.) of " working out your own " ſalvation with fear and trembling."

5. If your religious melancholy is occaſioned by terrible apprehenſions of the devil, and of the power that he hath over you; it muſt be ſaid that as ſome perſons believe too little of the devil, others believe too much. Thus much is certain, that the devil can do nothing without the permiſſion of God; and it ill agrees either with the goodneſs or juſtice of God, to give any one being ſuch an abſolute power over another as you ſeem to imagin. The devil may tempt and ſollicit you to ſin, that is he may ſuggeſt evil thoughts, may watch opportunities, may furniſh objects, may ſupply occaſions, and finally may prevail with you to ſin if you will; but he cannot conſtrain, he cannot oblige you to ſin, if you will not. You cannot be ruined and undone without your own conſent. You muſt not only be an acceſſory but the principal. The devil perhaps may be the father of ſin; but your own mind muſt at leaſt be the mother, conceive and bring it forth. " Reſiſt the devil (James IV. 7.) and he will flee from " you." You have ſufficient ſtrength to reſiſt him; for (1 John IV. 4.) " greater is he that is in us than he that is in the world." And

if

if you do reſiſt him, theſe aſſaults will be ſo far from being any diſgrace or any detriment, that they will redound to your greater honor and greater happineſs. The more powerfully you have been tempted here, the more glorioufly you will be rewarded hereafter.

6. and laſtly. If your religious melancholy is occaſioned by imagined decrees of God, and in conſequence of thoſe decrees his deſertion and withdrawing of his holy ſpirit from you; you fright yourſelf only with a phantom of your own raiſing. There are no ſuch decrees as you imagin; and if there were, how is it poſſible for you to know them? Predeſtination is an article of belief fitter for Mohammedans than for Chriſtians. It is directly contrary to all our natural notions of the divine attributes, that a God of infinite mercy and goodneſs ſhould predeſtinate any of his creatures, not for any offenſe of theirs, but merely for his own pleaſure, to everlaſting torments. Neither is it more contrary to reaſon than to the whole tenor of revelation, which expreſly aſſureth us, that (1 Tim. II. 4.) "God would have all men "to be ſaved, and to come unto the knowlege of the truth;" that (2 Pet. III. 9.) "God is not willing that any ſhould periſh, but that "all ſhould come to repentance;" and introduceth God as ſwearing by himſelf (Ezek. XXXIII. 11.) "As I live, ſaith the Lord God, "I have no pleaſure in the death of the wicked, but that the wicked "turn from his way and live." If any obſcurer paſſages have been interpreted to favor the doctrin of predeſtination, they will all upon examination be found to relate only to mens temporal condition, not to their ſpiritual and eternal.

Since then there are no ſuch decrees as you imagin, there can be no reaſon for imagining that God hath forſaken you in conſequence of ſuch decrees. Doubtleſs God may finally abandon men to themſelves, and withdraw his grace and holy ſpirit from them: but this is a certain axiom in divinity, Deus nunquam deſerit niſi deſerentem, God never forſakes any man who hath not firſt forſaken him. And you are ſo far from forſaking God, that it is your misfortune to be rather too ſcrupulous and fearful of offending him. Oh! never then deſpair nor imagin that God hath totally abandoned you, though ſometimes ſpi-

ritual comforts are withheld from you, and ſometimes temporal afflictions are laid upon you. No man can be in health and ſpirits at all times alike, and the beſt of men have ſometimes experienced a deſertion of this ſort. How doth holy Job complain, (VI. 4.) "the arrows of the almighty are within me, the poiſon whereof drinketh up my ſpirit; the terrors of God do ſet themſelves in array againſt me!" How doth one of the pſalmiſts bewail his condition, (Pſal. LXXXVIII. 14, 15.) "Lord, why caſteſt thou off my ſoul, why hideſt thou thy face from me? I am afflicted and ready to die from my youth up; while I ſuffer thy terrors, I am diſtracted!" How pathetically doth good David cry out in his diſtreſs, (Pſal. XXII. 1.) "My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me?" And doth not our bleſſed Saviour himſelf repeat the very ſame thing in his agony, (Matt. XXVII. 46.) "My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me?" "Beloved" therefore (1 Pet. IV. 12, 13.) "think it not ſtrange concerning" this "fiery trial which is to try you, as though ſome ſtrange thing happened unto you: but rejoice in as much as you are a partaker of Chriſt's ſufferings, that when his glory ſhall be revealed, you may be glad alſo with exceeding joy."

And now to conclude in as few words as poſſible. If divine vengeance is ſo terrible only in imagination, how intolerable muſt it be when actually inflicted? If religious melancholy is ſo grievous to be borne and ſo difficult to be cured, how hainous muſt be his offenſe, and how deſerved his puniſhment, who by ſuperſtitious doctrins and practiſes, by binding heavy burdens upon mens ſhoulders, cauſeth one innocent Chriſtian to deſpair? "It were better for him, (Luke XVII. 2.) that a milſtone were hanged about his neck, and he caſt into the ſea, than that he ſhould" thus "offend one of theſe little ones." If virtuous ſouls can ſuffer all theſe horrors and diſtractions, what "ſhall be the end of them that obey not the goſpel of God? (1 Pet. IV. 17, 18.) And if the righteous ſcarcely be ſaved, where ſhall the ungodly and the ſinner appear?" Live therefore a life of religion and virtue; and endevor to make that religion appear as amiable as you can by a chearful eaſy behaviour. Exert your ſpirits, if not for your

your own ſake, yet for God's; for ſo much melancholy and horror are enough to make religion itſelf be thought a melancholy horrid thing. But religion rightly underſtood is ſo far from being the cauſe of any melancholy, that it is the moſt effectual cure of all. It is moſt truly ſaid of that wiſdom which is religion, and of that religion which is wiſdom; (Prov. III. 17.) " Her ways are ways of pleaſantneſs, and " all her paths are peace." God is called " the God of all conſola- " tion." Jeſus, as his name ſignifies, is " the Saviour." The Holy Ghoſt is " the Comforter." The goſpel is " good news, glad tidings" of ſalvation to all people. Every diſconſolate Chriſtian therefore may aſk himſelf, and anſwer himſelf too with the good pſalmiſt; " Why " art thou caſt down, O my ſoul? and why thou art diſquieted within " me? Hope thou in God, for I ſhall yet praiſe him who is the " health of my countenance and my God." The pſalmiſt repeats it thrice within the compaſs of two pſalms, or rather thrice within the compaſs of one and the ſame pſalm, for moſt probably the 42d and 43d pſalms were originally but one and afterwards divided. However that may be, it is repeated thrice, as the burden of the pſalm; and indeed it can never be repeated too often: " Why art thou caſt down, " O my ſoul? and why art thou diſquieted within me? Hope thou " in God, for I ſhall yet praiſe him who is the health of my counte- " nance and my God."

" Now our Lord Jeſus Chriſt himſelf, and God even our father, " which hath loved us, and hath given us everlaſting conſolation, and " good hope through grace, Comfort your hearts, and ſtabliſh you " in every good word and work." 2 Theſſ. II. 16, 17.

DIS-

DISSERTATION XIII.

On Self-Love.

SELF-LOVE is one of the firſt and moſt powerful principles of nature, and natural principles are divine principles, the voice of nature is always the voice of God. But yet there have been ſome divines (and ſuch too as would be thought the only divines) who have taught that it is our duty to neglect to deſpiſe to hate and abhor ourſelves, that without it we cannot be true diſciples of a crucified Saviour, and unleſs we perfectly loath and deteſt ourſelves, we can never ſincerely and heartily love God. And in conſequence of this doctrin they have preached up a mortification and abſtinence, no where practiſed, no where injoined by Chriſt or his apoſtles, and have made penance a ſacrament, and whipping and walking barefoot and ſuch like corporal ſeverities principal parts of devotion.

But this doctrin of hating ourſelves is too unnatural to prevail among men; all the ſprings of human paſſions recoil and reſiſt it; and we may obſerve, that the generality of mankind have erred in the contrary extreme, and inſtead of loving themſelves too little love themſelves too much, inſtead of thinking every thing too good for themſelves think nothing good enough. It is ſomewhat ſtrange that a ſelfiſh character ſhould be ſo very common, at the ſame time that it is ſo very odious. Moſt men exclaim againſt it, and yet moſt men are apt to run into it; they eaſily ſee the deformity of it in another, but are not ſenſible of it in themſelves. And generally where is the leaſt merit and virtue, there is the greateſt vanity and ſelf-conceit. A man is often happy in his own good opinion, who hath ſcarce the good opinion of one in the world beſides. The uglieſt are commonly the fondeſt of their perſon, the moſt ſtupid are the moſt opinionated

of their underſtanding, and a fool ſhall ever value himſelf more than "ſeven men who can render a reaſon." The groſſeſt ſouls are always the moſt ſelfiſh, as the heavieſt bodies are indued with the greateſt power of attraction.

Between theſe two extremes of loving ourſelves too little and loving ourſelves too much, there is a moderate ſelf-love, which is ſo far from being a fault that it is a virtue, what nature dictates, and what religion approves. Self-love, all men feel and cannot but feel, is a natural inſtinct; and as of a natural inſtinct the apoſtle ſpeaketh of it (Eph. V. 29.) "No man ever yet hated his own fleſh, but nouriſheth "and cheriſheth it." And this natural inſtinct religion is ſo far from condemning, that on the contrary it expreſly authorizes and confirms it. For though the apoſtles were in a particular manner to be expoſed to perſecutions, and "through much tribulation were to enter "into the kingdom of God;" yet our Saviour in his directions to them (Matt. X. 17, 23.) commands them ſtill to conſult ſelf-preſervation, to "beware of men," and "when they were perſecuted in one "city to flee into another." Nay he maketh our love of ourſelves the ſtandard and meaſure of our love to others, in ſaying (Matt. XXII. 39.) "Thou ſhalt love thy neighbour as thyſelf," and (VII. 12.) "Whatſoever ye would that men ſhould do to you do ye even ſo to "them." It cannot then be a fault, it muſt be our duty to love ourſelves, ſince we are only to love our neighbour *as* ourſelves, and to do unto others *as* we would they ſhould do unto us. Beſides, what are all the promiſes and threatnings of the goſpel, the rewards promiſed to virtue, and the puniſhments threatned to ſin, but ſo many motives and arguments addreſſed to our ſelf-love? This paſſion therefore is ſo far from being unlawful, that it is made the foundation of all virtue and religion. But farther, we have the pſalmiſt not only recommending ſelf-love and the doing well unto ourſelves, but moreover aſſerting that it conduceth to our reputation with others. The beginning of the Pſalm (XLIX. 1, 2, 3.) is very ſolemn and engaging of our attention; "Hear this all ye people, give ear all ye inhabi-"tants of the world. Both low and high, rich and poor together;

"My

" My mouth ſhall ſpeak of wiſdom, and the meditation of my heart " ſhall be of underſtanding:" And afterwards follows as one of theſe meditations of wiſdom and underſtanding (ver. 18.) " Men will praiſe " thee when thou doeſt well to thyſelf." Where it will be proper to ſhow, firſt, what it is to do well unto ourſelves, what it is to love ourſelves; and then, 2dly, how this conduceth to our reputation with others. As it is in the other verſion of the pſalms, " So long as thou " doeſt well unto thyſelf, men will ſpeak good of thee."

1. It is proper to ſhow what it is to do well unto ourſelves, what it is to love ourſelves, becauſe men naturally deſire always to do well unto themſelves, but yet often ſtrangely miſtake what it is and wherein it conſiſts; and want not ſo much to be exhorted to love themſelves, as to be directed how and in what manner they may beſt do it. For there is a virtuous, and there is a vicious ſelf-love. We may make a good uſe of this paſſion, or we may be guilty of a wicked abuſe of it, and deſtroy ourſelves with very kindneſs to ourſelves.

In the general therefore let us take care to live a life of religion and virtue, and then all the good that we can do to ourſelves it is not only allowable to do, but it is right and our duty to do, and we are wanting to ourſelves if we do not do it. For the thing's being for our good is argument enough for it, and in the caſe we ſuppoſe there is no ſuperior argument from religion or virtue againſt it. Religion and virtue are the ſtandards to regulate our ſelf-love. All the good, all the pleaſure, all the happineſs that we can procure to ourſelves conſiſtent with theſe is to be deſired, is to be purſued, is to be enjoyed; but all that is any ways inconſiſtent, is no more than a ſeeming good but a real evil, a tranſient pleaſure but a laſting pain, happineſs in expectation but miſery in event. God is always to be preferred to men, public good to private; and if we love God in the firſt place, and our country in the ſecond, we can never love ourſelves too much in the third. And the right ſelf-love the true ſelf-intereſt is the practice of wiſdom and righteouſneſs, according to that of Solomon, (Prov. XIX. 16, 8.) " He that keepeth the commandment keepeth " his own ſoul;" and again, " He that getteth wiſdom loveth his

" own ſoul, he that keepeth underſtanding ſhall find good." The greateſt good that we can do to ourſelves is to be good.

This may ſuffice for a general account of ſelf-love; but if we would be more particular, we may conſider it with reſpect to the ſoul, and the body, and the eſtate or outward circumſtances.

With reſpect to the ſoul, ſelf-love is not always to gratify and indulge our humors and appetites, but perhaps oftener to check and controll them; is not to think too highly of our own underſtanding, but to think ſoberly according to the meaſure that God hath given us; not to fancy that we are wiſer and better than other people but to make ourſelves ſo, and to adorn our minds with all the human ſciences and accompliſhments with all the divine virtues and graces of which we are capable. Can that man be truly ſaid to love himſelf, who continually giveth way to his fractious fooliſh humors, who taketh his will and pleaſure for his law, and inſtead of making his appetites ſubmit to reaſon maketh reaſon ſubmit to his appetites: Or rather doth he not render himſelf a plague to himſelf as well as to all about him, his appetites growing by indulgence, and like a froward child the more he is humored wanting ſtill to be humored the more? Can that man be truly ſaid to love himſelf, who liveth always in diſſipation and idleneſs, who never taketh due care to cultivate and improve his mind, but goeth out of the world as ignorant almoſt as he came into it: Or rather is he not properly a barbarian, and is it not even greater cruelty to keep a ſoul in ſupine ignorance than to detain a body in a dungeon of darkneſs? Can that man be truly ſaid to love himſelf, who defiles and pollutes his ſoul with any ſin, who ſottiſhly prefers the ſenſual pleaſures to the intellectual, earthly things to heavenly, temporal to eternal: Or rather is he not his own worſt and greateſt enemy; and as a good conſcience is a continual feaſt, is not an evil conſcience a continual torment, " the worm that never dieth, " the fire that is never quenched?" Wouldſt thou therefore truly love thyſelf, wouldſt thou love thine own immortal ſoul, grow in wiſdom, grow in grace and goodneſs. " Whoſo findeth me," ſaith Wiſdom, (Prov. VIII. 35, 36.) " findeth life, and ſhall obtain favor of the " Lord;

" Lord; But he that ſinneth againſt me wrongeth his own ſoul, all " they that hate me love death."

With reſpect to the body, ſelf-love is not to be over-nice, for over-nice is but another word for over-troubleſome; but it is to keep ourſelves neat and clean, and it is not ſo properly a virtue to be ſo, as it is beaſtly to be otherwiſe. It is not to be too ſollicitous about our health in the valetudinary way, for to this may often be truly applied the ſaying (Mark VIII. 35.) " Whoſoever will ſave his life ſhall loſe " it, and whoſoever will loſe his life, the ſame ſhall ſave it:" but it is to take all due care of our health by living ſoberly and temperately and running into no ſort of irregularity and exceſs. As it is not to be too adventrous, ſo neither is it to be too fearful; as it is not to be too prodigal of life and needleſly expoſe ourſelves to danger, ſo neither is it to be too fond of life and be guilty of any thing worſe than death for fear of death: " not to be afraid of them (Luke XII. 4.) who " kill the body and after that have no more that they can do," but (Matt. X. 28.) " to fear him who is able to deſtroy both ſoul and " body in hell." It is not to pamper and fatten ourſelves in lazineſs and luxury, and " make a god of our belly," as ſome of whom St. Paul ſpeaketh (Phil. III. 19.) but it is as the ſame apoſtle expreſſeth it, (1 Cor. IX. 27.) " to keep under our body, and bring it into ſub-" jection," that it may be a proper inſtrument for the ſoul in all her operations. The greateſt bleſſing in life next to a ſound mind is a ſound body, and to this it may eaſily be judged which contributes moſt, drunkenneſs gluttony debauchery, or ſobriety temperance chaſtity.

With reſpect to the eſtate or outward circumſtances, ſelf-love is to be diligent in our buſineſs; to be tender of our reputation; to keep good company; to make as many friends and as few enemies as poſſible; to live neither above our fortune, nor below it; to be neither extravagant luxurious ſpendthrifts on the one hand, nor penurious ſordid miſers on the other; to aſſert our liberties, but not to run into licentiouſneſs; to be the faithful ſubjects of authority, but not the ſlaves; in all things to preſerve the reſpect due to ourſelves; to ſub-

mit

mit to our ſuperiors without making ourſelves mean and ſervile, to condeſcend to our inferiors without making ourſelves cheap and vulgar; to be prudent in the affairs of the world, but not overreaching; to be tenacious of our rights but not litigious; careful without anxiety, frugal without covetouſneſs, ambitious without vain-glory; and in a word to endevor to raiſe ourſelves by all lawful and honorable means, and for lawful and honorable ends, and by none other and for none other whatſoever. For (Pſal. XXXVII. 16.) " even a ſmall thing " that the righteous hath is better than great riches" or great any thing " of the ungodly."

This it is to do well unto ourſelves, this it is to love ourſelves; and that this conduceth to our reputation with others was to be ſhown in the ſecond place, and few words will be ſufficient for this purpoſe. For indeed how can we reaſonably expect that others ſhould care for us, when we have no care at all for ourſelves? The trueſt ſelf-love, as we have ſhown, is to be virtuous and good, and to be virtuous and good is the moſt amiable character in nature. Even they who are wicked themſelves do yet generally applaud goodneſs in others.

More particularly. It is ſelf-love to be eaſy and good-tempered, and to endevor to excel in uſeful knowlege and virtue: And what is more agreeable to others as well as more delightful to a man's ſelf than good manners and good temper, a commanding reaſon and paſſions and appetites obeying? What is ſo commendable as to cultivate and improve the mind, and riſe daily from knowlege to knowlege and from one degree of virtue to another? On the contrary what characters are more univerſally deſpiſed derided deteſted than the peeviſh and ill-natured, the idle and unthinking, the vicious and profane? Do not even the ill-natured exclaim againſt ill-nature, and the ignorant laugh at others ignorance, and the wicked themſelves commonly condemn their fellows in wickedneſs?

It is ſelf-love to take due care of our health, and to live ſoberly and temperately: And where are the drunken and debauched ever commended, except perhaps by a few profligate and abandoned companions like themſelves? The wiſe part of the world are ſure to deſpiſe them,

them, and in reality there is not a greater monſter upon earth than a man-beaſt.

Finally, it is ſelf-love to mind our affairs, and to endevor to raiſe ourſelves by all lawful and honorable means: And what more effectual way can we take to eſtabliſh our reputation as well as to advance our intereſt? Who ever values and commends a man for ſpending his time idly, or for keeping mean company, for ſquandring away his money, or any ways reducing himſelf to want and beggary? Do not even the few who partake of his vain profuſion ſecretly deſpiſe him and laugh at him for it? "If any provide not for his own, and eſpecially for thoſe "of his own houſe, he hath denied the faith," ſays St. Paul, (1 Tim. V. 8.) "and is worſe than an infidel:" and what then muſt he be who not only doth not provide for his own houſhold, but doth not even provide for himſelf? Alas! if we will not take care and provide for ourſelves, who do we think will be at the charge and the pains of providing for us? Our deareſt friends, our neareſt relations will grow cool as we grow troubleſome, and will ſoon be weary of doing for a man who will do nothing at all for himſelf. The beſt way to be reſpected is to be as little dependent as we can. The leſs we ſtand in need of our friends, the more always will they love and regard us.

A ſelfiſh character indeed is juſtly odious; but to love ourſelves is one thing, and to be ſelfiſh is another. The ſelf-lover, as the word ſignifieth, loveth himſelf; but the ſelfiſh man loveth only himſelf: the ſelf-lover provides for both worlds, the ſelfiſh man only for this: the one is moderate, immoderate the other in his deſires and enjoyments: the one ſeeketh his good only by good and lawful means, the other by good or bad by right or wrong indifferently: the one that he may abound and communicate to others, the other that he may engroſs and enjoy all himſelf: And therefore one of theſe characters is juſtly honored by men, and the other as juſtly deteſted; one is plainly allowed in ſcripture, and the other as plainly forbidden; and the apoſtle placeth the "lovers of their own ſelves," that is the ſelfiſh, in the front of that black catalogue, as if this quality was the root and principle, the ſource and origin of all other immoralities, (2 Tim. III. 1, &c.)

&c.) " In the laſt days men ſhall be lovers of their own ſelves, co-
" vetous, boaſters, proud," and ſo on, " lovers of pleaſure more
" than lovers of God." It is only the falſe vicious ſelf-love, which indeed is not ſo properly ſelf-love as ſelfiſhneſs, that is condemned in ſcripture; the other, which is true and natural, is always allowed, and is not in the leaſt forbidden even by the goſpel precepts of ſelf-denial. For certainly it is for our intereſt, and therefore is a piece of ſelf-love, to deny ourſelves any good for the ſake of avoiding a greater evil or obtaining a greater good; and the greateſt inſtances of ſelf-denial are often the greateſt inſtances of ſelf-love. For as our Saviour expreſſeth it, (Matt. XVIII. 8.) " it is better for us to cut off
" a right hand or pluck out a right eye, rather than having two hands
" or two eyes to be caſt into everlaſting fire." Self-love doth not provide barely for the gratification of the preſent moment, but doeth what is good upon the whole, and may be ſo reckoned all things conſidered and taken into the account. And of this ſort of ſelf-love there is no danger of having too much, the only fear is that we ſhall not have enough.

It was good advice of an ancient (1) heathen, Do nothing diſhoneſt neither with another nor by yourſelf, but of all men reverence moſt yourſelf. It is certain if we had a due reſpect and reverence for ourſelves, we ſhould ſcorn to be guilty of any thing mean and unworthy of ourſelves; we ſhould be above ſelling or proſtituting ourſelves, and ſhould be as much aſhamed and afraid of doing what we ſhould not do by ourſelves as before company we reverenced. To this purpoſe it is wiſe counſel of the ſon of Sirach, (Ecclus XXXIII. 20, 22. X. 28, 29.) " As long as thou liveſt and haſt breath in thee, give not
" thyſelf" or (as it is in the margin) " ſell not thyſelf over to any;
" In all thy works keep to thyſelf the præeminence, leave not a ſtain
" in thine honor. Glorify thy ſoul in meekneſs, and give it honor
" according to the dignity thereof: Who will juſtify him that ſinneth
" againſt his own ſoul? and who will honor him that diſhonoreth
" his

(1) Pythagoras. —ωρηξης δ' αιχρον ωοιε μηδε μετ' αλλω,
Μητ' ιδιη· ωαιδων δε μαλις' αισχυνεο ζαυτον.

" his own life?" There is what we call *a decent honeſt pride*, which is not only highly uſeful but neceſſary in life, being a moſt excellent guard for all the virtues: and it may be queſtioned, whether more people are not ruined by valuing themſelves too little than by valuing themſelves too much. It is the character given of ſome men that they are *the worſt to themſelves*, and this among unthinking people paſſeth for a ſort of good-nature: but good-nature and charity always begin at home, though they never end there; and it is very much to be ſuſpected how he can be a friend to mankind, who is not at all a friend to himſelf. Such conduct is not good-nature but folly. For if it is wiſdom to do good to one's ſelf, the contrary muſt be folly. And that " to be wiſe" is " to be wiſe for one's ſelf" we have the authority of the wiſeſt man who ever lived: (Prov. IX. 12.) and the ſaying can never be urged too much, nor repeated too often, " If thou be wiſe, thou ſhalt be wiſe for thyſelf;" wiſe not only for thy body, but for (what is more properly thyſelf) thy ſoul; wiſe not only for thy temporal concerns, but for thine eternal; wiſe not only in the things of this world, but " wiſe unto ſalvation."

DISSERTATION XIV.

On God's Omnipreſence.

ONE great end and principal duty of an intelligent creature is to contemplate the creator, and by the contemplation of his nature we ſhall raiſe and improve our own. Of all ſubjects it is the greateſt, the moſt noble, and the moſt ſublime, that can poſſibly enter into our imaginations; nothing can ſo fill and elevate the ſoul: and at the ſame time it is a ſubject that is always inexhauſtible, always new; and the

more we meditate, the more matter we find for meditation. But a barren ſpeculation of the divine excellencies is a vain idle amuſement, is ſo far from any merit that it is a crime. The knowlege even of God is of no value, unleſs it influenceth our practice, and is fruitful of good works.

Now of all the attributes of God, the conſideration of none perhaps is more intereſting and affecting than of the divine immenſity or omnipreſence; and nothing was ever celebrated in a finer ſtrain of poetry than it is in the CXXXIXth pſalm. The praiſes of God are ſet forth in the book of pſalms more than in any other book of holy ſcripture; and as the pſalms are all excellent, one may ſtrike one perſon and another another, but to me I confeſs there is not any more affecting than this in the whole collection. Take the ancient lyrics, read any of their hymns to any or all of their gods, and ſee whether there is any ode in Horace or Pindar comparable to it from the beginning to the end. A man muſt have a head and a heart as dull and as hard almoſt as the nether milſtone, to hear it or read it without ſenſible emotion. "Whither ſhall I go from thy ſpirit? or whither ſhall "I flee from thy preſence? If I aſcend up into heaven, thou art "there; if I make my bed in hell, behold thou art there; If I take "the wings of the morning, and dwell in the uttermoſt parts of the "ſea, Even there ſhall thy hand lead me, and thy right-hand ſhall "hold me; If I ſay ſurely the darkneſs ſhall cover me, even the night "ſhall be light about me; Yea, the darkneſs hideth not from thee, "but the night ſhineth as the day; the darkneſs and the light are "both alike to thee."

Thus doth holy David profeſs his belief of the divine immenſity or omnipreſence; and he doth not do it in the dry jejune manner of the ſchools, but inlivines his metaphyſics with all the ſpirit and all the graces of poetry: and in diſcourſing of the ſame ſubject we will firſt offer

(1) Ut partium temporis ordo eſt immutabilis, ſic etiam ordo partium ſpatii. Moveantur hæ de locis ſuis, et movebuntur (ut ita dicam) de ſeipſis. Newton. Princip. Mathemat. Schol. ad Definit. 8. Deus non eſt eternitas vel infinitas, ſed eternus et infinitus; non eſt duratio vel ſpatium, ſed durat et adeſt: durat ſemper et adeſt ubique; et exiſtendo ſemper et ubique, durationem et ſpatium, eternitatem

offer ſome ſhort *proof* and *illuſtration* of this attribute, and then conſider what *ſpeculative*, and then what *practical* inferences we can make from this doctrin.

I. We will firſt offer ſome ſhort *proof* and *illuſtration* of this attribute, to help and aſſiſt your conception of it. It is without doubt a perfection to exiſt in all ſpace as well as in all time; and therefore the Supreme Being, as poſſeſſing all perfections, muſt be both infinite and eternal. Who is there indeed ſuperior to the Supreme Being, that could circumſcribe his eſſence, and ſay "Hitherto ſhalt thou come "and no farther?" No being can poſſibly act where he is not, and if his eſſence be limited, his power muſt be limited too, and conſequently we muſt believe God to be omnipreſent, before ever we can believe him to be omnipotent; and if we deny the one, we muſt of courſe deny the other, which would be to contradict all our natural notions of the deity. We all know that the Supreme Being is a neceſſarily exiſtent being, but a neceſſarily exiſtent being muſt exiſt in all places alike. Neceſſity of nature muſt extend and operate every where equally; and by the ſame rule that you could ſuppoſe God to be abſent from any place, you might as well ſuppoſe him to be abſent from all: but if he could be abſent from any, he would not exiſt by the neceſſity of his own nature, but muſt be limited and bounded there by ſome other nature, which is abſurd to ſay of the firſt being, who made all other beings and was himſelf made of none. You cannot even (1) deſtroy and annihilate ſpace in imagination; ſuppoſe it ever ſo much to be taken away, it will ſtill remain: but ſpace is not itſelf any real being, but is only a mode of the exiſtence of the Supreme Being, who by inhabiting in all ſpace conſtitutes infinity, as by enduring through all time he conſtitutes eternity. Seeing that every particle of ſpace is *always*, and every ſingle moment of duration is *every where*; certainly the creator and lord of all things cannot be *never no where*. He is omnipre-

nitatem et infinitatem, conſtituit. Cum una quæque ſpatii particula ſit ſemper, et unum quodque durationis indiviſibile momentum ubique; certe rerum omnium fabricator ac dominus non erit nunquam nuſquam. Omnipreſens eſt non per virtutem ſolam, ſed etiam per ſubſtantiam; nam virtus ſine ſubſtantia ſubſiſtere non poteſt. In ipſo continentur et moventur univerſa, &c. Ibid. Schol. general. ſub finem.

ſent not by virtue alone, but alſo by ſubſtance; for virtue without ſubſtance cannot ſubſiſt. In him all things are moved and are contained.

What is thus evinced by reaſon may be farther confirmed by ſeveral expreſs teſtimonies of ſcripture: but we conceive the quotation already made is ſufficient, and what ſignifies it to multiply inſtances, when we cannot produce another paſſage that is expreſſed with greater energy and beauty? And to the authorities of reaſon and ſcripture we might add the general ſuffrage and conſent of mankind, and the ſentiments and maxims of the wiſeſt philoſophers in all ages. You may find variety of paſſages both from ſacred and from heathen authors cited to this purpoſe by other divines who have treated of the ſame ſubject.

It is excellently ſaid by one of the heathen philoſophers, that God is a ſphere, whoſe center is every where, and circumference no where: and nothing perhaps can help us better to conceive this attribute. It is ſtrictly and philoſophically true, that God is in us, and we are in God. He is in our head, he is in our heart, he is intimate with our very ſouls; and (Acts XVII. 28.) "in him we live, and move, and "have our being." We are limited and tied down as it were to a ſpot, to a point; our ſphere of action is narrow, but our ſphere of imagination is large: and from this ſpot, this point, let us extend our imagination to the diſtant mountains, and God is there as well as here; and from thence let us extend our thoughts over all the lands and over all the ſeas, behold God is there likewiſe; and from thence beyond the bounds of the earth, beyond the moon, beyond the ſun, beyond the fixed ſtars, beyond all the worlds and all the matter in the univerſe, ſtill God is there; and when we have carried our thoughts ever ſo far, God is ſtill farther, above all highth, below all depth, beyond all meaſure, and where is nothing elſe, ſtill there is God. He is properly the *Lord* of the univerſe, for he poſſeſſeth, he filleth it. He is the ſoul that inhabits and animates all nature. Our ſouls have their little ſenſories, but infinite ſpace is as I may ſay the ſenſory of the Godhead.

But though God thus animates the univerſe, and mingles with every thing, yet he is defiled by nothing; he is in all, but above all; penetrates

trates the inmoſt and darkeſt receſſes, purer than the æther, clearer than the light; ſpreads indiviſible, operates impaſſible; ſupporting and acting upon all beings, but himſelf ſupported and acted upon by none. And though God is often ſaid in ſcripture "to be in heaven," yet we muſt not imagin that he is only there, for he is every where; and another ſcripture ſaith (1 Kings VIII. 27.) that "the heaven and hea-"ven of heavens cannot contain him." The phraſe of "being in "heaven" is uſed only of his *glorious*, and not of his *eſſential* preſence, which is every where equal, every where the ſame. He is eſſentially preſent in hell as much as in heaven, but heaven is the ſeat of his glorious preſence; and without doubt he may manifeſt his glories more in one place, as he may his terrors in another. The manifeſtations of himſelf may be different at different times and in different places; but the Godhead is the ſame in all, and through all, and over all, bleſſed for ever.

II. Let this ſuffice by way of proof and illuſtration of this attribute; and now let us conſider what *ſpeculative*, and then what practical inferences we can make from this doctrin. To conceive rightly of one attribute is the beſt means to conceive rightly of others. Now the very ſame argument of neceſſary exiſtence, that proveth God to be *infinite*, proveth him likewiſe to be *eternal*. A neceſſarily exiſtent being muſt endure through all ages, as well as exiſt in all places. That being cannot be neceſſarily exiſtent, which was not the ſame yeſterday, and is not the ſame to day, and will not be the ſame for ever.

The infinity of the divine nature may likewiſe infer the *unity*; for it ſeemeth hard to conceive two infinites of the ſame nature and eſſence; the one would as it were abſorb the other, and they would be in effect but one God. Neceſſity of nature will infer one infinite, but never more than one.

The immenſity of the divine nature argues God alſo to be a *ſpirit*; for otherwiſe, where body is, he would be excluded. For two bodies cannot occupy the ſame ſpace; and conſequently an infinite being, who penetrates and pervades all matter, cannot himſelf be matter, but muſt be ſome ſpiritual eſſence. But though two bodies cannot occupy

the

the ſame ſpace, yet the ſame ſpace may be occupied by two ſpirits, the divine and ſome other ſpirit. Indeed that two created ſpirits ſhould occupy the ſame ſpace, is hardly to be believed or conceived: and therefore the problem of the ſchoolmen, how many angels may ſtand upon the point of a needle, is not more ſtrange and whimſical than abſurd and ridiculous. But it is certain, that angels, and the ſouls of men, and other created ſpirits all live in God, who inſpires all ſpirit as well as informs all matter, though we conceive all other ſpiritual ſubſtances to differ very much from the divine eſſence.

His omnipreſence too is a demonſtrative argument of his *omniſcience*; and he muſt know every thing, becauſe he is intimately preſent with every thing. He is an infinite mind; and nothing can be hid from him, for there is nothing but what he contains and comprehends. He animates all ſouls, as he ſupports all bodies; and not only our moſt ſecret actions muſt all be known to him, but not a ſingle word, not a thought or intention can be concealed from him. And this infinite and all-ſeeing knowlege the pſalmiſt celebrates in the ſame divine ſtrain of poetry as the reſt: "O Lord, thou haſt ſearched me, and known "me; Thou knoweſt my down-ſitting and mine up-riſing, thou un-"derſtandeſt my thoughts afar off; Thou compaſſeſt my path and "my lying down, and art acquainted with all my ways; For there "is not a word in my tongue, but lo, O Lord, thou knoweſt it al-"together; Thou haſt beſet me behind and before, and laid thine "hand upon me."

Another conſequence of his omnipreſence is likewiſe his *omnipotence*; and he who is every where may certainly act every where, though we can hardly ſuppoſe the works of God to be infinite like himſelf. His omnipreſence is one of the principal ways and means, whereby he is both omniſcient and omnipotent; this is in great meaſure the foundation of thoſe two attributes, and he could not poſſeſs the one or the other without it.

As God is infinite, he muſt for that reaſon as well as others be likewiſe *incomprehenſible.* For it is impoſſible for finite ever to comprehend infinite, and in this very pſalm we have the good pſalmiſt declaring,

claring, " Such knowlege is too wonderful for me, it is high, I can-
" not attain unto it." The divine immenſity overpowers all human faculties, and we cannot think of it without being loſt in wonder and amazement. As Zophar ſaid to Job (XI. 7, 8, 9.) " Canſt thou by
" ſearching find out God? canſt thou find out the Almighty unto
" perfection? It is as high as heaven, what canſt thou do? deeper
" than hell, what canſt thou know? The meaſure thereof is longer
" than the earth, and broader than the ſea."

However it may greatly aſſiſt us in forming ſome notion of *divine providence*, and confirm our belief of this fundamental article of all religion. To creatures of confined views and of a narrow ſphere of action, it appears impoſſible to attend to many affairs at once; we are diſtracted with multiplicity of buſineſs, wanting to be here and wanting to be there, and minding many things we properly mind nothing: but when we conſider how God " is in all things," it is not difficult to conceive how he may ſuperintend and govern all things, how nothing can be done without his direction or permiſſion, how his knowlege muſt extend to the leaſt things as well as the greateſt, how not even a ſparrow (Matt. X. 29, 30.) " falleth on the ground without our
" father, yea the very hairs of our head are all numbered."

At the ſame time it demonſtrates the vanity and folly of idolatry, and of worſhipping even the true God by corporeal images and repreſentations. For is there any God beſides the ſupreme and infinite? and can an infinite being be limited and bounded within any form or figure? Can ſtocks and ſtones give us any inlarged ideas of immenſity? and what reſemblance or relation is there between corporeal and ſpiritual, finite and infinite?

It evinces alſo the folly and unreaſonableneſs of believing in gods of particular places, mountains or rivers, cities or countries; for the dominion of the deity is not a partial but univerſal dominion, God is God every where or no where: and the worſhip of ſuch limited gods, of ſuch inferior deities is excellently ridiculed by Elijah in his ſpeech to the prophets of Baal; (1 Kings XVIII. 27.) " Cry aloud, for he

" is

" is a God, either he is talking, or he is purſuing, or he is in a jour-
" ney, or peradventure he ſleepeth, and muſt be awaked."

By parity of argument we may infer from hence alſo the unreaſonableneſs and abſurdity of worſhipping and praying unto ſaints and angels, as the practice is in the church of Rome. For we are as ſure that theſe are all finite and limited beings, as that God is infinite; and can there be a greater abſurdity, than inſtead of praying unto him who we are ſure is omnipreſent to hear us and omnipotent to help us, to pray unto ſuch beings as whether they hear us or not is very uncertain, and ſtill more uncertain whether they can any ways help and aſſiſt us? Wherefore as the apoſtle ſaith, (Col. II. 18.) " Let no man
" beguile you of your reward in a voluntary humility and worſhipping
" of angels." As the angel ſaid unto St. John, (Rev. XXII. 9.)
" See thou do it not; for I am thy fellow-ſervant, and of thy bre-
" thren the prophets, and of them who keep the ſayings of this
" book: Worſhip God." And it is a text of ſcripture quoted by our Saviour himſelf (Matt. IV. 10.) " Thou ſhalt worſhip the Lord thy
" God, and him only ſhalt thou ſerve."

III. Beſides theſe ſpeculative ſeveral *practical* inferences alſo may be made from this doctrin. As God is every where preſent, we ſhould behave always as in his preſence, with all that reverence and regard which are due to the Supreme Being. We generally act with circumſpection and caution, when men have their eyes upon us; but what is all the world compared to him who made the world, our creator and our judge? We may retire from men, but we cannot retire from God. If we go forward, he is there; and if we go backward, he is there alſo. God and our own mind and conſciences are always with us, and inſeparable from us; and we ſhould not ſuffer our own heart to reproach us, but (1 John III. 20.) " God is greater than our heart and knoweth
" all things."

As in the general we ſhould behave always as in his preſence, ſo particularly we ſhould fear him. We are naturally under ſome awe and confuſion, when we appear before our earthly ſuperiors; and the more modeſt and ingenuous natures are more liable to theſe fears and apprehenſions:

apprehenſions: but ſhall we be more afraid of man than of his maker; ſhall the preſence of the greateſt perſon upon earth be able to overawe and confound us, and at the ſame time the majeſty of God have no effect upon us, nor move us to "work out our ſalvation with "fear and trembling?" The heathen moraliſt [Seneca] thought he recommended an excellent rule of life, when he adviſed us to place Cato before our eyes, and to act as we would act in his preſence: but is not the conſideration of the divine majeſty infinitely more ſolemn and awful? and is it not a much better rule of behaviour, Whatever you do, remember you are doing it in the ſight of God? and ſhall not the reality of this affect us more than the imagination only of the other?

As God reigneth every where, ſo every where we ſhould worſhip and adore his infinite goodneſs. Devotion is not a local act, but may be exerciſed freely in all places as well as at all ſeaſons. Particular places indeed muſt be aſſigned for public worſhip, where numbers of men aſſemble: but his own private devotions a man may offer up at any time and in any place, journeying by land, or ſailing in the ocean, walking in the fields and groves, as well as kneeling in his cloſet or chapel; for the deity is every where preſent to hear us; the whole world is his temple, and every man his prieſt to offer up prayers and praiſes unto him.

And can there be a ſtronger foundation for hope and confidence in God? For he is "a very preſent help in trouble," as the pſalmiſt expreſſeth it; (Pſal. XLVI. 1.) and every where ready at hand to aſſiſt us. In any difficulties, when we have a friend ſtanding by to ſupport and help us, we reſume our courage; but what friend and protector can we deſire more than infinite and almighty goodneſs? "I have "ſet the Lord always before me," ſays good David; (Pſal. XVI. 8, 9.) "becauſe he is at my right-hand I ſhall not be moved: There"fore my heart is glad, and my glory rejoiceth; my fleſh alſo ſhall "reſt in hope." Sleeping or waking, dying or living, we are ſtill in the hands of almighty God; whether we are in the body or out of the body, the ſoul is ſtill with the father of ſpirits; and therefore

(Pſal. XXIII. 4.) " though I walk through the valley of the ſhadow " of death, I will fear no evil, for thou O Lord art with me, thy " rod and thy ſtaff they comfort me."

From the divine immenſity we may alſo learn a leſſon of humility, ſeeing the inanity and nothingneſs of human nature upon compariſon. All pride groweth upon compariſon; but inſtead of looking downward upon the creatures below us, let us look upward to God above us, and we ſhall confeſs ourſelves to be altogether lighter than vanity. How little is man, and how great beyond all utterance and conception is God! and how are all human excellencies ſwallowed up and loſt in his infinite perfections! God all fulneſs, and man all emptineſs; and who would not therefore humble himſelf before him, and be ready to profeſs with holy Job, (Job XLII. 6.) " Wherefore I abhor " myſelf, and repent in duſt and aſhes."

Nothing ſurely can be of greater force and efficacy than the divine preſence to diſſuade and deter us from all manner of ſin. A man may be guilty of ſeveral things privately and alone, which yet he would be aſhamed and afraid of acting before other perſons, or even where children are preſent; and ſhall we not be reſtrained much more by the preſence of the great God, who is " of purer eyes than to be- " hold iniquity?" Whenever therefore thou art tempted to any ſin, only take time to conſider with thyſelf, that all this while God ſeeth thee, the eyes of the Almighty are upon thee, and thou muſt be daring indeed to commit it. Wilt thou be checked and reſtrained by man, and under no fear and apprehenſion of God? Thou wouldſt not be ſo vile and audacious as to commit it before the magiſtrate; and wilt thou venture before the ſupreme judge of the world? thou wouldſt not be ſo profligate and graceleſs as to do it before thy father upon earth; and wilt thou preſume in the more immediate preſence of thy father who is in heaven?

The divine preſence may not only diſſuade and deter us from ſin, but farther incite and animate us to do our duty; and we ſhould act with greater honor and dignity, if we remembered before whom we were acting. We are ſometimes elevated and inlivened ſo much by

by the preſence of others, as to think and act altogether above ourſelves. What man is not deſirous to excel and appear amiable in the ſight of the perſon beloved? what actor or orator is not fired and animated by the quality and condition of his audience? what ſervant will not perform his work better during the attendence and inſpection of his maſter? what ſoldier would not behave more bravely under the eye and command of his general? what ſubject would not exert and endevor to recommend himſelf with the greateſt advantage in the preſence of his ſovran? and ſhould we not then be raiſed and inſpired with the thought, that the Supreme Being continually beholds us, and his reward is with him? ſhould we not make the nobleſt efforts in the nobleſt preſence, and (Phil. III. 13, 14.) "forgetting thoſe things "which are behind, and reaching forth unto thoſe things which are "before, preſs toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of "God in Chriſt Jeſus?"

Of this we are aſſured, that God is an infinite mind; and there is not a word in our tongue, there is not a thought in our heart, but he knoweth it altogether: and why then ſhould we pretend to diſguiſe or conceal any thing from him? "Can any hide himſelf in ſecret "places that I ſhall not ſee him? ſaith the Lord: (Jer. XXIII. 24.) "do not I fill heaven and earth? ſaith the Lord." All hypocriſy is as much folly as it is wickedneſs; the deceit ſeldom paſſeth long upon men; but how can we hope ever to impoſe upon God, who knoweth us better, and is more intimate with ourſelves than ourſelves? Here at leaſt we ſhould practiſe ſincerity, for we ſhall be known equally to God, whether we are ſincere or not; and we may as well make a virtue of neceſſity.

As it is true in the natural ſenſe that God is in us and we are in God, ſo we ſhould endevor to make it true likewiſe in the myſtical ſenſe, that he may inhabit us by grace as well as by nature; that he may "love us and come unto us," as our Saviour expreſſeth it, (John XIV. 23.) "and make his abode with us;" that his preſence may not fill us with the terrors of the Almighty, but inſpire us with the comforts of his holy Spirit; and that uniting ourſelves to him in af-

fection and virtue here, we may be united in glory and happineſs hereafter.

Finally let us make the ſame uſe, as the pſalmiſt himſelf doth of this doctrin; and conclude our diſcourſe, as he concludes the pſalm, by praying unto God who knoweth all our ways to direct us in the way to everlaſting life: "Search me, O God, and know my heart; "try me, and know my thoughts; And ſee if there be any wicked "way in me, and lead me in the way everlaſting."

DISSERTATION XV.

On the Goodneſs of GOD.

"THOU art good, and doeſt good." Such is the character, that the pſalmiſt (Pſal. CXIX. 68.) hath given us of the Supreme Being: and one, who was ſo good himſelf, was ſurely the beſt qualified to celebrate the divine goodneſs. It is a theme worthy of the tongues of men and of angels; nor can the univerſe afford a more noble, or a more pleaſing ſubject for our meditations. The other attributes and perfections of the divine nature may fill us with awe and aſtoniſhment; but what can we think of or ſpeak of with greater delight and pleaſure than of the divine goodneſs? Goodneſs is a thing ſo generally underſtood, as to need no particular definition or deſcription; and it is the ſame in the divine as in the human nature; not different in kind, but only different in degree; here derived, limited, and deficient; but there eſſential, infinite, and all-perfect. The notion of goodneſs is therefore beſt learned by conſidering what a ſpirit of benevolence and beneficence it is in ourſelves, and then by applying it in the moſt abſolute manner and in the moſt unlimited perfection

to

to the Supreme Being we ſhall gain ſome idea of the divine goodneſs.

We have ſome notion then of infinite goodneſs, and now let us conſider why we attribute it unto God. "Thou art good," ſays the pſalmiſt; thou art in thyſelf infinitely and eſſentially holy, juſt, and good; and in this ſenſe it is that our Saviour ſays (Matt. XIX. 17.) "There "is none good but one that is God." We know that the Supreme Being poſſeſſes all perfections; and there is not a greater perfection than goodneſs; and all others, as power, knowlege, and the like are only ſo much the more dangerous, and more formidable without it. There are ſome beams and emanations of it diſcovered in the creatures, and it muſt be much more and more eminently in the creator. It is indeed morally impoſſible for the Supreme Being to commit any evil. Thoſe occaſions and temptations to ſin, which influence others, can have none effect upon an infinite and all-knowing mind. He cannot do evil through error or miſtake, for he is omniſcient, and ſeeth perfectly all the reaſons and relations, all the iſſues and events of things. He cannot be ſeduced through weakneſs, for he is omnipotent; nor be ſwayed and tempted by ſuperior power, for he is the ſource and origin of all power. He cannot be blinded by paſſion, for he is an infinitely pure ſpirit; nor be led aſtray by any want or deſire, for he is all-ſufficient, and everlaſtingly happy himſelf within himſelf. All wickedneſs argues ſome defect, but there can be no defect in the Supreme Being. Where is perfect power, and perfect wiſdom, and perfect happineſs, there muſt be likewiſe perfect goodneſs.

But the pſalmiſt ſays not only "Thou art good," but alſo "thou "doeſt good." The Supreme Being is not only infinitely holy and good in himſelf, but alſo diſplays and manifeſts his goodneſs to all other beings: and He, who was from all eternity perfectly happy in himſelf and from himſelf, could have none other motive or inducement to the works of creation, but to communicate his perfections, and impart happineſs to his creatures, in different meaſures and proportions, according to their different natures, capacities, and conditions. And this is not only the language of reaſon and philoſophy, but the conſentient voice

of

of all mankind. Prayer and thankſgiving are principal parts of worſhip in all nations: and all prayer is founded upon a ſuppoſition of God's goodneſs and readineſs to relieve and aſſiſt us; and thankſgiving is ſomething more than an acknowlegement of his diſpoſition to do good, it is a grateful return for his mercies already beſtowed upon us. The very Heathens uſed to addreſs the Supreme Being with the ſtile and title of Optimus Maximus, *the beſt and greateſt*, (1) the *beſt* firſt and therefore the *greateſt*: and in our language the name of *God* is plainly derived from his *goodneſs*, as if this was his nature and eſſence.

Theſe are ſome of the general arguments and proofs of this attribute, but what tongue can declare the particular inſtances of the divine bounty and goodneſs? (Pſal. CVI. 2.) "Who can utter the "mighty acts of the Lord? who can ſhow forth all his praiſe?" His beneficence appears in the largeneſs and extent of the creation, in forming ſo many worlds and ſpeaking ſo many ſyſtems out of nothing, as even imagination cannot comprehend half their variety or number. "He telleth the number of the ſtars; he calleth them all by their "names," (Pſal. CXLVII. 4.) is accounted a character of divine knowlege; and much more muſt the creation of ſo many worlds be a manifeſt proof of divine power and goodneſs.

Our ſyſtem is only a part of the univerſe, and our earth is only a part of this ſyſtem; but the ſeveral parts as well as the whole ſhow the handiwork of a gracious creator and preſerver; and as the pſalmiſt expreſſeth it, (Pſal. XXXIII. 5.) "the earth is full of the goodneſs "of the Lord." What tranſcendent goodneſs (for nothing but tranſcendent goodneſs could induce him) to give life and being to ſuch diverſity of creatures, and not only to create but continually to ſupport and preſerve them, to fit and qualify them for their ſeveral degrees and ſtations in the ſcale of beings, and to make ample proviſion not only for their ſubſiſtence but even for their comfortable ſubſiſtence! (Pſal. CXLV. 15, 16.) "The eyes of all wait upon thee O Lord, "and

(1) Ille parens hominum deorumque, *Optimi* prius, deinde *Maximi* nomine colitur. Plin. Paneg. Cap. 88.

(2) Dr.

" and thou giveſt them their meat in due ſeaſon; Thou openeſt thine " hand, and ſatisfieſt the deſire of every living thing."

But the divine bounty is moſt viſible and conſpicuous in *man* of all the creatures of this lower world. He is made a little lower than the angels, a living intelligent rational ſoul, the image of God, and the lord of the inferior creation. His every ſenſe, as (2) one excellently obſerves and excellently expreſſes, doth bear teſtimony to the goodneſs of God. " We *ſee* it in the glorious brightneſs of the ſkies and in " the pleaſant verdure of the fields; we *taſte* it in the various deli- " cacies of food ſupplied by land and ſea; we *ſmell* it in the fra- " grancies of herbs and flowers; we *hear* it in the natural muſic of " the woods; we *feel* it in the comfortable warmth of heaven and in " the chearing freſhneſs of the air; we continually do poſſeſs and en- " joy it in the numberleſs accommodations of life preſented to us by " the bountiful hand of nature." Noble proviſion is alſo made for our future and everlaſting happineſs as well as for our preſent and temporal welfare. We are not only indued with the excellent talents of reaſon, but are bleſſed with the additional light of revelation; and (John III. 16.) " God ſo loved the world, that he gave his only-be- " gotten Son, that whoſoever believeth in him ſhould not periſh, but " have everlaſting life." How great and invaluable a bleſſing is this in itſelf, and how much greater in its effects and conſequences! For (Rom. VIII. 32.) " He who ſpared not his own ſon, but delivered " him up for us all, how ſhall he not with him alſo freely give us all " things?" As man is the moſt favored of all the creatures of this lower world, ſo we of this nation have more abundant experience of the love of God than the greater part of mankind. For we live at a time when our country is no longer barbarian, but is poliſhed with all the arts and refinements of life; we enjoy liberty of conſcience and the light of the goſpel in greater purity than any church upon earth; and our conſtitution of government with all its imperfections is more perfect than the beſt of former times or of the preſent. So that we may

(2) Dr. Barrow.

may ſay truly (Pſal. CXLIV. 15.) " Happy is the people that is in " ſuch a caſe, yea happy is the people whoſe God is the Lord."

But it was not my deſign ſo much to inlarge upon theſe arguments and inſtances of the divine goodneſs, whereof every man hath ſenſible experience and demonſtration, as to conſider thoſe pious uſes which may be made of this doctrin; for certainly it may be of great uſe and ſervice, both in forming our opinions, and in directing our practice.

1. This doctrin may be of uſe and ſervice in forming our opinions, and from one truth eſtabliſhed others will neceſſarily follow. We ſee by it more particularly the folly and malice of atheiſm, that would exclude ſo good a being from the government of the world. He muſt be a " fool" indeed, (Pſal. XIV. 1.) who " ſays in his heart There is " no God," or can wiſh a thing ſo contrary to all the intereſts as well as all the reaſon of mankind. Would any man wiſh that all government was diſſolved, and all things were reduced to anarchy and confuſion? Would any man wiſh that the light of the ſun was extinguiſhed, and there was univerſal darkneſs and barrenneſs in nature? And yet theſe things are much rather to be deſired than that there ſhould be no God or no providence. We naturally wiſh and believe whatever is for our intereſt; but can it be for any man's intereſt, unleſs the very worſt of men, that there ſhould be no ſuch thing as infinite goodneſs? and can he poſſibly ever be a friend, or rather muſt he not be the greateſt enemy, to mankind, who would perſuade them out of the moſt comfortable truth, that the mind is capable of conceiving? If there was really no God, yet the notion of his goodneſs would make us wiſh at leaſt that there was one; and we ſhould be glad of every argument to confirm our belief, and be ſorry to find any to ſhake and unſettle it. For it would be much better, that there was no world, than that there ſhould be no good providence to govern it.

We are enabled from hence too to give ſome anſwer to the queſtion concerning the origin of evil. For all the evils of life may be conſidered as of two ſorts, either *natural* or *moral* evil. *Natural* evil ſo

far as it is only the evil of imperfection, a want of certain faculties and excellencies which other creatures poſſeſs, is not properly an evil, but is barely a negation of good; or elſe it is balanced with as great or greater good, as in the caſe of the afflictions and ſufferings of good men, and then too it is not properly an evil, it is only the chaſtening of a kind father, perhaps for our temporal but certainly for our ſpiritual good; or elſe it is the conſequence of the other ſort of evil, of *moral* evil, occaſioned by it, or intended for the puniſhment, or correction, or prevention, or reformation of it, and then neither is it altogether evil but good in a certain degree. There would be properly no *natural* evil, if there was not firſt ſome *moral* evil: and *moral* evil cannot without a manifeſt contradiction be laid to the charge of infinite goodneſs. God made all his creatures good and perfect in their kind; and if they have not kept their firſt eſtate, it is owing entirely to the defection of the creature, and not to any fault of the creator. It is the abuſe of that liberty, which it is neceſſary for all moral agents to enjoy, and which was given them for the glory and perfection of their nature, but they have perverted to the corruption and depravation of themſelves. "Let no man" therefore "ſay, when he "is tempted, I am tempted of God, for God cannot be tempted with "evil, neither tempteth he any man; but every man is tempted, "when he is drawn away of his own luſt and inticed." (James I. 13, 14.)

This doctrin likewiſe ſufficiently refutes the doctrin of abſolute predeſtination, of the reprobation and rejection of certain perſons from eternal life. For what a contradiction is it, that a being of infinite goodneſs ſhould præordain any of his creatures to everlaſting miſery, not for any fault or demerit of theirs, but purely out of the fulneſs of his own abſolute dominion and authority, to make ſome veſſels of wrath, as he hath choſen others veſſels of mercy? "That be far from "thee, O Lord: (Gen. XVIII. 25.) ſhall not the judge of all the "earth do right?" It is contrary to all our notions of juſtice; and how then can we poſſibly reconcile it with the more divine attribute, as I may call it, of mercy? It would be a reproach to man to charge

him with ſuch cruelty and injuſtice; but it is horrid blaſphemy againſt God; and we could not ſay, we could not think worſe of the devil himſelf. "The Lord is good to all, (Pſal. CXLV. 9.) and his ten-"der mercies are over all his works." No man can be a veſſel of wrath fitted for deſtruction, who hath not made himſelf ſo by his vices.

Nor let the everlaſting puniſhment of the wicked be made any objection to the divine goodneſs. For puniſhments are neceſſary as well as rewards in all well conſtituted governments; and we may reſt aſſured, that God will not puniſh any of his creatures more than ſhall be requiſite for the good order and happineſs of the whole. His judgments will be ſo true and righteous, that every mouth ſhall be ſtopped, and even they who ſhall be condemned ſhall themſelves be found to acknowlege the juſtneſs of the ſentence. God without doubt made all his creatures to be happy, he could have no other poſſible inducement to make any; and they themſelves are only to blame, if they will pull deſtruction upon their own heads. Their ſalvation is of God, their damnation is of themſelves. "For (Wiſd. I. 13, &c.) God "made not death, neither hath he pleaſure in the deſtruction of the "living: For righteouſneſs is immortal: But ungodly men with their "works and words call it to them."

But ſecondly this doctrin may be of uſe and ſervice not only in forming our opinions, but likewiſe in directing our practice. "For "(Rom. II. 4.) the goodneſs of God leadeth us to repentance." And yet men are apt to abuſe it to other purpoſes, and to continue in ſin becauſe grace abounds. (Eccleſ. VIII. 11.) "Becauſe ſentence againſt "an evil work is not executed ſpeedily, therefore the heart of the "ſons of men is fully ſet in them to do evil." But ſurely it is an argument rather to return unto a gracious father whom we have offended, when we know that he is ready to receive us, and defers puniſhment only in hopes of our amendment. There will be a time when even infinite goodneſs will bear no longer with impenitent ſinners; and muſt not they be very preſumptuous and provoking, who dare to try the utmoſt bounds of divine patience? God muſt be juſt as well as merciful;

merciful; and if we will not be won by the gracious diſpenſations of his mercy, we muſt expect to feel the terrible effects of his juſtice. But is it not nobler to be attracted by goodneſs than compelled by ſeverity, and to act from a principle of love rather than from a principle of fear?

We may learn from hence too to comfort and encourage ourſelves in all the fears and dangers, in all the difficulties and afflictions, in all the changes and chances of this mortal life. The goodneſs of God is a never-failing ſpring of hope even in the worſt of circumſtances. When all other comforts fail us, and all other friends forſake us, this may ſtill be our ſtrength and our ſupport. "We know" and are fully perſuaded, "(Rom. VIII. 28.) that all things work together for good to them that "love God;" and upon the whole, that muſt certainly be beſt for us, which infinite goodneſs ſhall think beſt to allot us. Whether we live or die, we are ſtill in the hands of an almighty creator and preſerver, whoſe good providence reacheth to both worlds? and why ſhould we not be as ſecure in the one as in the other? We may therefore take up the divine paſtoral, and ſay, (Pſal. XXIII. 1, &c.) "The Lord is my ſhepherd, "I ſhall not want; He maketh me to lie down in green paſtures, he "leadeth me beſide the ſtill waters; Yea though I walk through the "valley of the ſhadow of death, I will fear no evil, for thou art with "me, thy rod and thy ſtaff they comfort me; Surely goodneſs and "mercy ſhall follow me all the days of my life, and I will dwell in "the houſe of the Lord for ever."

And can there be a ſtronger motive and incentive to the love of God, than this moſt godlike attribute? This is really and truly the foundation of all our love and eſteem, and it would be impoſſible to have a due regard even for the Supreme Being without it. We might fear him for his power, we might admire him for his wiſdom, we might reverence him for his juſtice; but we love him properly ſpeaking for his mercy and goodneſs. Goodneſs is amiable in itſelf and for itſelf, though we derive none advantage from it; and how much more, when it is ſo beneficial to us, and the ſource of ſo much happineſs to all around and beneath it? We cannot but be ſenſibly affected with

the faint ſhadows and imperfect images of it in inferior beings; but ſupreme infinite goodneſs, all-wiſe, all-powerful, all-perfect goodneſs, how muſt it at once tranſcend and raviſh our imaginations? We ſhould be brutes and monſters of men, not to love thoſe again who love us, and are continually conſulting our welfare and promoting our intereſts; but what friendſhip can be half ſo dear and valuable to us, as his who "giveth us all things richly to enjoy," and in whom "we live and "move and have our being?" (Pſal. XXXI. 23.) "O love the Lord, "all ye his ſaints, for the Lord preſerveth the faithful, and plente-"ouſly rewardeth the proud doer." (Pſal. XXXIV. 8.) "O taſte "and ſee that the Lord is good; bleſſed is the man that truſteth in "him."

But ſilent love and veneration is not ſufficient; gratitude requires that we ſhould alſo "praiſe the Lord for his goodneſs, and declare the "wonders that he doth for the children of men." There is a grace and comelineſs in generous actions, that we naturally commend and applaud, when they are done to others; and how much more when we are partakers, and the good effects extend to ourſelves? It is a pleaſure to a grateful mind to unburden itſelf, and diſcharge ſome part of its debt, in praiſes and thankſgivings to its benefactor; and the greater are the favors beſtowed upon us, the greater ſhould be our gratitude, and riſe and increaſe in proportion. To our other benefactors we may perhaps be able to make ſome return, or give ſome equivalent; but what can we render unto the Lord for all his benefits, beſides our praiſes and benedictions? and ſhould we not be the moſt ungrateful wretches in the world, if we refuſed to pay this eaſy tribute for ſuch infinite obligations? Every one hath reaſon enough to be thankful; but the rich and great, they who have received moſt, ought to be moſt thankful; and inſtead of abſenting themſelves from divine worſhip, are not ſuch perſons doubly obliged to become ſhining examples of piety and devotion, and to take every opportunity of bleſſing and praiſing their maker, both private and public, in their cloſet and in the congregation? It is baſe to be ungrateful to men for their kind offices, but it is baſer ſtill to be ſo to God, to whom we owe ſo much

and

and have ſo little to pay: and it will not avail us to offer up a cold formal thankſgiving; faint languid praiſe is in effect no praiſe; like the good pſalmiſt we muſt ſummon up all the powers and faculties of our ſouls to this holy exerciſe: (Pſal. CIII. 1, &c.) "Bleſs the Lord, "O my ſoul, and all that is within me, bleſs his holy name; Bleſs "the Lord, O my ſoul, and forget not all his benefits; Who for-"giveth all thine iniquities, who healeth all thy diſeaſes; Who re-"deemeth thy life from deſtruction, who crowneth thee with loving-"kindneſs and tender mercies."

But neither is it enough to praiſe, unleſs we likewiſe obey him; and the tribute of our lips will be of little value and ſignificance without the conſecration of our lives. We are altogether unworthy of God's goodneſs, and it is in a great meaſure thrown away upon us, if it cannot engage us to be obedient. Verbal acknowlegements are no better than empty ſounds without deeds to ratify and confirm them. We ſhould reckon ourſelves, or at leaſt we ſhould be reckoned by others, monſtrouſly ungrateful, if we failed to comply with the requeſts and execute the commands of a generous friend and benefactor; but what are all the obligations of human friendſhip compared with thoſe glorious inſtances of divine love, our creation, preſervation, redemption, all that we enjoy in this life, and all that we hope for in the next? So much goodneſs, one would think, was ſufficient to ſoften and melt the moſt obdurate heart; and they can hardly be indued with ſenſe and reaſon, who are capable of reſiſting it. What will merit our ſervices, if ſuch undeſerved grace and bounty will not? And it will be the greater aggravation of our diſobedience, becauſe God requires nothing from us, but what is for our welfare and advantage, even though he did not require it; which is another eminent inſtance of his mercy and goodneſs. Duty and intereſt are woven together, and our obedience is our happineſs. Oh do not therefore turn the grace of God into laſciviouſneſs; nor abuſe the bleſſings of life but improve them. As Samuel ſays, (1 Sam. XII. 24.) "Only fear the "Lord, and ſerve him in truth with all your heart, for conſider how "great things he hath done for you."

But

But the beſt obedience is the imitation of the divine goodneſs; and we cannot properly be ſaid to love him, praiſe him, or obey him, unleſs we likewiſe endevor to the utmoſt of our power to reſemble him. The moral attributes of God are particularly propoſed for our imitation: in ſeveral other perfections we cannot arrive at the leaſt degree of ſimilitude, but we may attain to ſome faint image and reſemblance of the divine goodneſs. And whom ſhould we deſire rather to imitate, or what motives will prevail with us, if ſo powerful an example cannot engage us? Can we fooliſhly imagin, that we were born only to receive good, and to do none? Is it reaſonable and fitting, that God ſhould be ſo bounteous and merciful to us, and at the ſame time we be cruel and inhuman one to another? How can we hope that God will ever forgive us his "ten thouſand talents," if we will not alſo forgive one another our "hundred pence?" Can it be thought beneath the greateſt man upon earth to do kind offices to the leaſt and loweſt of his fellow-creatures, when the infinite majeſty of heaven condeſcends ſo much more to us, and continually watches over us? Should we not rather eſteem it our greateſt honor, our higheſt felicity, for man to be inſtrumental in promoting the gracious deſigns of God, for the creature to delight in doing good like the creator, and as we all call God our father as brethren to love one another? This benevolent beneficent temper we commonly call *humanity*, religion dignifies it with the better name of *charity*; but it is really a ſpecies of *divinity*, and we become hereby "partakers of the divine nature," as St. Peter expreſſeth it; (2 Pet. I. 4.) we ſhall be "the children of the "higheſt," as our Saviour ſpeaketh, (Luke VI. 35.) and *gods* in a manner one to another. "Be ye therefore followers of God as dear "children, and walk in love as Chriſt alſo hath loved us." (Eph. V. 1, 2.) Muſt not that be the glory and perfection of our nature, which is the perfection of the divine? For what in St. Matthew is "perfect," (Matt. V. 48.) "Be ye therefore perfect even as your Father which is "in heaven is perfect," in the parallel place of St. Luke is "merciful," (Luke VI. 36.) "Be ye therefore merciful as your Father alſo is mer-"ciful." "God is love; (1 John IV. 16.) and he that dwelleth in "love, dwelleth in God, and God in him."

DIS-

DISSERTATION XVI.

Religion our greateſt pleaſure.

GOOD, pleaſure, happineſs, or whatever elſe you pleaſe to call it, is the conſtant wiſh and conſtant aim of mankind in all their deſigns and actions. And it is not only reaſonable, that we ſhould purſue our pleaſure and happineſs; it is the primary law and inſtinct of our nature. We were born for that very end, for God made his creatures, all to be happy, none to be miſerable; and we have affections and appetites continually craving and longing after it, importunate ſuiters that will be heard, that will be gratified. We tend to it as naturally as bodies gravitate to their center; and if it was not for this attraction, we ſhould live in perpetual ſuſpenſe and inactivity; our wills would never be determined, and we ſhould never be moved to action, if we did not propoſe to ourſelves ſome good, either real or apparent, in truth or in imagination.

But as all men purſue happineſs, do all men know how it is to be attained, or wherein it conſiſts? What Job ſaid of wiſdom, we may as truly ſay of pleaſure. (Job XXVIII. 12, &c.) " Where ſhall" pleaſure " be found, and where is the place of" happineſs? " It can-" not be gotten for gold, neither ſhall ſilver be weighed for the price " thereof. No mention ſhall be made of coral or of pearls, for the " price of". happineſs " is above rubies. Whence then cometh" plea-ſure, " and where is the place of" happineſs? Shall we conſult mankind about it? we ſhall find their opinions as many and as various almoſt as men themſelves. Every one hath his pleaſure, and almoſt every one's pleaſure is different from that of any other. Shall we then apply to the philoſophers? they are no more agreed about their ſummum bonum or chief good than the illiterate and ignorant vulgar.

I think St. Auſtin ſomewhere out of Varro reckons up no leſs than 280 different opinions concerning it: And in ſuch a caſe as this we cannot long continue ſceptics; we muſt purſue happineſs in one ſhape, in one form or other; only let us take care leſt by catching at the ſhadow we loſe the ſubſtance.

It is a thing that of all others moſt nearly concerns us, and therefore it may be worth our while to attend to what Solomon ſaith upon the ſubject; for his opinion is not like that of an old doating philoſopher, who condemns pleaſure for none other reaſon perhaps but becauſe he never enjoyed it. He was poſſeſſed of riches and power, to furniſh him with pleaſures in variety and abundance; and he was bleſſed with ſuperior parts and wiſdom, to know how to taſte and reliſh them, and how to form a proper judgment of them. And what was the reſult of ſo much experience and knowlege? Why that religion was our greateſt pleaſure, the reſt was "vanity of vanities, all "was vanity." "Her ways," emphatically and preferably to all others, (Prov. III. 17.) "her ways are ways of pleaſantneſs," and "all the things thou canſt deſire are not to be compared unto her."

If this be really the caſe, one of the ſtrongeſt prejudices againſt religion will be removed, and one of the greateſt points will be gained in its favor. For nothing diſcourageth men ſo much from religion, as the notion of its being a dull melancholy mortifying thing; whereas if the contrary can be made appear, that religion is really our greateſt pleaſure, I ſuppoſe, we ſhall entertain more favorable thoughts of it, and endevor to be religious as we deſire to be happy. Now that religion actually is our greateſt pleaſure, that this ſeeming paradox is a moſt certain truth, will appear whether we conſider in the firſt place the little ſatisfaction that is to be found in all other pleaſures, or 2dly the peculiar properties and advantages of religious pleaſures above all others. By the former of which it will appear, that religion is free from thoſe inconveniences with which other pleaſures abound; and by the latter, that it abounds with advantages, which other pleaſures want.

I. It

I. It will appear that religion is our greateſt pleaſure, if we conſider in the firſt place the little ſatisfaction that is to be found in all other pleaſures. The pleaſures of religion are as I may ſay the true ſtirling; the reſt are no better than droſs in compariſon. But to declame againſt the pleaſures of the world is entring into a wide field, and it is much more difficult to know what to chooſe than what to refuſe in ſo copious a ſubject. All good or pleaſure therefore may not improperly be reduced to *power*, which may comprehend all the goods of fortune; or what is uſually called *pleaſure*, which includes all the gratifications of the ſenſes; or *knowlege*, which is the food and delight of the underſtanding.

1. *Power* may be the means indeed of our doing a great deal of good in the world; but otherwiſe what can it ſupply us with to conſtitute our happineſs? Can riches purchaſe contentment? Or are the moſt wealthy always the moſt eaſy and happy? Riches are but a ſort of neceſſary evils; the trouble of getting, the difficulty of keeping, the hope of increaſing, the fear of loſing, are not theſe enough to balance the pleaſure of enjoying? Think how and by whom uſually they are got, and how and by whom uſually they are ſpent; and you will have no great reaſon to envy the one or the other.

Have pomp and grandeur any fairer pretenſions to happineſs? To live always in ſtate is to live always in conſtraint. To all ingenuous minds it is a burden rather than a pleaſure; and how are they pleaſed every now and then to retire, to lay aſide their formalities, and enjoy themſelves in private like other men? Such changes are often agreeable to the great, and indeed without this variety they could hardly ſupport their greatneſs.

What then think you of dreſs and equipage? Alas! all that looketh gay and ſplendid is not happy, no more than all that gliſters is gold. The fineſt cloaths often cover an aking heart; and they muſt have a very low ſenſe of happineſs indeed, who can wear it upon their backs. All your finery cannot equal the colors and beauty of the rainbow, it is a much finer ſight, will attract more eyes, and not much ſooner paſſeth away and is gone. And what pleaſure is it to be incumbered

with a numerous train of attendents? He who increaſeth his ſervants, increaſeth his plagues. At beſt they are no better than ſo many ſpies ſet upon a man to watch and report his behaviour.

What then think you of building and gardening? Will the pleaſure anſwer the expenſe? To what ſtraits and difficulties do they often reduce a family? What incumbrances do they often bring upon an eſtate? and perhaps prove the occaſion of ſelling it, and ſelling it to greater diſadvantage at laſt. But if there be none of theſe inconveniences, yet it is excellently ſaid by an ingenious author, (Mr. Pope) "I ſel-"dom ſee a noble building or any great piece of magnificence and "pomp, but I think how little is all this to ſatisfy the ambition, or "to fill the idea of an immortal ſoul?"

And for power itſelf, what a lubricous ſlippery ſituation is that? To what troubles temptations and dangers is it expoſed? and how continually ſtanding in need of eſpecial grace to prevent it from falling? How difficultly is it obtained? how eaſily is it loſt? How few may it chance to pleaſe? how many is it ſure to offend? and which are moſt in number its falſe friends or its real enemies? And what are riches and grandeur and power to a man, when he is going to leave them, and he knoweth not how ſoon he may leave them all behind him? If not before, yet then certainly we ſhall be forced to acknowlege religion to be our trueſt riches, and all the reſt to be "vanity "and vexation of ſpirit."

But 2dly *pleaſure* or the gratification of the ſenſes may be thought to be nearer and dearer to a man than his eſtate or outward circumſtances. This indeed is what is uſually called *pleaſure*, but ſurely it is one of the loweſt of the kind, and hardly deſerves the name. It is the happineſs not of the man but of the beaſt, and probably what the beaſts enjoy in much greater perfection than we do. It may be honey in the mouth, but it is poiſon in the ſtomach; ruins the eſtate, impairs the underſtanding, terminates in loſs of health, loſs of reputation, and above all loſs of harmony and peace of mind. If a man engageth in ſuch a courſe through the heat of youth and hurry of paſſion, time and experience will probably convince him of his folly,

and

and reclaim him: and then when he cometh to reflect upon his conduct, he will find that he hath been treaſuring up in his youth repentance for his old age. Or if he continues the ſame ſcene when he is old, his enemies cannot wiſh him to make a more contemptible figure, than between impotence and deſire, ſnow without and fire within. The ancients repreſented this ſenſual pleaſure very properly under the character of Circé, who by her cups and her charms transformed men into beaſts: Every wiſe man, every Ulyſſes will be careful to avoid them.

But perhaps you are not of a taſte ſo groſs and ſenſual; you are for pleaſures more refined, painting to feaſt the eyes, muſic to raviſh the ears, with other entertainments of the like nature. But are you ſure that you have really any ſkill and judgment in theſe things? for moſt men admire them out of vanity and affectation, and are at a great expenſe to ſee in effect with others eyes, and to hear with others ears. But if your pleaſures of this kind are real, yet can you be always gazing upon fine pictures, always hearing the voice of ſinging-men and ſinging-women; or is there not ſoon a ſatiety of theſe delights, and then a wearineſs? They may pleaſe at proper ſeaſons and intervals, but it is impoſſible for them to delight always. Happineſs muſt be ſomething more vital and ſubſtantial than a dead form or an empty ſound.

In what then ſhall we place our happineſs? ſhall we go round in a circle from diverſion to diverſion, from amuſement to amuſement, and be continually repeating compounding and varying them? But when a man maketh his pleaſure his buſineſs, he will find it a greater drudgery than his buſineſs itſelf. And how often will he meet with diſappointments? how often will his enjoyments fall ſhort of his expectations? how often will he be encountered by reflections in his ſerious hours, that the life of man was not made for trifles, that he was born for ſome higher and nobler end? And after all nothing that is external, nothing that depends upon the ſenſes, can be the proper happineſs of man. It muſt be ſomething within, ſomething in the heart and ſoul. What elſe can accompany us through every ſtage of

life, in adverſity as well as in proſperity, in ſickneſs as well as in health, dying as well as living? And what a poor abandoned miſerable creature is a man of pleaſure in diſtreſs, in ſickneſs, and at the hour of death? If not before, yet then certainly we ſhall be forced to acknowlege religion to be our greateſt pleaſure, and all the reſt to be "vanity "and vexation of ſpirit."

3. It may be thought therefore that *knowlege* muſt be the principal pleaſure of man, being the pleaſure of the principal part of man, the food and delight of the underſtanding. And it muſt be owned, that knowlege ſurpaſſeth ignorance as much (Eccleſ. II. 13.) "as light excelleth darkneſs:" but ſtill it is not without its allays, and is far, very far from happineſs. For with what pains and ſtudy is it acquired? and (Eccleſ. XII. 12.) "ſtudy is a wearineſs to the "fleſh." There is no getting this ore but by digging in the mine. And though we are long in acquiring it, yet how ſoon do we forget it? Our minds are ſomewhat like broken veſſels, which run out more than they contain. And even what we do contain, how ſhort is it of the truth and nature of things? Where we are relieved by ſcience in one caſe, we are perplexed with uncertainty in a thouſand: and ſhall we receive more pleaſure from the little that we know, or mortification from the great deal that we know not? And even to know more than the reſt of mankind, what is it but to be more ſenſible of the frailties and infirmities of human nature? what is it but to have a deeper inſight into the faults of others, and a quicker feeling of our own? what is it but to have a nicer taſte and judgment, and conſequently to meet with many more things to offend than to pleaſe; to leſſen the pleaſures and highten the evils of life in ſeveral inſtances, to approve only where others admire, and to be ſhocked where others only diſlike? And neither is ſucceſs in the world always proportionable to merit; for (Eccleſ. IX. 11.) "neither is bread to the wiſe, "nor yet riches to men of underſtanding, nor yet favor to men of "ſkill, but time and chance happeneth to them all." Your ſuperiors grow jealous of you, your equals rival and oppoſe you, your inferiors envy or fear you. Nay how often are men, like Socrates of old and Galileo

Galileo in later times, perſecuted only for their ſuperior knowlege, and condemned by their contemporaries for aſſerting thoſe truths, which gain them reverence among all poſterity? So true it is at leaſt in theſe inſtances, as the wiſeſt of men (Eccleſ. I. 18.) obſerved long ago, that "in much wiſdom is much grief, and he that increaſeth "knowlege increaſeth ſorrow." That is the beſt wiſdom which will make us "wiſe unto ſalvation," and without that all the reſt is "va-"nity and vexation of ſpirit."

II. It appears then that religion is our greateſt pleaſure by conſidering in the firſt place the little ſatisfaction that is to be found in all other pleaſures. It will ſtill farther appear by conſidering, as we propoſed in the ſecond place, the peculiar properties and advantages of religious pleaſures above all others. And as for method's ſake we ſhowed the vanity and emptineſs of other pleaſures with reſpect to *power* or the goods of fortune, with reſpect to *pleaſure* or the gratifications of the ſenſes, with reſpect to *knowlege* as the food and delight of the underſtanding; ſo we will ſhow the ſuperiority and advantages of religious pleaſures in each of theſe reſpects.

1. With reſpect to *power* or outward circumſtances, if religion doth not give riches, yet it contributes what is better, and what all the riches in the world cannot purchaſe, contentment. It is a tedious endleſs taſk to accommodate our circumſtances to our wants and wiſhes; it is a much eaſier and a much readier way to happineſs to proportion our wants and accommodate our wiſhes to our circumſtances. Men commonly grow in their deſires, as they grow in their fortunes; but he who is bleſſed with the ſpirit of contentment, hath all that the world can give. Wealth without it is poor, and even poverty with it is rich. "Godlineſs with contentment," as the apoſtle ſaith, (1 Tim. VI. 6.) "is great gain."

Nor doth religion only beget contentment, but it giveth a man a certain dignity and authority, which the greateſt can never acquire without it. The rods and axes of tyrants may extort an outward reſpect and reverence, but nothing commands the hearts and affections of men like goodneſs. Religion conciliates the love and eſteem of the world;

world; religion eſtabliſheth a fair character and unblemiſhed reputation; religion injoins honeſty in our dealings, œconomy in our expenſes, induſtry in our vocations; religion derives the bleſſing of God upon our undertakings, and either inſures ſucceſs, or converts even a diſappointment into a bleſſing: and all the good, all the pleaſure therefore that reſults from hence is the genuin effect and fruit of religion.

Nor doth religion conduce only to the happineſs of ſingle perſons, but likewiſe of families; nor only of private families, but likewiſe of public ſtates and kingdoms; reconciles enmities, and cements friendſhips; maketh obedience a delight, and government a bleſſing. A good man alſo rejoiceth in the floriſhing ſtate of others as well as his own. Little minds feel only for themſelves, but the good man hath his relations, his friends, his country, and indeed the whole world to make him happy. He wiſheth well to all, and if it was in his power would do good to all; and for the ſame reaſon he taketh pleaſure in their proſperity, and eſteems the bleſſings which happen to them as bleſſings in ſome degree to himſelf.

2. With reſpect to *the pleaſures of ſenſe* religion freeth a man from the dominion and perturbation of his appetites and paſſions, and eſtabliſheth a perfect ſerenity and calm within. Nor is it leſs conducive to his health than his eaſe, preſcribing the beſt regimen for health temperance ſoberneſs and chaſtity. It will either prevent ſickneſs, or be the greateſt ſupport under it. For (Prov. XVIII. 13.) "the ſpirit "of a man will ſuſtain his infirmity." There is no cordial like a good conſcience. "Length of days is in her right-hand," as Solomon ſpeaketh (Prov. III. 16.) with reſpect to the body; and with reſpect to the eſtate or outward circumſtances, "and in her left-hand "riches and honor." Indeed if pilgrimages and penances, whipping and walking barefoot, and ſuch like corporal ſeverities, were parts of religion, we could not preſume to recommend it as a thing ſo eaſy and engaging: but we know very well whoſe contrivances theſe are and for what purpoſe; religion diſclaims all ſuch fooleries, and abridgeth us of no pleaſures, no gratifications which are innocent; and they

are

are hightened by this reflection that they are taſted with innocence.

You may perhaps obſerve in contradiction to this doctrin, that religion is often repreſented in ſcripture by *running*, *ſtriving*, *wreſtling*, *taking up our croſs*, and the like metaphors, which imply it to be no eaſy attainment, but a matter of great pains and difficulty. But theſe expreſſions in their full force relate to the primitive times of the goſpel, which were times of perſecution. Now religion is not expoſed to theſe fiery trials from without, the difficulty ariſeth all from within: and this difficulty is nothing to the trouble that men uſually take in purſuit of their unlawful pleaſures. Men may get to heaven with half the pains they commonly earn damnation. This difficulty too is chiefly at our firſt entrance into a religious courſe; and how then can it be reaſonably imputed to religion, when it hath been originally owing to the want of it? And even during the ſtruggle, there is a ſecret pleaſure to obſerve how we gain ground every day in virtue, how paſſion groweth weaker and weaker, and reaſon ſtronger and ſtronger. There is more ſatisfaction even in the ſeverities of religion, more delight even in the melancholy of a quiet conſcience, than in all the noiſy mirth of thoſe who have (Iſa. V. 12.) "the harp "and the viol, the tabret and pipe, and wine in their feaſts, but "regard not the work of the Lord, neither conſider the operation of "his hands." There is no ſuch thing as pure and perfect pleaſure in this world; and who would not eſteem a little evil a good for the ſake of obtaining an infinitely greater good? who would not willingly give a ſmall ſum to purchaſe a great eſtate in reverſion? In ſhort if religion be "a yoke," it is "an eaſy yoke;" (Matt. XI. 30.) if "a "burden," it is "a light burden." It is as our liturgy expreſſeth it, "a ſervice that is perfect freedom."

But 3dly the principal pleaſure of religion is with reſpect to *the ſoul*, the ſoul being the proper ſeat of happineſs. Now religion is a pleaſure rational, angelical, divine. It is a pleaſure altogether in our own power, that none can give us, none can take away from us. It

is the pleaſure of both ſtates, of both worlds, of life and immortality, of time and eternity.

Of all knowlege it is the moſt pleaſant and delightful; the knowlege of the beſt things, the knowlege of the greateſt things, the knowlege of the neweſt things, and ſuch as we could never have known without it. And if Pythagoras could offer up a whole hecatomb, if Archimedes could run about tranſported, at the diſcovery of ſome mathematical truths; how much more ought we to rejoice in the glorious light of revelation?

Nor is it only moſt pleaſant to know, but alſo moſt delightful to practiſe; 'tis harmony of mind, 'tis decency of action; a pleaſure that never ſatiates, that never wearies; but the more we do good, the more always we delight to do it.

Nor doth it only pleaſe while it is doing, but likewiſe after it is done; and there are very few pleaſures, which will pleaſe upon reflection, or even bear a remembrance. There is certainly no pride, no ſatisfaction like that which diffuſeth itſelf over the heart, when our conduct hath been juſt, and we have done our duty. It is almoſt proverbial, that a good conſcience is a continual feaſt. It abates the evils, and doubles the pleaſures of life. The applauſe of the world given to virtue is a deſirable thing, but the approbation of one's own mind is more worth than ten thouſand witneſſes. "And beloved, "(1 John III. 21.) if our heart condemn us not, then have we con- "fidence toward God."

Such are the pleaſures of religion, that it not only delights with the remembrance of the paſt, but alſo giveth the moſt pleaſing hope and proſpect of the future. Nor doth this religious hope deſert us in the laſt extremity, but rather increaſeth as the time of our diſſolution approacheth, like the ſun gilding the clear evening with chearful rays, and appearing greater the nearer it is to ſetting. A man is raiſed above the world, who hath heaven in his view. He ſeemeth already more than mortal; and what is begun in grace here, will be conſummated

(1) Ουκ εστιν ηδεως ζην ανευ τε φρονιμως και καλως, και δικαιως ανευ τε ηδεως. Συμπεφυκασι γαρ αι αρεται τω ζην ηδεως, και το ζην ηδεως τελων εστιν αχωριστον. Epicurus apud Diog. Laert.

Clamat

mated in glory hereafter, in pleaſures (1 Cor. II. 9.) " ſuch as eye " hath not ſeen, nor ear heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of " man to conceive."

And now you ſee that Solomon uttered no paradox but a certain truth, when he affirmed of religion, that " her ways are ways of " pleaſantneſs." But if Solomon cannot be heard, yet at leaſt let Epicurus. He placeth indeed (1) the ſummum bonum or chief good of man in pleaſure; but pleaſure he aſſerts is inſeparable from virtue, and virtue from pleaſure: and can our modern Epicureans pretend to underſtand pleaſure better than the ancient? O conſider this all ye, who (Eccleſ. XI. 9.) " walk in the ways of your heart and in the " ſight of your eyes, but think not that for all theſe things God will " bring you into judgment." The *men of pleaſure* rightly underſtood are the men of virtue and religion. It is in vain to be followers of happineſs, and not to be followers of God. Thou, O God, art infinitely happy in thyſelf, and art the ſource of happineſs to all thy creatures. " How excellent is thy loving kindneſs, O God! (Pſal. " XXXVI. 7, &c.) therefore ſhall the children of men put their truſt " under the ſhadow of thy wings. Thou ſhalt make them drink of " the river of thy pleaſures; For with thee is the fountain of life, " and in thy light ſhall we ſee light." " Thou wilt ſhow us the " path of life, (Pſal. XVI. 11.) in thy preſence is fulneſs of joy, and " at thy right-hand there are pleaſures for evermore."

Clamat Epicurus is, quem vos nimis voluptatibus eſſe deditum dicitis, " non poſſe jucunde vivi, niſi ſapienter honeſte juſtéque vivatur; nec ſapienter honeſtè juſtè, niſi jucundè. Torquatus apud Ciceronem De Fin. Lib. 1. Cap. 13.

DISSERTATION XVII.

Religion our greateſt comfort.

A Man muſt have ſeen little, and have made leſs obſervation, who is not thoroughly convinced, that it is in vain to expect any ſuch thing as pure and perfect happineſs here below. Our imaginations may beat about and hunt after it, but we ſhall find it no where in this land of the living. Trouble is more or leſs the condition of all mankind; and neither the knowlege of the wiſeſt, nor the wealth of the richeſt, nor the power of the greateſt, nor the virtue of the beſt of men, can wholly exempt them from it. Life at beſt is a chequered ſcene, a mixture of good and evil; and thoſe who enjoy more of the good to their ſhare, we call happy; thoſe who ſuffer more of the evil, we reckon unfortunate.

As trouble then more or leſs is the neceſſary condition of life, the fatal and unavoidable lot and portion of mankind, it is as much vanity to think to live altogether free from it, as it is prudence to conſider how we may patiently bear it, whenever God ſhall be pleaſed to lay it upon us. And let no man think himſelf above conſulting what is the beſt expedient to enable us to bear affliction; for even the moſt proſperous know not how ſoon it may come to their turn to try it: and for what may happen at any time to any man, all men ſhould at all times be provided.

Now the beſt proviſion, the beſt expedient in this caſe is that which is ſuggeſted by the wiſeſt of men, (Prov. III. 17.) "And all her "paths are peace." He is ſpeaking of wiſdom, and we all know that by *wiſdom* in the language of ſcripture is meant *religion*. (Job XXXVIII. 28.) "The fear of the Lord that is wiſdom, and to de-"part from evil is underſtanding." Of this wiſdom he draweth a moſt

moſt amiable character, and among other excellent qualities he ſaith, "Her ways are ways of pleaſantneſs, and all her paths are peace:" That is, as our learned paraphraſt (Biſhop Patrick) expreſſeth it, "There is a ſingular pleaſure, nay the higheſt delight, in all the acts "of virtue to which wiſdom directs her followers: who are always "either in perfect ſafety by well doing; or if any trouble come upon "them, have that inward tranquillity and ſatisfaction, which nothing "elſe could give them." So that religion, as it is our greateſt pleaſure in proſperity, is likewiſe our greateſt comfort in adverſity. It will either ſupply us with never failing delights; or if we fall into any affliction, will be our greateſt ſupport under it. Here then is the true ſpecific for the troubles and calamities of human life; and all other lenitives are no better than quack remedies and counterfeits. Religion is our greateſt comfort; and ſo will it evidently appear by conſidering in the firſt place how little comfort is to be found in other things, and by ſhowing more particularly in the ſecond place the comforts which religion will afford us, when all other expedients prove ineffectual. By this ſurvey it will appear, that nothing can adminiſter ſolid comfort but religion; and religion will, if we will practiſe it. Religion is building upon a rock, and every thing elſe hath no better foundation than the ſand.

For I. how little comfort is to be found in the world or the things of the world? We may try ever ſo many expedients, but we ſhall be diſappointed in all; as men in a fever are continually turning from ſide to ſide, from poſture to poſture, and find reſt in none.

Some perſons, we may obſerve, betake themſelves to drinking to keep up their ſpirits, and ſo drown their ſorrows and their ſenſes together. Indeed the ſcripture ſaith in a certain place, (Prov. XXXI. 6, 7.) "Give ſtrong drink unto him that is ready to periſh, and wine "to thoſe that be of heavy hearts; Let him drink and forget his po-"verty, and remember his miſery no more:" and how negligent ſoever they are of the other commands of ſcripture, yet they take care to fulfil this litterally. But the ſcripture is only making a compariſon that it is better for the "afflicted" to drink than for "princes, leſt

" they pervert judgment;" and though it deſigns not to make men Rechabites abſolutely to abſtain from wine, though it may preſcribe in ſome caſes the moderate uſe, yet certainly it never intended the abuſe of it. And great caution is required, leſt by drinking a little and a little we come in time to want a great deal; for this is a remedy worſe than the diſeaſe. Theſe artificial ſpirits are nothing like the natural. Mirth may be the pretence, but it is really infatuation and madneſs. Beſides this mirth ſuch as it is is ſhort and tranſient; a man even ſleepeth it away; and after a few hours when the fumes of liquor are evaporated, and ſober reflection returns, his melancholy returns with redoubled force; and he feeleth himſelf ſo much the more oppreſſed, as he was before exalted. (Prov. XXIII. 29, &c.) " Who " hath wo? who hath ſorrow? who hath redneſs of eyes? They that " tarry long at the wine, they that go to ſeek mixt wine; At laſt it " biteth like a ſerpent, and ſtingeth like an adder." I mention none of the other fatal conſequences of this vice, but only obſerve how vainly we ſhall expect any comfort from hence; and it would be a ſtrange method of cure indeed, that we may not grieve like men, to live like brutes.

Some again may perhaps imagin that ſorrow is to be charmed down by muſic, as David with his harp played the evil ſpirit out of Saul. Is affliction then like the ſting of a tarantula to be cured by ſymphony and ſound? Alas! at ſuch a time it will be grating to your ear rather than pleaſing; or if it be a charm, it is a charm that laſteth but a little while; as in the caſe of Saul, though we read " once" (1 Sam. XVI. 23.) that the evil ſpirit was chaſed away, yet we read " twice" afterwards (XVIII. 10, 11. XIX. 10.) that it returned again, and then neither the harp nor the harper could have the like effect, but " Saul ſought to ſmite David even to the wall with a javelin."

You may hope then to loſe reflection amidſt company and diverſions. But true ſorrow generally loveth to be alone, and converſation at ſuch a time will be thought rather an impertinence than a pleaſure.

You

(1) Non domus et fundus, non æris acervus et auri
Ægroto domini deduxit corpore febres,
Non animo curas; valeat poſſeſſor oportet,
Si comportatis rebus bene cogitat uti.

Qui

You may fly into company but you cannot fly from yourſelf. Your thoughts will ſtill be your own. Your evil genius will ſtill haunt you, and like Damocles his ſword, or the hand-writing on Belſhazzar's wall, extinguiſh all your gaiety and pleaſure.

Buſineſs might have a better effect in employing our minds and diverting our thoughts; but commonly, inſtead of buſineſs removing our ſorrows, our ſorrows will not ſuffer us to apply to buſineſs.

As riches cannot prevent trouble, ſo neither can they cure it (1). Not houſe and land, not ſilver and gold, can remove a fever from the body, or diſpel cares from the mind. The poſſeſſor muſt be well (his body in health and his mind at eaſe) to have a proper taſte and reliſh of them; otherwiſe all his wealth and fortune will be to him, as pictures to the blind, or muſic to the deaf.

Even the pity and commiſeration of friends is often a poor remedy for ſorrow. It may perhaps more weaken and enervate the mind than confirm and ſtrengthen it. But if there is any comfort or advantage in it, the virtuous have the beſt right and title to it. Who will not pity us, if we be followers of that which is good? and who will, if we be followers of that which is evil? We cannot help commiſerating a good man in diſtreſs, though a ſtranger; but though nature may plead ſtrong, it is pity thrown away to pity even a worthleſs relation.

There is little conſolation then in things without; can we find any more comfort within? A natural good temper is indeed a ſpring of chearfulneſs; but if it will contribute ſomething to our eaſe without religion, how much more will it contribute with religion, with grace grafted on nature?

Superior knowlege is ſo far from being a remedy for ſorrow, that according to the wiſeſt of men (Eccleſ. I. 18.) " he that increaſeth " knowlege increaſeth ſorrow." Superior knowlege ſerveth only to ſharpen our natural ſenſe and feeling, giveth us the more exquiſite and

(1) Qui cupit aut metuit, juvat illum ſic domus et res,
Ut lippum pictæ tabulæ, fomenta podagram,
Auriculas citharæ collecta ſorde dolentes.
Hor. Epiſt. 2. Lib. 1.

(2) Permittes

and painful ſenſation of evils preſent, and the ſurer foreſight and quicker apprehenſion of evils to come.

Reaſon is an excellent thing; but when a man is in agony, what philoſophy can reaſon it down? The philoſophers in this caſe agree neither with one another, nor with the truth. Some aſſert that all events are caſual, and therefore we ſhould not be concerned for what happens only by chance. But if there were no direction but chance, we ſhould have juſt reaſon for ſorrow indeed. The world without a providence would be much more miſerable than the world without a ſun. Others maintain on the contrary that all events are fatal, and therefore we ſhould not grieve for what cannot be helped. But we grieve for this very reaſon becauſe it cannot be helped; and it muſt be rare comfort to a man, to deny all poſſibility of hope the laſt refuge of the miſerable, and to tell him that his evils are without remedy. Some have even queſtioned whether there be any ſuch thing as evil or pain: but we may as well doubt of the reality of our own being; there is no need of arguing againſt ſuch abſurdities, our very feeling will convince us. Others again have allowed that there are evils indeed, but they are not evils to a wiſe man. But this is to raiſe the wiſe man above humanity, or to ſink him below it; to aggrandize him into a god to be exempt from evils, or to degrade him into a ſtock or ſtone not to be ſenſible of them. In ſhort the ſayings of the philoſophers carry more of the ſemblance of comfort than of the ſubſtance; they will rather pleaſe us in reading than ſupport us in practice; for in the proverbial language of Iſaiah (XXVIII. 20.) "the bed is "ſhorter than that a man can ſtretch himſelf on it, and the covering "narrower than that he can wrap himſelf in it." If the philoſophers have offered any thing ſolid and ſubſtantial in this kind, they have borrowed it all from religion, from the belief of a God and the notion of a future ſtate. As Prometheus is ſaid to have fetched his fire from heaven, ſo their moſt ſhining thoughts were lighted up from ſome ſcattered beams, ſome traditionary truths of revelation.

II. Which leadeth me to what was farther propoſed, namely to ſhow more particularly in the ſecond place the comforts which religion

will afford us when all other expedients prove ineffectual. Now religion adminiſters to our conſolation, as by various ways and in various manners, ſo particularly on the following accounts.

1. In the eſtimation of religion ſeveral of the evils of life are no real evils. The religious man's affections are in great meaſure diſengaged from this world; he is perfectly eaſy and indifferent to ſeveral things, which others purſue with eagerneſs and ſollicitude: and conſequently fewer misfortunes can affect him, fewer diſappointments can touch him; he riſeth like a rock in the midſt of the ſea ſuperior to all the waves and ſurges which beat at his feet. He conſiders himſelf only as a ſtranger and ſojourner upon earth; his thoughts and wiſhes are fixed upon his home, his heavenly country, and he reckons things good or evil chiefly as they facilitate or obſtruct his paſſage thither: and conſequently what are misfortunes in the eye of the world, in his eye are often bleſſings. He ſeeth that in the lottery of life blanks and prizes happen indiſcriminately to the righteous and to the wicked; and therefore as proſperity is no ſure token of the divine favor, ſo neither is adverſity any certain mark of the divine diſpleaſure; and as he is not much elated with the one, ſo neither is he much dejected with the other. He knoweth that affliction is often the portion of the favorites of heaven, that (Heb. XII. 6.) "whom the Lord loveth he "chaſteneth, and ſcourgeth every ſon whom he receiveth." What are evils and puniſhments to others, to him are only trials of patience and occaſions of virtue; and therefore he looketh upon affliction as the poſt of honor, (James I. 2, 3, 4.) he "counteth it all joy when "he falleth into divers temptations, knowing this that the trying of "his faith worketh patience," and if "patience have her perfect work, "he ſhall be perfect and entire wanting nothing."

2. Religion will convert and improve the real evils of life, if not into temporal, yet certainly into ſpiritual benefits. Men indeed would rather chooſe an uninterrupted courſe of proſperity; they would ſail ſmoothly and ſecurely down the ſtream of life, with no ſtorms to alarm, with no gales to ruffle them, little conſidering, that proſperity is a Siren which often deludes them to their ruin, and that adverſity is the ſchool

of

of diſciplin, often intended for their temporal, but always for their ſpiritual good.

With regard to our temporal good, as " the proſperity of fools," according to the obſervation of Solomon, (Prov. I. 32.) " ſhall de- " ſtroy them;" ſo the adverſity of wiſe men will preſerve them. Proſperity rendereth men ſecure and careleſs, and the higher they are elevated, the lower they fall: Adverſity teacheth caution and circumſpection, and the more afraid they are of diſgrace, the more likely they are to attain to honor. Proſperity rendereth men proud and opinionated, full of themſelves and neglectful of others, and thereby expoſeth them to the contempt and hatred of mankind: Adverſity naturally diſpoſeth the mind to humility and modeſty, to be diffident of ourſelves and obliging to others, and thereby conciliates pity and eſteem, and often procures friends beyond all hope and expectation. Proſperity is raſh and precipitate, and ruſheth into dangers with as little ſenſe or reflection as " the horſe ruſheth into the battle:" Adverſity is more ſlow and prudent, if it hath not ſo much to venture, neither hath it ſo much to loſe; its fall cannot be ſo great, and its riſe may be greater. Proſperity relaxes and enervates the ſpirits, ſo that men are leſs able to ſtruggle with any difficulties or diſtreſſes which may happen to befall them: Adverſity braces and fortifies the mind; being accuſtomed to diſtreſs, they are leſs ſenſible of it; being inured to difficulties, they can more eaſily ſurmount them; and the greateſt men in arts and arms have uſually riſen out of adverſity. Some ſhare of evil too is requiſite to make us rightly reliſh and enjoy the good things of life with which we are ſurrounded. We ſhould be leſs ſenſible of the advantages of good health, if we were not ſometimes viſited by ſickneſs. Our pleaſure is the greater in the company and converſation of the deareſt friends after ſome interruption and ſeparation. The fear of loſing a thing often doubles the enjoyment of it: and when we have eſcaped ſafe to land, how pleaſing is it to look back upon the ſtormy ocean! when we have ſurmounted any difficulties and dangers, how comfortable is the reflection upon our delivery! It is much

much higher ſatisfaction to have overcome the trial than never to have been tried at all.

But the principal benefit of afflictions is with regard to our ſpiritual good, which it is our own fault if they do not always promote, as this is always the gracious intention of providence in afflicting the children of men. Affliction is the beſt phyſic of the mind, and will reſtore it to a wholſome ſtate, when nothing elſe can. It naturally abateth all vain and preſumptuous thoughts, and inſpireth us with true humility. " Pride," as the wiſe man ſaith, (Ecclus X. 18.) " was " not made for men," and much leſs for men in affliction. It ſhoweth us our own imbecillity and weakneſs, and convinceth us of our inability and inſufficiency as of ourſelves to help ourſelves. We are apt to think of it too little at other times, but then we ſee and feel and lament that we are frail indigent creatures. It putteth us upon recollecting and conſidering our ways, what ſins we have been guilty of, and which of our tranſgreſſions hath drawn down this heavy judgment upon us. If it was not for ſome ſuch friendly admonition, we might go on without thinking or reflecting even to ruin and perdition. As it putteth us upon conſidering, ſo likewiſe upon reforming our manners, as the moſt effectual means to extricate and deliver us. The effect will be the ſame with every good man as with the good pſalmiſt, (Pſal. CXIX. 59, 60.) " I thought on my ways, and turned my feet " unto thy teſtimonies; I made haſte, and delayed not to keep thy " commandments." He muſt be a monſter of a man indeed, whom afflictions cannot ſoften, and bring to a ſenſe of his duty. Of what metal muſt that temper be compoſed, which is not melted in this fire? He who can ſtill perſiſt in reſiſting theſe ſtrong calls to grace, muſt be a Pharaoh hardened and devoted to deſtruction. In proſperity we ſuffer ſo few of the inconveniences of life ourſelves, that we are apt to have little feeling, little compaſſion for the diſtreſſes of others; like the rich man in the parable, who was " cloathed in pur- " ple and fine linen, and fared ſumptuouſly every day," but regarded not poor " Lazarus who was laid at his gate full of ſores." But afflictions, as they ſhow us our own weakneſs, ſo naturally diſpoſe us

to be more compaſſionate to others. Experiencing the evils of life, we learn to pity thoſe evils; and from the ſenſe of our own ſufferings are led to relieve and aſſiſt thoſe of other men. In proſperity we are inclined to grow too fond of the world and of the things of the world. We think it "good for us to be here," and are for erecting tabernacles for ourſelves, as if we were to dwell and abide in them for ever. But if nothing elſe, yet afflictions will wean our affections from this world, and teach us to fix them there where only true joys are to be found. Seeing the uncertainty and inſufficiency of all worldly enjoyments, we can no more depend upon them for true happineſs, but muſt neceſſarily ſeek it elſewhere. Seeing our deareſt friends and relations go before us, we have the leſs inducement to be deſirous of ſtaying here behind. Feeling the pains and miſeries of life, we grow more indifferent to life itſelf, and become even willing "to be diſ-"ſolved and to be with Chriſt."

3. The belief of a God and a providence is another means to calm and moderate our grief. For he is of infinite power and therefore moſt able, of infinite goodneſs and therefore moſt willing, of infinite wiſdom and therefore knoweth beſt both how and when to ſuccur us. And what a ſatisfaction muſt it be to live under ſuch a government, to conſider that all our affairs are under the diſpoſal of one, who knoweth and willeth what is convenient for us better than we do for ourſelves; and though no calamity for the preſent is joyous but grievous, yet every thing taken into the account that certainly is beſt which infinite wiſdom ſeeth beſt ſhould befall us. If there is any conſolation in friendſhip, what friend and protector can we deſire more than almighty goodneſs? (Pſal. XXVII. 1.) "The Lord is my light and "my ſalvation, whom ſhall I fear? the Lord is the ſtrength of my "life, of whom ſhall I be afraid?" He hath engaged in an eſpecial manner to hear the prayers of the afflicted; he hath promiſed to deliver them out of their diſtreſs; he will even turn their ſorrow into joy, and pleaſure after pain is double pleaſure. (Matt. V. 4.) "Bleſſed "are they that mourn, for they ſhall be comforted." (Pſal. CXXVI. 5, 6.) "They that ſow in tears, ſhall reap in joy. He that goeth

" forth and weepeth bearing precious ſeed, ſhall doubtleſs come again " with rejoicing, bringing his ſheaves with him." There are not only innumerable examples in ſcripture, but we may appeal to the experience of every good man, whether he hath not ſome times had ſurpriſing deliverances and eſcaped imminent dangers without his own care and foreſight, whether friends have not been raiſed up to him upon ſpecial occaſions whom he never dreamed of or imagined before, whether the moſt proſperous circumſtances of his life are not owing merely to lucky hits, ſuch as cannot be aſcribed to his own policy or contrivance, but happened altogether without his deſign and beyond his expectations, and plainly point out a ſuperior power who directed all events to his advantage. Our diſappointments are often the moſt lucky incidents in our lives, and frequently turn out afterwards to our greater advantage; as Saul looking for his father's loſt aſſes came to be anointed king. Certainly (2) God ſeeth beſt what is beſt for us and moſt ſuitable to our affairs, and every man is dearer to him than to himſelf. How hath many a man ſollicited for a place and been a candidate for preferment, and yet notwithſtanding his merits been diſappointed in his juſt hopes and pretenſions! but that very diſappointment hath perhaps contributed to the raiſing of his character, procured him new friends, and proved the occaſion of his getting ſomething afterwards better than what he had miſſed before. How hath many a man experienced fortunate croſſes, and eſcaped perils of waters and perils of robbers by ſome unlucky accident (as he then thought it) intervening and retarding or haſtening his coming to the time and place that he had intended and where he was expected! How hath many a man by a leſſer illneſs prevented a greater, and by enduring a painful operation become free from pain, had his life preſerved and prolonged by ſome chronical diſtemper, or been almoſt dying of an acute diſeaſe that hath given a new turn to his conſtitution, and eſtabliſhed his health better than ever it was before! So certain it is as St. Paul hath aſſerted, (Rom. VIII. 28.) that " all things," even diſ-

(2) Permittes ipſis expendere numinibus, quid Conveniat nobis, rebuſque ſit utile noſtris? | Nam pro jucundis aptiſſima quæque dabunt Dii: Carior eſt illis homo quam ſibi. Juv. Sat. 10.

appointments and afflictions, " work together for good to them that " love God."

But 4thly if religion will not deliver us out of all our troubles, yet at leaſt it will afford us the beſt ſupports under them, ſecure the peace of a good conſcience, and obtain the aſſiſtance of divine grace to ſtrengthen us. As ſin is the ſting of death, ſo likewiſe is it the ſting of affliction, and renders ſorrow exceeding ſorrowful. We can much better endure any calamity, when we are conſcious to ourſelves that it is not owing to our own vice and folly. Our integrity will ſupport us, when all earthly comforts fail. No misfortunes, no injuries can rob us of a good conſcience. That will remain with us even to the laſt; and though the ſtorm may be great without, yet all may be calm within. And to the teſtimony of a good conſcience will be added, as God hath promiſed, the aſſiſtance of divine grace to ſtrengthen us; or if ever it be wanting, it muſt be charged altogether upon ſome failure in ourſelves. Now this will inſpire our prayers and inform our petitions, that they may be ſuitable to our ſtate and circumſtances, ſuch as it may be proper for us to offer and for God to grant. This will infuſe a ſecret ſatisfaction into our ſouls, and fill us (Rom. XIV. 17.) with " righteouſneſs and peace and joy in the Holy Ghoſt." As the Spirit of God brooded upon the face of the waters, and impregnated the rude chaos; ſo will the ſame Spirit ſpread his enlivening wings over our cold hearts, and hatch warm comfort there. In the primitive times of Chriſtianity this aſſiſtance was extraordinary, as extraordinary then was the occaſion: but now if the ſupplies of grace are not ſo great, ſo neither are our wants and neceſſities. Of whom much is required, to them much will be given. Our ſtrength will always be proportioned to our burden. For (1 Cor. X. 13.) " God " is faithful, who will not ſuffer us to be tempted above what we are " able, but will with the temptation alſo make a way to eſcape, that " we may be able to bear it."

5. Beſides the comforts of this life there is the hope of a bleſſed immortality to raiſe and animate us in the worſt of afflictions. Hope is often a pleaſing phantom raiſed by our own vain imagination, but the

the hopes of heaven and happineſs to a religious good man are the beſt hopes and upon the beſt grounds. And who would not " run with " patience the race that is ſet before him," when he has the goal and the immortal prize in view? who would not bear up chearfully againſt the ſtorm, when he knoweth it will bring him ſafe at laſt to " the " haven where he would be?" (Rom. VIII. 18.) " The ſufferings of " this preſent time are not worthy to be compared with the glory " which ſhall be revealed:" and the greater theſe ſufferings in this world, the greater will be that glory in the world to come. The ſharper our crown of thorns here, the brighter will be our crown of glory hereafter. (2 Cor. IV. 17, 18.) " For our light affliction which " is but for a moment worketh for us a far more exceeding and eter- " nal weight of glory: While we look not at the things which are " ſeen, but at the things which are not ſeen; for the things which " are ſeen are temporal, but the things which are not ſeen are " eternal."

6. Nor are theſe principles plauſible only in theory, but hold good in practice; as there are likewiſe to encourage us examples of men who have triumphed over afflictions. In what difficulties and diſtreſſes was Joſeph involved, hated by his brethren, ſold into a foreign country, falſely accuſed there, and thrown into priſon; but how were theſe very difficulties and diſtreſſes the foundation of his future greatneſs, and the means of preſerving not only his own family but all Egypt! How exceeding great were the trials and afflictions of Job, but how was he recompenſed for all his former ſufferings even in this life, for (Job XLII. 10, 12.) " the Lord gave him twice as much as " he had before, and bleſſed his latter end more than his beginning!" How was Moſes expoſed an helpleſs infant, and muſt inevitably have been either ſtarved or drowned; but how did dangers themſelves contribute to his preſervation, and his deſperate condition happily prove the occaſion of his princely education, and raiſe him to be the deliverer of his country! How deplorable were Daniel's circumſtances, his country depopulated, his city laid in aſhes, himſelf carried captive into a ſtrange nation, and there through a malicious conſpiracy formed

againſt

againſt him caſt into the den of lions; but how did all theſe circumſtances co-operate to his advantage, and what was deſigned for his deſtruction prove the inſtrument of his elevation, and advance him to honors and dignities which he could not otherwiſe have expected! "The time would fail me (Heb. XI. 32, &c.) to tell of David alſo, "and Samuel, and the prophets, who through faith ſubdued kingdoms, wrought righteouſneſs, obtained promiſes, ſtopped the "mouths of lions, quenched the violence of fire, eſcaped the edge "of the ſword, out of weakneſs were made ſtrong, waxed valiant in "fight, turned to flight the armies of the aliens; women received "their dead raiſed to life again; and others were tortured not accepting deliverance, that they might obtain a better reſurrection." What ſublime inſtances of patience and magnanimity are to be found among the apoſtles and primitive Chriſtians! They were (2 Cor. IV. 8, 9. VI. 10.) "troubled on every ſide, yet not diſtreſſed," they were "perplexed but not in deſpair, perſecuted but not forſaken, as "ſorrowful yet alway rejoicing, as poor yet making many rich, as "having nothing and yet poſſeſſing all things." How was "the "Captain of our ſalvation" himſelf "made perfect through ſufferings?" and therefore what a compaſſionate as well as powerful interceſſor have we for us at the throne of grace? and how much and how often ſhould we (Heb. XII. 3.) "conſider him that endured ſuch "contradiction of ſinners againſt himſelf, leſt we be wearied and "faint in our minds?" Nay have not we ourſelves often experienced the goodneſs of God in our afflictions? have we not then felt the comforts of religion, when we were deſtitute of all other comforts? have we not then taſted the ſweets of devotion, and thought of God with pleaſure, when we could think with pleaſure of nothing beſides God? (Iſa. LIX. 1.) "And is his hand now ſhortened that it cannot "ſave? or his ear heavy that it cannot hear?" (2 Cor. I. 10) "Who "delivered us from ſo great a death and doth deliver, in him we "may truſt that he will yet deliver us."

"Wherefore (Heb. XII. 12.) lift up the hands which hang down "and the feeble knees." Only let us take care, that we think of religion

religion at other ſeaſons beſides the hour of diſtreſs and danger, that our devotion be not then firſt to begin, but only to be renewed and applied to the ſorrowful occaſion. Even they who forget God in their proſperity, do yet in their adverſity remember and make their prayers unto him. The proudeſt hearts are then apt to be humbled. But it is much to be ſuſpected, that that religion is not very ſincere, which hath no other ſource, no better motive than their preſent afflictions; that therefore when the cauſe ſhall ceaſe the effect will ceaſe too, when the apprehenſion of danger ſhall vaniſh their devotion will vaniſh with it. It is the temper of a ſlave to crouch and tremble, while the rod is hanging over him; but when that terror is removed, inſtantly to return to his old courſe and rebel again. In ſuch a caſe even religion will adminiſter little comfort, and may ſay unto them as ſhe is repreſented ſaying in the words of wiſdom; (Prov. I. 24, &c.) "Be-
"cauſe I have called and ye refuſed, I have ſtretched out my hand
"and no man regarded, but ye have ſet at nought all my counſel,
"and would none of my reproof; I alſo will laugh at your calamity,
"I will mock when your fear cometh; Then ſhall they call upon
"me, but I will not anſwer, they ſhall ſeek me early but they ſhall
"not find me." Indeed if we turn unto God with a true penitent heart and a true lively faith, with reſolutions of amendment as real as our ſorrow, although our lives have been ever ſo vicious formerly, yet (Matt. XII. 20.) "the bruiſed reed will he not break, the ſmoaking
"flax will he not quench;" (Pſal. LI. 17.) "the ſacrifices of God
"are a broken ſpirit, a broken and contrite heart O God thou wilt
"not deſpiſe." How much more may pious ſouls take refuge in religion, who have always made it their practice and their delight? Through the merits of their Saviour they may (Heb. IV. 16.) "come
"boldly unto the throne of grace to obtain mercy, and find grace to
"help in time of need." Wherefore to conclude with St. Peter, (1 Pet. IV. 19.) "let them that ſuffer according to the will of God,
"commit the keeping of their ſouls to him in well-doing, as unto a
"faithful creator."

DIS-

DISSERTATION XVIII.

On the government of the thoughts.

FEW perſons are ſo profligate and abandoned as to have no regard to their words and actions, thoſe neceſſarily expoſing them to the judgment and cenſure of mankind; but few again have the like care and concern in the regulating of their thoughts, theſe being known only to themſelves and eſcaping the notice and obſervation of all others: A certain indication that we value the opinion of the world more than the ſatisfaction of our own conſciences, and attend rather to what others think of us than to what we feel and experience within ourſelves. There are ſome perſons who can think with pleaſure of thoſe things which yet they are afraid of acting or ſpeaking; they can be decent perhaps in their outward behaviour, but their inward thoughts are very wickedneſs: and others who do not purpoſely allow and indulge themſelves in wicked thoughts, yet ſuffer their minds to run adrift, and are never at the pains of chooſing and ſelecting their ideas, but take up with any as time or chance, different objects or different occaſions preſent.

But the wiſeſt of men was of far other ſentiments, and knew very well that upon the regulation of our thoughts depends the regulation of our lives. "Keep thy heart," ſaith he (Prov. IV. 23.) watch and guard all the thoughts inclinations and affections of thy mind, "with "all diligence," not with ordinary care and caution but with the greateſt vigilance and exactneſs, "for out of it are the iſſues of life," for from thence proceed the determinations and actions of life. Such as are his thoughts uſually, ſuch is the man. As they are well or ill governed, his converſation and behaviour will be better or worſe. Good or bad habits of thinking naturally produce good or bad habits

of

of living; as a tree will bring forth fruit, and a fountain ſend forth water, good or bad, ſweet or bitter according to their own nature.

The government of our thoughts therefore being the principal thing in life ought to be likewiſe our principal concern and buſineſs: and in the proſecution of this ſubject we will endevor to ſhow in the *former* part of our diſcourſe, that we are accountable for our thoughts, and how far we are accountable for them and able to govern them; and having ſhown how far we are able to govern them, we will in the *latter* part offer ſome rules and directions for the better regulation and government of them accordingly. "Keep thy heart with all diligence, "for out of it are the iſſues of life."

I. Under our firſt general head we are to ſhow, that we are accountable for our thoughts, and how far we are accountable for them and able to govern them. It is commonly ſaid that thoughts are free, and they are ſo far free indeed as to be above all juriſdiction and even all cogniſance of men; but they are ſubject however to omnipreſence and omniſcience, and (Heb. IV. 13.) "all things are naked and opened unto "the eyes of him with whom we have to do," or rather, as the words may better be tranſlated, προς ὀν ἡμιν ὁ λογος, "to whom we are to ren-"der an account:" and this is the excellence of religion and the divine laws above human laws and conſtitutions, that whereas the latter only bind the outward man and regard only overtacts and diſcourſes, the former reach the very conſcience, and controll our inmoſt thoughts as well as our words and actions. Very good reaſon there is therefore that we ſhould regulate the motions and inclinations of our hearts, becauſe (1 John III. 20.) "God is greater than our hearts and knoweth "all things," as well as becauſe from thence, as the text expreſſeth it, "are the iſſues of life;" our words and actions take their tincture and color from our thoughts, and however we may diſſemble our inward ſentiments, yet generally out of the fulneſs of the heart the mouth ſpeaketh and the hand acteth.

The prophet therefore (Iſa. LV. 7.) exhorts "the wicked to forſake "his way and the unrighteous man his thoughts, and to return unto "the Lord:" and again another prophet (Jer. IV. 14) "Waſh thine

" heart from wickedneſs that thou mayeſt be ſaved, how long ſhall " thy vain thoughts lodge within thee?" Our Saviour accounts an unlawful deſire in ſome meaſure the ſame as an unlawful act; (Matt. V. 28.) " Whoſoever looketh on a woman to luſt after her hath com- " mitted adultery with her already in his heart." The old world was deſtroyed by a deluge of waters, (Gen. VI. 5.) " becauſe the wicked- " neſs of man was great in the earth, and every imagination of the " thoughts of his heart was only evil continually:" and in the laſt great day we ſhall be accountable for our thoughts as well as for our words and actions, for (Rom. II. 16.) " God ſhall judge the ſecrets " of men by Jeſus Chriſt," and (Eccleſ. XII. 14.) " God ſhall bring " every work into judgment with every ſecret thing, whether it be " good or whether it be evil."

We are accountable therefore for our thoughts in general, but in ſome particular caſes it is plainly out of our power to govern them; and God is not ſo cruel a taſk-maſter as to require of us impoſſibilities, and to condemn us for what we have no means nor opportunities of preventing or helping. We cannot always command the firſt motions and inclinations of our mind; they are often moved and impelled as it were by an inviſible hand we know not how. Strange irregular fancies ſometimes riſe in our heads whether we will or not; there is no room for reaſon to interpoſe and prevent them; they ruſh of a ſudden into the mind, and all that we are able to do is to get rid of them as ſoon as ever we can: and we may be aſſured that they will never be imputed to us, they are no farther criminal than we voluntarily purſue and indulge them.

Neither can we command our thoughts always, when any paſſion as anger love ſorrow or the like poſſeſſes us, or when any great uneaſineſs or urgent buſineſs engages our attention. For the time they ingroſs all the powers and faculties of our ſouls, and though we may chance to diſpel the buſy ſwarm of ideas, yet they ſoon gather again, and renew their moleſtation. In many caſes perhaps we may be able to avoid the occaſions of paſſion, but when paſſion hath once taken hold of us, it will for a longer or a ſhorter term, in ſome more

in

in others leſs, remain maſter of the mind. The beſt natured man living provoked to anger by any injury is at that very time full of the injury, and cannot inſtantly compoſe his thoughts, and recover his uſual ſerenity of temper. A perſon deeply in love cannot help thinking frequently of the beloved object; this will ſtill keep the aſcendent in the mind, and there is ſcarce any turning the ſtream and current of the imaginations another way. A fond parent who hath loſt an only child, or a tender huſband who hath buried the wife of his boſom, can no more help feeling and regretting ſuch an affliction, than they can help being hurt with the cutting off of a right-hand or the plucking out of a right eye: and it is not all the reaſon and philoſophy in the world that can charm down their ſorrow; it is well if time can wear out the impreſſion, and reſtore them to the maſtery and dominion of their thoughts again.

As any paſſion or uneaſineſs of mind, ſo likewiſe an ill habit of body may deprive us of the power and command over our own thoughts. An acute pain will neceſſarily call off our attention from other things to itſelf. A raging fever may fill us with phrenzy and delirium. Spleen and melancholy may poſſeſs us with a thouſand frightful ideas, the moſt unworthy and deſpairing notions of ourſelves, the moſt horrid and unjuſt apprehenſions of God. Our own imaginations may terrify us more than ſo many ghoſts and ſpectres; and they will be continually haunting us, there is no getting the better of this diſorder and confuſion in the mind, but by curing the diſtemper in the body.

It appears then that the government of our thoughts is not an abſolute but a limited government, and eſpecially in the caſes above mentioned; but in all other inſtances I conceive they are very much in our own power, and ſo far as they are in our own power, ſo far we are accountable for them and no farther. But let us not lazily imagin our power to be leſs than it really is, nor impute that to neceſſity, which ought rather to be charged upon our own indolence and indulgence. If the mind is paſſive in ſome inſtances, in others again it is as active. We plainly experience in ourſelves a power of turning our

thoughts to whatever ſubject we pleaſe; and though ſometimes ideas may ariſe involuntary in the mind, yet uſually we can ſelect ſuch as we like beſt to dwell upon and conſider and compare together. We can beſides make choice of any ſuch buſineſs or profeſſion as we think proper, and that will give a general bent and tendency to our thoughts, and direct them very much in what chanels they ſhall run. We have likewiſe a power of transferring our thoughts from ſubject to ſubject, can lay aſide one and reſume another, and like the bee range from flower to flower and ſettle where we pleaſe. And ſuppoſing the very worſt, that thoughts ſometimes are forcibly obtruded upon us, we can chooſe however whether we will conſent to them or not: and herein as I take it chiefly conſiſts the morality or immorality of our thoughts, as we approve or diſapprove, cheriſh or reject, aſſent to or diſſent from the good or evil motions and ſuggeſtions of our minds. It is poſſible that evil imaginations may be ſuggeſted to us, perhaps by evil men, perhaps by evil ſpirits; but ſo far are they from being criminal, that they may become occaſions of virtue. Our conſent at leaſt is in our own power, and nothing can render them criminal but our conſent and approbation. Where is no choice, no liberty, there can be no ſin.

II. Let us then proceed to our ſecond general head, and having ſhown how far we are able to govern our thoughts, we will offer ſome rules and directions for the better regulation and government of them accordingly. The great art of governing our thoughts conſiſts in rejecting all ſuch as are vain and frivolous, looſe and immoral, and in cheriſhing all ſuch as are entertaining and uſeful, innocent and virtuous, and keeping a conſtant ſupply of them: and in order to accompliſh theſe deſirable ends it may be not improper to make uſe of the following means.

1. Let us be ſure to live under an habitual ſenſe of God's omnipreſence and omniſcience, that "he is about our path and about our bed, "and ſpieth out all our ways," that "he knoweth our down-ſitting "and our uprifing, and underſtandeth our thoughts afar off." Nothing can be more effectual to baniſh all looſe imaginations, and to beget

in

in us a ſerious and religious frame and temper of mind. A man ought not to be filthy in his ideas, no more than in his perſon, purely out of regard to himſelf; one would have a clean heart as well as clean hands if it was only for one's own ſake: but if the dignity of our own human nature cannot, yet ſurely the dignity of the divine nature might awe us into proper and ſuitable ſentiments; if not for the peace and ſatisfaction of our own conſciences, yet out of a ſenſe of the conſciouſneſs of the Supreme Being, we ſhould endevor to think always as becomes his reaſonable creatures. We ſhould be aſhamed to have all our idle fancies known even to men of like infirmities and paſſions with ourſelves; we therefore uſe artifice and diſſimulation, and ſpeak not all that we think, but only all that we think proper: and how then can we endure to have the whole laid open to an all-wiſe God? for with him there can be no reſerve and diſguiſe, and every thought is in effect thinking aloud. Let our imaginations be ever ſo vain and fooliſh, we ſit and indulge them and believe all ſecure, ſo long as they are known only to ourſelves; but we ſhould remember that they are known alſo to God, and ought we not to be much more afraid of the inſpection and privity of our everlaſting judge, than of having them expoſed to the cenſure of all the world? Not that we can always have God actually in our thoughts, but we may live under an habitual ſenſe of the divine preſence, and that will beget habitual purity of heart; and if at any time we perceive a looſe idea or irregular deſire ariſing, we may check it inſtantly with this reflection, "Shall not God ſearch "it out, for he knoweth the very ſecrets of the heart?" Every one who duly conſiders this, muſt "purify himſelf even as he is pure."

2. We ſhould alſo guard againſt all exceſs of paſſion, and take all proper care of our health, if we would preſerve the empire and ſovranty of the mind. For paſſion uſurps a ſort of tyranny over thought, and there is no aſſerting the liberty of the one without ſhaking off the dominion of the other. Our reaſon muſt be calm and undiſturbed, or we can never apply ſteddily to a point, never examin or diſcuſs any thing with freedom. Chains and fetters do not more reſtrain the motions of the body, than violent paſſions obſtruct and hinder

hinder the operations of the mind. The leſs ſubject we are to paſſion, the more free we ſhall be to exerciſe and diſplay our reaſon. And as we ſhould endevor to preſerve the ſerenity of the mind, ſo we ſhould take all reaſonable care of the health of the body, as an excellent help and inſtrument to the governing of our thoughts. For when the body is oppreſſed with pain or ſickneſs, the ableſt mind cannot exert itſelf with its full force and freedom, as the fineſt hand can make but ſorry harmony when the inſtrument is out of tune. Wine and luxurious living inflame the blood, and are not only deſtructive of health, but alſo naturally engender wild and wanton imaginations. Let us then by all means live a life of ſobriety temperance and regularity; and ſuch a life will eſtabliſh health, and health will promote chearfulneſs, and chearfulneſs will invigorate the mind, diſſipate all gloom and melancholy, and enable us to enjoy ourſelves and our own thoughts. A ſound mind in a ſound body is the greateſt bleſſing in life, and one cannot be of half that value and efficacy without the other.

3. We ſhould moreover make choice of ſome proper buſineſs and employment, and be very diligent therein. For as waters taſte of the ſoil through which they flow, ſo the mind is tinctured by a man's buſineſs and employments; and ſome employments and occupations neceſſarily expoſe us more to temptation than others, and naturally turn our thoughts to more indirect practices. As a man's chief employment is, ſo will his thoughts chiefly be; and (Matt. VI. 21.) "where our treaſure is, there will our hearts be alſo." Let every man therefore chooſe for himſelf ſome honeſt trade or profeſſion, and be fair and honeſt in the practice of it; and thoſe whoſe fortunes place them above any profeſſion, ſhould yet either find or make ſome buſineſs for themſelves, if it was only to divert and employ their thoughts. For the mind is an active principle; it muſt continually be thinking of one thing or other; and if it be not employed in good, will infallibly be buſied in evil. Indeed idleneſs is the mother of all evil; it is while men are aſleep, that the enemy ſoweth his tares; and as the field of the ſlothful is overrun with thorns and thiſtles, ſo an idle

head is filled with roving fancies and looſe imaginations. Let us leave dreaming therefore while we are awake, and be not only awake but active and induſtrious every one in his calling. If we keep no watch or guard, no wonder that vagrant thoughts like thieves break through and ſteal, ſteal away our moſt precious treaſure time, nay ſteal us away from ourſelves. They are too apt to intrude when we are otherwiſe employed; but wherever they find the head idle and empty, there they are ſure to take full poſſeſſion.

4. We ſhould be curious likewiſe in the choice of our company, as a thing that will very much affect and influence our way and manner of thinking. For we are creatures ſtrangely formed for imitation; by frequent converſe we contract the notions opinions and habits of others, talk as they talk, and think as they think, and grow by inſenſible degrees into a wonderful ſimilitude and reſemblance. One would be deſirous therefore to form one's ſelf upon a right model, and to copy after a good original. "All our delight ſhould be upon the ſaints "that are in the earth, and upon ſuch as excel in virtue." The pureſt mind muſt be tainted by the contagion of familiar ill examples. "Evil communications (1 Cor. XV. 33.) corrupt good manners:" and I know not whether more perſons have not owed their ruin and deſtruction to bad company, than to any other cauſe, or perhaps all other cauſes in the world. Whereas good company will conſtantly ſupply us with proper thoughts and ſentiments, is ever ſtarting ſome pleaſing or profitable diſcourſe, will entertain, improve, inſtruct, confirm the virtuous, and be ſufficient to reform even the vicious. "No "corrupt communication (Eph. IV. 29.) proceeds out of their "mouth, but that which is good to the uſe of edifying, that it may "miniſter grace unto the hearers." Such is the company that we ſhould moſt deſire and frequent, to raiſe and improve our thoughts; and it will be a foretaſte of the happineſs of the next world, the ſociety of heaven begun upon earth.

5. We ſhould be curious too in the choice of the books we peruſe, as another thing that will very much influence our way of thinking, and either greatly improve or greatly corrupt our notions and opinions.

For

For what we peruſe not only diverts and employs the mind for the preſent, but alſo leaveth a flavor and reliſh behind it. We chew the cud as it were and ruminate upon it afterwards, and the ſame thoughts frequently occur to us, the ſame notions ſtill remain with us, though perhaps we have forgotten from what ſource they were borrowed. Reading is the food of the mind, and we ſhould take care to ſupply it with wholſome proviſions to nouriſh and ſtrengthen it, and not with unclean meats to enervate and pollute it. For there are too many books in the world, and I wiſh they were not in too many hands and too well known to be particularly enumerated, which repreſent vice in the moſt pleaſing dreſs, give us falſe ideas of love and honor, ridicule all notions of decency and virtue; and are read moſt by the young and unexperienced, where they are likely to make the deepeſt impreſſion. But God be thanked, there is a number of good books as well as of bad, and to the treaſures of ancient learning we may add the improvements of the moderns, ſo that we need never be at a loſs for proper entertainment and employment for our thoughts. And above all books there is the book of God, which as the apoſtle ſays (1 Tim. III. 15, 16, 17.) "is able to make us wiſe unto ſalva-
"tion, and is profitable for doctrin, for reproof, for correction, for
"inſtruction in righteouſneſs, that the man of God may be perfect,
"thoroughly furniſhed unto all good works," and all good thoughts.

6. Laſtly, other directions might be offered, but we will conclude with one more neceſſary than all others, which is to pray unto God for his holy ſpirit to purify our hearts and refine our imaginations. For ſpeaking ſtrictly (2 Cor. III. 5.) "we are not ſufficient of ourſelves to
"think any thing as of ourſelves, but our ſufficiency is of God." Our ſouls are in the hands of God, and he can direct and turn them whitherſoever he liſteth; and though compulſion is not to be uſed to moral agents, yet the offers of grace are freely made to all who will accept it, and much more to all who deſire it. Fervent devotion will itſelf enlarge and ennoble our thoughts, exalt our minds from mean and earthly objects to great and heavenly, and prepare our hearts for the reception of divine grace and inhabitation of the holy ſpirit.

This was the method that " the man after God's own heart" took to become ſo, and he prayeth earneſtly for the purification not only of " the words of his mouth," but likewiſe of " the meditations of his " heart;" (Pſal. XIX. 14.) " Let the words of my mouth, and the " meditation of my heart be acceptable in thy ſight, O Lord my " ſtrength and my redeemer:" and again in his penitential ſtrain, (Pſal. LI. 10.) " Create in me a clean heart O God, and renew a " right ſpirit within me." And for this purpoſe we cannot perhaps better addreſs ourſelves to the throne of grace than in the excellent language of our Church—Almighty God, unto whom all hearts be open, all deſires known, and from whom no ſecrets are hid, cleanſe the thoughts of our hearts by the inſpiration of thy holy ſpirit, that we may perfectly love thee and worthily magnify thy holy name through Chriſt our Lord. Amen.

DISSERTATION XIX.

On the government of the tongue.

SPEECH is one of the nobleſt faculties of our nature, and that which diſtinguiſheth us moſtly from the beaſts and from one another. It is the bond of ſociety; and according as it is uſed may be the inſtrument of doing great good or great hurt in the world. As St. James obſerves (III. 5, &c.) " the tongue is a little member, and" yet " boaſteth great things. No fountain can yield both ſalt water and " freſh:" but from the ſame tongue may proceed truth and falſehood, wiſdom and folly, bleſſing and curſing. " Therewith bleſs we God " even the Father, and therewith curſe we men, which are made after " the ſimilitude of God." It may have the moſt ſalutary effects, or

be of the moſt pernicious influence, as the ſame ſun that ſometimes animates life ſometimes ſcatters death. It is therefore no wonder that in ſcripture there are ſo many precepts about the government of the tongue, ſo much depending upon it, and the matter being of ſuch conſequence to the peace and happineſs of mankind.

Solomon may be our oracle in this reſpect, as well as in many others. No man hath made juſter obſervations upon human life, or given better directions for the conduct of it in all circumſtances than he hath done, and eſpecially in this particular. He ſpeaketh of "keeping the "tongue" in the ſame manner as he doth of "keeping the heart," and as a matter of equal importance. He ſaith (Prov. IV. 23.) "Keep thy heart with all diligence, for out of it are the iſſues of "life." Afterwards he ſaith (XIII. 3.) "He that keepeth his mouth "keepeth his life; but he that openeth wide his lips ſhall have de-"ſtruction;" and again (XXI. 23.) "Whoſo keepeth his mouth and "his tongue keepeth his ſoul from troubles." The keeping of the tongue very properly follows the keeping of the heart; if the heart be kept under due regulation, the tongue will of courſe be ſo; for (Matt. XII. 34.) "out of the abundance of the heart the mouth ſpeaketh." The conveniences too and inconveniences of keeping and not keeping watch and guard over them are in both caſes much the ſame, and much the ſame rules and directions may ſerve for the government of the one as of the other.

The government of the tongue is indeed the eaſier taſk of the two. For wicked thoughts may ariſe in our minds whether we will or not. In the beſt cultivated gardens theſe weeds may ſometimes be ſhooting up. But our words are more ſubject to controll, and we are under no neceſſity to ſpeak, when it is contrary to our own will and inclination. It is at any time in our power to be ſilent, and it is our duty to be ſilent rather than join in any improper or unprofitable diſcourſe. We ſhould, as St. James expreſſeth it, (I. 19.) "be ſwift to hear, "ſlow to ſpeak." Not that we ſhould be ready to hear upon every occaſion, that we ſhould liſten to every idle tale that is told us, that we ſhould attend to all ſorts of diſcourſe from all ſorts of perſons. On

the

the contrary it is our duty to ſtop our ears againſt all irreligious and immoral diſcourſe, all ſlander and flattery, all "ſooliſh talking and "jeſting which are not convenient;" for the very liſtening to them is encouraging them, and maketh us partakers of others mens follies and ſins. Plutarch, one of the wiſeſt and moſt learned among the heathen moraliſts and philoſophers, hath written a whole eſſay (περι ακυης) about *hearing*, of the qualifications which are requiſite to it, and how it may be exerciſed to the beſt advantage. And a greater than Plutarch hath given us this counſel (Luke VIII. 18.) "Take heed how "ye hear," and repeats it again and again, "He that hath ears to "hear, let him hear."

But what then? perhaps you will ſay,

Semper ego auditor tantum? nunquamne reponam? Juvenal.

What? ſhall I always hear, and ne'er reply?

No: we ſhould not always be "ſlow to ſpeak;" for there may be times and occaſions, when it may be more proper to ſpeak than to be ſilent, as when it is in our power to do any good, or prevent any evil, to inſtruct the ignorant, to comfort the diſtreſſed, to vindicate the truth and aſſert injured innocence; and in ſuch caſes readineſs to ſpeak is a virtue, and ſilence itſelf is a crime. Many a good man may find himſelf in the ſame circumſtances with David, (Pſal. XXXIX. 3, 4.) "I held my tongue, and ſpake nothing; I kept ſilence, yea even "from good words, but it was pain and grief to me: My heart was "hot within me, and while I was thus muſing the fire kindled, "and at the laſt I ſpake with my tongue." The precept therefore is not poſitive and abſolute, but we ſhould rather underſtand it comparatively, that we ſhould be "more ready to hear than to ſpeak." Neither will this hold always but generally, as there are few or no general rules but admit of ſome particular exceptions. It is not always, but for the moſt part it may be better to hear than to ſpeak.

"He that keepeth his mouth, keepeth his life;" but without doubt there is, as Solomon ſaith elſewhere, (Eccleſ. III. 7.) "a time to

" ſpeak" as well as " a time to keep ſilence." It is not deſigned to leſſen the mutual intercourſe and communication of friends, which is one of the greateſt bleſſings of life, maketh our joys greater and our ſorrows leſs; and the man who never opens himſelf to a friend, his head or heart, his ability or honeſty is very much to be ſuſpected. It is not deſigned to abridge the innocent freedoms of converſation, or to debar men from ſaying any thing that is good, any thing that is uſeful, or even any thing that is commonly entertaining, provided it be innocent. It is not the uſe of the tongue that is forbidden, but the abuſe of it. It is not talking that is condemned, but much talking. And though great talkers may not be pleaſed to have their diſcourſe abridged, and perhaps may think modeſt ſilence an effect of dulneſs, as they ſuppoſe forward ſpeech to be an indication of ready wit; yet generally ſpeaking, " He that keepeth his mouth, keepeth " his life; but he that openeth wide his lips ſhall have deſtruction."

The conveniences on one ſide and inconveniences on the other are many and manifeſt; and if the former cannot perſuade us to what is right, the latter may diſſuade us from what is wrong.

Nature ſeemeth to recommend hearing rather than ſpeaking, having given us two ears and only one tongue. And it is obſerved, that our ears are always open, but our tongue is incloſed, and guarded by two rows of teeth. This is an (1) argument that hath frequently been made uſe of by the philoſophers: and certainly we ſhould endevor to conform to nature; what is natural is becoming. Nature uſually chooſeth a mean in every thing. Extreme ſilence and extreme talkativeneſs are equally unnatural, and equally unfit for ſociety, which requires ſomething of both and not all of either.

In like manner it might be obſerved, that we can hear as ſoon as we are born, but it is ſome time before we are able to ſpeak; which may inſtruct us, that we ſhould always be hearers before we commence ſpeakers. Certainly more is to be learned by hearing than by ſpeaking; and perhaps in ſome caſes we may profit more by attending to the

(1) Philoſophi aiunt nobis datas aures duas, linguam unam; et aures patulas, linguam ſepto dentium

the diſcourſe of ingenious company than by reading. " Faith cometh " by hearing," ſays the apoſtle; (Rom. X. 17.) and may it not likewiſe be ſaid, that *knowlege* cometh by hearing? If we would ſhow ourſelves, we ſhould ſpeak; if we would improve ourſelves, we ſhould hear; and whether we want more to be ſhown or to be improved, that we ſhould conſider with ourſelves. We ſhould eſteem it a ſad misfortune to be deaf, but great talkers contract a ſort of voluntary deafneſs. It is not doing as they would be done by. They expect to be heard themſelves, but will not give a fair hearing to others. They are ſo pleaſed and delighted to hear themſelves talk, that they cannot attend to the diſcourſe of the beſt and wiſeſt about them; but ſtill run on, and (Pſal. LVIII. 5.) " like the deaf adder will not hearken to the " voice of charmers charming never ſo wiſely."

Beſides the advantage of hearing others and improving by their diſcourſe, you will obtain by it to be more favorably heard yourſelf. The company will more readily attend to one who doth not trouble them often. There is ſomething more of novelty of it, and ſomething more of expectation. Your words will have the greater weight, and make the deeper impreſſion. You ſpeak leſs, but are regarded more; as the nightingale that ſingeth but ſeldom is liſtened to more attentively, and ſilence is charmed. But commonly great talkers are as little attended to, as they attend to others. The end of ſpeaking is to be heard with favor and attention, but a man always defeats that end by multiplying words without reaſon. All companies ſoon grow weary of him and avoid him; or if they cannot avoid him, regard him no more than " ſounding braſs or a tinkling cymbal." They may be forced to hear him, but they do not mind him; and very probably are thinking of ſomething elſe all the time he is talking. All that he ſays leaveth no more traces behind it than (Wiſd. V. 12.) " an arrow that parteth the air, which immediately cometh together " again, ſo that a man cannot know where it went through."

Of

tium obvallatam. Grotius in Jac. I. 19. and he hath it particularly from Plutarch.

(2) To

Of the two extremes it is certainly ſafer to ſpeak too little than too much, and infinitely fewer have ſuffered for the one than for the other. If your fault is in not ſpeaking, that you may eaſily amend by ſpeaking; but what is ſpoken amiſs, cannot be unſpoken again. I think it was Simonides who ſaid, (2) that he had often repented of what he had ſpoken, but never of what he had not. Reſerve in many caſes is policy and prudence. It was a wiſe and good reſolution of the royal pſalmiſt, (Pſal. XXXIX. 1.) "I ſaid I will take heed to my ways "that I ſin not with my tongue, I will keep my mouth with a bridle "while the wicked is before me." Our Saviour himſelf found it neceſſary many times to be cautious and reſerved, and would not "throw his pearls before ſwine." The Word himſelf upon many occaſions was ſparing of his words, and (John II. 24, 25.) did not "commit himſelf" unto all men, "becauſe he knew all men, and "needed not that any ſhould teſtify of man, for he knew what was "in man." Great talkers often involve themſelves in difficulties and dangers, which the more modeſt and reſerved avoid. They are frequently obliged to explain, to evade, to excuſe, to deny, to defend, to retract ſhamefully what they have ſaid, or perhaps more ſhamefully to maintain it. And hence come feuds and animoſities, hence come wars and fightings, (James III. 5.) "ſo great a matter a little fire "kindleth." "A prating fool ſhall fall," as Solomon ſays, and repeats it twice. (Prov. X. 8, 10.) Many have been undone for ſpeaking, but ſeldom or never any man for holding his tongue. "Whoſo "keepeth his mouth and his tongue keepeth his ſoul from troubles."

As it is ſafer for yourſelf to ſpeak too little than too much, ſo likewiſe is it generally more obliging to others. The greateſt compliment that you can pay to ſome people is to ſit ſtill and give them the hearing. Nothing that you can offer will be half ſo agreeable as your attention. It ſhoweth ſomething of modeſty and deference; and all perſons, the weakeſt as well as the wiſeſt, love to be thought conſiderable, and are never diſpleaſed by your ſubmitting to them. Much talking

(2) Το Σιμωνιδειον, ὁτι λαλησας μεν πολλακις μεμενησε, ςιωπησας δε ουδεποτε. Plutarch. περι αδολεσχιας prope finem.

(3) Dictum

talking is offenſive to others, as well as dangerous to yourſelf. It is an infringement upon the liberty of the company; and monopolies are to be allowed in no kind of commerce, in converſation no more than in trade. In company we meet all as in a conſort; every one is to bear his part; and who can endure that one noiſy inſtrument ſhould drown the harmony of all the reſt? It is a ſtrange want of reſpect to your ſuperiors; it is arrogance to your equals; and to your inferiors it is a ſpecies of cruelty not unlike that which was uſed to the ſlaves of old, who had their ears bored for a token of ſervitude. To all ſorts of people there is ſurely nothing more diſagreeable, more tedious, more mortifying, than being obliged to ſit ſtill and hear an eternal talker with vaſt profuſion of words and yet little ſenſe or meaning. The Church of Rome hath not invented a worſe among all her penances. And when ſeveral of the ſame character meet together (as ſometimes it happens that they do meet together) what is there but a confuſion of tongues and a Babel?

In all likelihood too you will obtain the character of wiſdom ſooner for what you do not ſay than for what you do. The wiſeſt men are never the greateſt talkers; as the deepeſt rivers run on ſilently and undiſturbed, while the ſhalloweſt brooks with every little ſudden rain overflow. If you have wiſdom, your reſerve will not leſſen it; and if you have not, your ſilence will beſt conceal the defect. The man of few words hath commonly the good luck to be reputed wiſe, and often really is ſo. And the wiſeſt of men hath obſerved the ſame thing long ago; (Prov. XVII. 27, 28.) " He that hath knowlege " ſpareth his words: Even a fool when he holdeth his peace is counted " wiſe, and he that ſhutteth his lips is eſteemed a man of underſtand- " ing." Men forfeit the character of wiſdom by nothing ſooner than by talking too much. They do it to diſtinguiſh themſelves and to be thought wiſer than their neighbours; but for that very reaſon they are thought not ſo wiſe. It expoſeth folly, and cauſeth it to appear greater; it debaſeth wiſdom, and maketh it appear leſs, than it is in reality. " A fool's voice is known by multitude of words," ſaith the preacher. (Eccleſ. V. 3.) A man may talk a great deal, and yet ſay

little or nothing. Words are but as wind, and the veſſel always ſoundeth moſt when it is empty. (Ecclus XXI. 26.) "The heart of fools "is in their mouth, but the mouth of the wiſe is in their heart."

They will not only be thought wiſe but alſo ſecret, and there are few qualities in life more valuable or more uſeful than ſecrecy. Secrecy is to the mind like cloathing to the body, and covers our nakedneſs which is as uncomely in the one as in the other. Secrecy procures friendſhip and confidence, and invites and engages men to open and communicate themſelves to us. The ſecret man is as it were a *Confeſſor* to his friends, and is truſted and reſpected accordingly. If men forfeit the character of ſecrecy, they forfeit with it all the benefits and pleaſures of friendſhip. It is no wonder that they reveal another's ſecrets, for they cannot conceal their own. It is no wonder that they tell all they know, for they often tell more than they know, and ſupply the want of truth with invention. "A tale-bearer revealeth ſe-"crets," ſaith Solomon: (Prov. XI. 13.) and can ſuch a man have a friend, or be a friend? Who would open his heart to one, who is perpetually talking without reſerve, without diſcretion? Who would put good wine into a veſſel that is continually running out? If you want to have any thing publiſhed, you need only impart it to ſuch perſons as a ſecret. In this they may be proper tools and inſtruments, and in nothing elſe are they fit to be truſted.

In moſt caſes the feweſt words are beſt. If what you ſay is bad, it cannot be too ſhort; and if it is good, the brevity will make it remembered with the greater pleaſure. (3) A word *to* the wiſe is enough; ſo likewiſe is a word *from* the wiſe: and thoſe ſayings have uſually the beſt effect and do the moſt execution, which like daggers are ſharp and ſhort, the words few, but the ſenſe complete. Lycurgus therefore trained up the Spartan youth to ſpeak apothegms, to return ſhort and pertinent anſwers, what from them we ſtill call the Laconic way of ſpeaking. And the writings which remain of the wiſeſt man that ever lived conſiſt chiefly of ſhort ſayings and proverbs.

The

(3) Dictum ſapienti ſat eſt. Ter.

(4) Dicit

The more you ſpeak, the leſs probably you will ſpeak to the purpoſe. If what you ſay is bad, prolixity will make it worſe, will make it indeed intolerable; and if it is good, ſtill there is as much difference between a looſe and a cloſe way of ſpeaking as between gold in the leaf and gold in the wedge. It is impoſſible for the wiſeſt man to be talking always, and always well. There muſt be time for thought and recollection. A few bad things will diſparage many good ones: and the former will be remembered to his diſgrace, when the latter are forgotten. For people (4) relate and remember ſooner what they deride, than what they approve; and it is in the current of diſcourſe as in the current of a river, things of weight and moment ſink, while ſtraws and feathers ſwim.

There is ſomething even of religion in ſilence. The royal preacher giveth theſe directions about religious worſhip; (Eccleſ. V. 1, 2.) " Be more ready to hear than to give the ſacrifice of fools; Be not " raſh with thy mouth, and let not thine heart be haſty to utter any " thing before God, for God is in heaven and thou upon earth, " therefore let thy words be few." Our Saviour himſelf commands us in our prayers " not to uſe vain repetitions" (Matt. VI. 7.) like thoſe who " think they ſhall be heard for their much ſpeaking:" and the prayer which he hath taught us is as excellent for its brevity as for its fulneſs. St. John upon a certain occaſion (Rev. VIII. 1.) ſays that " there was ſilence in heaven." The very Heathens had their myſterious rites and ceremonies, which were performed with ſolemn ſilence; and may it not alſo be ſaid, that the beſt of ſome modern ſectaries are their *ſilent meetings?* And " O that they would altogether hold their " peace," to ſpeak in the language of Job, (XIII. 5.) " and it " ſhould be their wiſdom." The wiſeſt and the beſt thing, that ſome public teachers as well as public ſpeakers could do, would be to lay their hands on their lips and be ſilent. " In the multitude of words," as Solomon obſerves, (Prov. X. 19.) " there wanteth not ſin." Great talkers muſt have ſome ſubject for diſcourſe, be it proper or improper, good

(4) Dicit enim citius meminitque libentius illud
Quod quis deridet quam quod probat. Hor.

good or bad, right or wrong, true or falſe, in ſeaſon or out of ſeaſon; vanity, ſelf-conceit, impertinence, curioſity, inſincerity, flattery, detraction, ſlander are the common ingredients; and rather than be ſilent we have known men ſupply the want of ſomething to ſay with oaths and curſes, " ſpeak evil of dignities" (Jude 8.) and blaſpheme even God and religion. So true it is, that " the tongue," the tongue of ſuch men eſpecially, (James III. 8, 6.) " is an unruly evil, " full of deadly poiſon: The tongue is a fire, a world of iniquity; " ſo is the tongue amongſt our members, that it defileth the whole " body, and ſetteth on fire the courſe of nature, and it is ſet on fire " of hell."

In ſhort, the man who governs his tongue the ſcripture hath dignified with the title of a " perfect man;" and he who can command himſelf in this inſtance can equally command himſelf in all. (James III. 2.) " If any man offend not in word, the ſame is a perfect man, " and able alſo to bridle the whole body." But woe to that man who multiplies words to no purpoſe. Our Saviour and Judge hath declared, that " every idle word that men ſpeak, they ſhall give ac- " count thereof in the day of judgment;" (Matt. XII. 36.) and therefore by multiplying idle words we magnify our account, and (Rom. II. 5.) " treaſure up wrath againſt the day of wrath and revelation of the " righteous judgment of God."

So neceſſary it is to govern this unruly member; and much the ſame rules and directions, which are given for the government of the heart, may ſerve alſo for the government of the tongue.

The thought of God's continual preſence and inſpection over us is ſufficient to check and reſtrain all idle and unprofitable, and much more all filthy and corrupt communication. We are naturally cautious of what we ſay before our earthly ſuperiors; and is not greater reſpect and deference due to the great majeſty of heaven, " the king " of kings and lord of lords?" Every man may truly ſay with the good pſalmiſt, (Pſal. CXXXIX. 4.) " There is not a word in my " tongue, but lo, O Lord, thou knoweſt it altogether;" and wouldſt thou then (Pſal. XXXIV. 12, &c.) " love life and ſee good days, keep " thy

" thy tongue from evil, and thy lips that they ſpeak no guile; for " the eyes of the Lord are over all, and his ears are open unto all."

You muſt alſo take due care of your health, and command your paſſions, if you would be maſter of yourſelf, and have the entire command of your words. For men in ſickneſs or pain are too apt to ſay croſs and peeviſh things; and men in a paſſion ſcarce know what they ſay, and often utter in their haſte what they find reaſon to repent of afterwards at leiſure. You know what was the puniſhment of Moſes, (Pſal. CVI. 33.) " becauſe they provoked his ſpirit, ſo " that he ſpake unadviſedly with his lips." St. Paul, upon great provocation, being ſmitten contrary to the law, ſpake ſomething diſreſpectfully to the high-prieſt, for which being reproved by the ſtanders by, he preſently recollected himſelf, and acknowleged his error; (Acts XXIII. 5.) " I wiſt not, brethren, that he was the high-prieſt; " for it is written, Thou ſhalt not ſpeak evil of the ruler of thy peo- " ple." And if ſaints are liable to theſe tranſgreſſions, how much more ought ſinners to beware leſt they offend with their tongue?

You ſhould moreover be diligent and active in the buſineſs or ſtation whereunto it hath pleaſed God to call you; for an idle life produceth idle diſcourſe at beſt. " Whatſoever" therefore (Eccleſ. IX. 10.) " thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might." Men as well as women, when they neglect their proper calling, (1 Tim. V. 13.) " learn to be idle, wandering about from houſe to houſe; and not " only idle, but tatlers alſo and buſy bodies, ſpeaking things which " they ought not."

Nothing will improve you more, and qualify you better for converſation, than the keeping of good company, and the reading of good books. (Prov. XV. 2.) " The tongue of the wiſe uſeth know- " lege aright, but the mouth of fools poureth out fooliſhneſs." Plutarch adviſeth you, if you are addicted to garrulity, to accuſtom yourſelf to writing, and to keep company with your ſuperiors, that ſo you may learn modeſty and ſilence. Accuſtom yourſelf to a proper and becoming reſerve, uſe yourſelf to ſpeak to the purpoſe, or not to ſpeak at all; for uſe is the mother of all habits. Beſides never interrupt

another while he is ſpeaking. It is ill manners, and you cannot then plead the neceſſity of keeping up the converſation. This is the advice of the wiſe ſon of Sirach, (Ecclus XI. 8.) "Anſwer not before thou "haſt heard the cauſe, neither interrupt men in the midſt of their "talk." Think alſo before you ſpeak (5) *what* you are going to ſay, and to *whom* you are going to ſay it. For certainly if men thought more they would talk leſs, remembering that (Prov. XVIII. 21.) "death and life are in the power of the tongue."

Above all pray unto God in the words of the royal pſalmiſt (Pſal. CXLI. 3.) "Set a watch, O Lord, before my mouth, and keep the "door of my lips:" (XIX. 14.) "Let the words of my mouth and "the meditation of my heart be acceptable in thy ſight, O Lord my "ſtrength and my redeemer."

DISSERTATION XX.

Men the authors of their own miſery or happineſs.

AS almighty God is infinitely happy himſelf, ſo he made all his creatures to partake of happineſs in the different degrees and proportions which their different natures and capacities will admit: and ſuch a being as God cannot be ſuppoſed to have made them for any other end or with any other deſign. Some creatures ſeem to be formed only for a temporary being in this world, and in this world therefore they muſt enjoy all the good of which they are capable. Others are deſigned for an eternal duration in a future ſtate, and therefore there is no taking a meaſure of their happineſs by their preſent condition, the next world muſt alſo be taken into the account; and if

(5) *Quid* de quoque viro et *cui* dicas ſæpe caveto. Hor.

if upon the whole the misery of any creature is an overbalance to his happiness, it must be owing entirely to the defection and depravity of that creature, and not to any want of goodness in the creator.

If then all creatures are formed to partake of happiness, they must have some means of attaining this end; it must be placed within the possibility of their reach; there can be no cherubim and flaming swords to guard it from them. Accordingly brutes are led to what is their good by instinct, as men have reason to conduct them to their good. And probably brutes, having their whole existence here, have here likewise their whole happiness; but men, being only on their passage to their heavenly country, must not hope to meet with all the accommodations upon the road which they may expect at home. It is probable too that we are here in a state of degradation, that mankind are not so happy now as they were originally created; probable I say from the appearances of things, and certain from revelation. Not but even this stage of existence exhibits more good than evil; and men, though they have continued ever so long in the world, yet seldom grow weary of it, and (1) retire satisfied from life like a guest from a full meal. The love of life with all its infirmities is still natural to us; few persons are for shifting the scene they know not for what and they know not where. In this melancholy climate there is hardly one in ten thousand who layeth violent hands upon himself, and instances of self-murder are more frequent in this country than in any other.

In life then we may conclude, that there is more good than evil, more pleasure than pain, more happiness than misery; and that men enjoy not more than they do is greatly their own fault in seeking happiness where it is not to be found, and neglecting where it is. Instinct is often a more steddy principle of action in brutes, than reason in men. Brutes seldom or never deviate from the path of nature; they are constantly urged on in the same track by a sort of necessity without turning aside to the right-hand or to the left; they are, at least in

(1) ——exacto contentus tempore vitæ
Cedat uti conviva satur—— Hor.

(2) ——nec

in many inſtances they are, mere pieces of animal machinery, if I may ſo ſpeak, moving by inviſible ſprings: whereas men are left more to themſelves and their own conduct; they are rational moral agents, indued with a liberty of chooſing and refuſing; they may and therefore they often do deviate from nature and from happineſs. Happineſs indeed they always deſire, but they often miſtake it, purſue the ſhadow inſtead of the ſubſtance, hunt after it in things without, and little conſider that it is ſeated more within. The wiſe man had a very right apprehenſion of the matter, when he ſaid, (Prov. XIV. 14.) "The "backſlider in heart ſhall be filled with his own ways, and a good "man ſhall be ſatisfied from himſelf:" in which words is implied this great and important truth, that every man is the author of his own miſery or happineſs. His good or bad condition depends not ſo much upon his outward circumſtances, as upon his mind, his good or bad behaviour. His guilt will be its own puniſhment, his goodneſs its own reward.

I. "The backſlider in heart ſhall be filled with his own ways." It is in vain to pretend to diſſuade men from any thing to which they are ſtrongly inclined, unleſs you can ſhow that it is manifeſtly to their detriment and diſadvantage: and it is well if you can diſſuade them from it even then. A life of ſin is upon every account and in every point of view the greateſt folly imaginable; but yet it is not general harangues that will divert men from ſuch a courſe of life. If we would effectually perſuade them to renounce and forſake it, we muſt prove to them that it is directly contrary to their intereſt, and in all probability will render them miſerable in this world as well as in that which is to come. There are few or none, I believe, who commit ſin for the ſake of ſin, or are wicked merely out of love to wickedneſs. They uſually propoſe to themſelves ſome pleaſure and ſatisfaction; ſomething under the appearance of good inflames their deſires; and this is the common artifice whereby ſin decoys and inſnares them; pleaſure is the bait, and they ſee not that the hook beneath is deſtruction. The thing is therefore to convince men, that the event will by no means anſwer their expectation, that the good which they promiſe

themſelves

themselves will prove their greatest evil, that though the pleasures of sin may be sweet as honey at first, yet (Prov. XX. 17.) "afterwards "their mouth shall be filled with gravel," and the bitter will remain when the sweet is gone, and imaginary transient pleasure conclude in real lasting pain. "The backslider in heart shall be filled with his "own ways." His own wickedness will chastise him, his guilt will be its own punishment several ways; but the rest perhaps are reducible to these, which are most worthy of our notice and observation.

1. The natural effects and consequences of some sins are a punishment to the sinner; as surely as by taking up fire in his hand he will be burned. For instance who seeth not that avarice is its own punishment, starving in the midst of plenty, surrounded with all the cares and troubles of riches yet tasting none of the comforts, denying the conveniences and grudging even the necessaries of life, wanting for very fear of want, and suffering more by imaginary poverty than others do by real? insomuch that it is grown familiar in our language to use *covetous* and *miserable* as synonymous terms; and as if avarice was misery itself, we call an avaricious man *a miser*.

To avoid this, if you should run into the contrary extreme, you would find that extravagance likewise is its own punishment, that it undermines the very ground upon which it standeth, and layeth a train as it were to blow itself up; that it cannot be supported without dishonesty, and with all your dishonesty cannot be supported long; and what a terrible change of the scene is it from a life of superfluity to a life of indigence? and how will you condemn yourself for having wasted and consumed so much precious treasure; and wish, but wish in vain, that any part of it was your own again?

Is not the drunkard immediately punished by deprivation of his senses and transformation of the man into a beast? and so lieth in a fever, dozing out the fumes of liquor till his senses return and he cometh to himself again, and more than payeth with sickness in the morning for the debauch of the night before. This is his immediate punishment, but neither is this all his punishment; for commonly the dropsy or gout or some such terrible distemper attacks him; and though he

may plead for drinking to keep up his ſpirits, yet it will certainly depreſs them; and the more he ſhall drink, the more he will want to drink, and in time will burn up his very vitals, and commit ſelf-murder as much as if he was to poiſon himſelf, only his is a ſlower ſort of poiſon.

Is not the whoremonger equally puniſhed in body and mind and eſtate? With what expenſe are his vicious amours uſually attended, and how do they impoveriſh and ruin his eſtate? how do they debaſe his underſtanding, and impair all the parts and faculties of his mind? how do they weaken and deſtroy his conſtitution, and entail aches and rottenneſs on his bones? As Solomon deſcribes him, (Prov. VII. 22, 23.) "He goeth after a ſuttle harlot, as an ox goeth to the ſlaughter, "or as a fool to the correction of the ſtocks; till a dart ſtrike through "his liver, as a bird haſteth to the ſnare, and knoweth not that it is for his life."

The puniſhment of habitual lying is, that you will never be believed though you ſpeak the truth. The puniſhment of idleneſs is, that it will cloath you with rags, and bring you to ſhame and infamy. Every paſſion in exceſs is its own puniſhment. The angry man revengeth the faults of others upon himſelf. The envious man maketh another's happineſs the cauſe of his own miſery. In like manner every vicious paſſion, every vicious action almoſt, will hurt your fortune, or impair your health, or blaſt your reputation, or ſome way or other be its own avenger, though there was to be none other.

2. Where the ſins of men are not the immediate efficient cauſe, yet they are often the occaſion of their misfortunes. In many caſes where the puniſhment doth not follow upon the offenſe in the courſe of nature, yet it is often inflicted in the courſe of law; and though a man may poſſibly eſcape the natural effects and conſequences of his ſins, yet there are penal ſtatutes in every ſociety, ſo that he may ſtill be no gainer, but contrariwiſe a great ſufferer. And where a wicked man is not ſo wicked as to become obnoxious to the laws of his country, yet he may be odious and hated by the generality of mankind, and divine providence may ſuffer or even order all events to work together

gether for evil to him who doeth evil. An eſtate gotten by extortion and injuſtice often proveth the occaſion of a man's ruin. You ſhall very rarely know it to proſper, and commonly you may obſerve a viſible curſe to attend the poſſeſſor and the poſſeſſion. If you will revolve in your minds the former paſſages of your lives, you will trace moſt of your misfortunes to have been originally owing ſome way or other to your own miſconduct. At leaſt it is certain, that if there had never been any ſin in the world, there had never been any trouble. The one was plainly the occaſion of the other. If man had continued innocent, he had never died, and the only remove and change of his condition had been from paradiſe to heaven.

3. Men ſometimes by their ſins draw down ſimilar judgments upon their own heads, and in the ſame manner wherein they offend they are puniſhed. Mankind take delight in this ſort of retribution, and God is often pleaſed ſo to diſpoſe and order his judgments; (2) nor indeed is any law more juſt, than that offenders ſhould be paid in the ſame coin, and as they have done unto others, ſo it ſhould be requited unto them again. "An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth;" (Matt. V. 38.) ſo far was the law of retaliation carried among the Jews: and though all people are not bound to follow the Jewiſh laws, yet this is ſuch a law of God and univerſal reaſon, that perhaps a better cannot be deviſed for the uſe and benefit of all nations. It was alſo a law before that, (Gen. IX. 6.) and hath continued after it, that whoſo killeth another ſhall be killed himſelf, "whoſo ſheddeth man's "blood, by man ſhall his blood be ſhed." Adonibezeck (Judges I.) cut off the thumbs and great toes of threeſcore and ten kings, and therefore it was a juſt judgment upon him, that the Iſraelites "cut "off his thumbs and his great toes." It is the greateſt ſtain in David's character, that he committed adultery with the wife of Uriah, and afterwards ordered the injured huſband to be ſlain with the ſword; and therefore the prophet threatens him (2 Sam.) that "the ſword "ſhould never depart from his houſe," and "his neighbour ſhould "take

(2) ——nec lex eſt juſtior ulla, &c. Ovid.

" take his wives, and lie with them in the ſight of the ſun," which was accordingly fulfilled by his rebellious ſon Abſalom in the ſight of all Iſrael. They who had cauſed Daniel to be put into the den of lions, (Dan. VI.) were themſelves alſo caſt into the den of lions, and died the ſame cruel death which they had deviſed for him. It would be endleſs to produce ſo many inſtances as might be cited out of hiſtory to ſhow that men's ſins are not only the occaſion of their puniſhment, but of their being puniſhed in the very ſame manner wherein they had offended. So juſt and true is our Saviour's aſſertion, (Matt. VII. 2.) even with regard to this life, that " with what judgment ye " judge ye ſhall be judged, and with what meaſure ye mete, it ſhall " be meaſured to you again."

4. Though the ſinner ſhould eſcape all other puniſhment, yet he cannot eſcape the horrors and agonies of his own guilty mind. All men have natural faculties to diſcern and diſtinguiſh between good and evil, what they ought to do and what to avoid: and when they act according to the judgment of their own mind, their conſcience acquits them; when they act contrary to it, the ſame conſcience condemns them. And where can be the pleaſure and ſatisfaction, when their paſſions are at war with their reaſon, when they are uneaſy to themſelves, when they are aſhamed of themſelves, when they are ſenſible that they have not deſerved well of men, and have the greateſt reaſon to dread the impending judgments of God? With what ſhame and confuſion muſt Adam have been overwhelmed (Gen. III.) when he was " afraid and hid himſelf from the preſence of the Lord God?" With what fears and terrors muſt Cain have been diſtracted, (Gen. IV. 13, 14) when he ſaid, " My puniſhment is greater than I can bear, " and it ſhall come to paſs that every one that findeth me ſhall ſlay " me?" With what remorſe and deſpair muſt Judas have been tortured, when he brought again the thirty pieces of ſilver (Matt. XXVII. 8.) " and went and hanged himſelf?" Conſcience is often compared to a judge, and it is ſo faithful a judge, that neither pleaſure can charm it, nor buſineſs divert it, neither eloquence can perſuade, nor cunning deceive, nor wealth corrupt, nor power overawe it, to give an unjuſt ſentence.

entence. It judgeth always according to its beſt knowlege and information, is as inflexible and ſevere to the greateſt as to the meaneſt; and though all the world ſhould applaud, yet conſcience will not therefore the leſs condemn. How was Herod terrified at the fame of Jeſus, and imagined in his fright and confuſion, (Mark VI. 14.) "that John the Baptiſt," whom he had unjuſtly beheaded, "was "riſen from the dead?" As "Paul reaſoned of righteouſneſs tem-"perance and judgment to come," (Acts XXIV. 25.) how did the guilty Felix "tremble," a great governor tremble at the voice of a poor priſoner? All the power and ſplendor of the Roman empire could not hinder (3) Tiberius from diſcovering the torments and agonies of mind under which he labored; and how improper ſoever it might be to confeſs, yet he could not help confeſſing, that he knew neither what to ſay or not to ſay, and was as miſerable almoſt as the Gods could make him. A guilty conſcience, though poſſibly it may be lulled aſleep at other times, yet is ſure to awaken in the day of affliction, and on a bed of ſickneſs, and at the hour of death. It will torment you moſt, when you want moſt to be comforted: and can any thing be more miſerable, than when our ſpirit which ſhould ſupport us, itſelf ſinketh under us? (Prov. XVIII. 14.) "The ſpirit of "a man will ſuſtain his infirmity, but a wounded ſpirit who can "bear?"

5. A guilty mind will be the ſource of the ſinner's miſery in the next world, as well as embitter all his enjoyments in this. Death, that will deliver you from all the other troubles of life, cannot yet deliver you from the ſtings of a guilty conſcience. All thoſe evils, which affect the body, die with the body; but the qualities and affections of the ſoul ſurvive with the ſoul itſelf. The mind is properly the man; and that is changed no more by putting off the body, than you are changed by putting off your cloaths. The guilt therefore that you contract will not only be a ſtain in this life, but will remain with you in the other. It is not the change of place and condition that will

(3) Tacit. Annal. Lib. 6. Cap. 6.

(4) Nunquam

will change the temper and diſpoſition of the ſoul. The place without doubt contributes much to happineſs or miſery, and no places are more different than heaven and hell: but yet I ſay it is not the place alone but the mind chiefly that conſtitutes happineſs or miſery, ſo that if a wicked man was to be in heaven, he could receive little pleaſure and ſatisfaction there. There is nothing to fit his taſte, or ſuit his inclination, and in the midſt of happineſs itſelf he would ſtill be miſerable. And if a guilty mind will ſpoil happineſs in the place of happineſs, much more will it aggravate miſery in the place of miſery. A guilty mind is not only the occaſion of the puniſhment of the damned, but is alſo part of their puniſhment itſelf. The remembrance of their ſins, the conſideration of what brought them there, ſorrow for the paſt, dread of the future, remorſe horror and deſpair are principal ingredients of their miſery: (Wiſd. V. 3, &c.) "And they repenting "and groaning for anguiſh of ſpirit ſhall ſay within themſelves, We "wearied ourſelves in the way of wickedneſs and deſtruction, yea "we have gone through deſerts where there lay no way, but as for "the way of the Lord we have not known it. What hath pride pro- "fited us, or what good have riches with our vaunting brought us? "All thoſe things are paſſed away, and we are conſumed in our own "wickedneſs."

You ſee by theſe inſtances how mens wickedneſs corrects them, and their guilt is its own puniſhment. Agreeable to which alſo is the denunciation of the prophet, (Jer. II. 19.) "Thine own wickedneſs "ſhall correct thee, and thy backſlidings ſhall reprove thee; know "therefore and ſee, that it is an evil thing and bitter, that thou haſt "forſaken the Lord thy God, and that my fear is not in thee ſaith "the Lord God of hoſts." And can there be a more powerful argument to dehort and diſſuade you from a ſinful courſe of life, which will otherwiſe be your deſtruction? If the rewards of virtue will not engage you to be virtuous, yet ſurely the puniſhment of ſinners will deter you from ſin. If the hopes of happineſs will not incline you to what is good, yet ſurely the fear of miſery will make you flee from what is evil. The divine, as well as human, laws have penalties annexed

nexed to the obſervance of them; but it is the excellence of the divine laws, that they in great meaſure execute themſelves. The penalty follows upon the offenſe without the formalities of a trial; and you will find in the event, that you have not ſinned more againſt God than againſt yourſelf. Moral and natural evil are more nearly allied than perhaps you imagin; and if guilt is generally its own puniſhment in this world, much more and more certainly it is in the world to come. If we perceive that vengeance uſually purſues ſinners, in our preſent ſhort and imperfect view of things; much more will appear the cloſe connection between ſin and puniſhment, and the exact proportion of the one to the other, when we arrive at a more perfect ſtate, and have a fuller and clearer comprehenſion of the divine diſpenſations from the beginning to the end. The ſinner may rejoice in his own ways, and triumph in the pride and vanity of his heart: but he may depend upon it, that his pain will far exceed his pleaſure even in this life; and what he ſuffers here is only a foretaſte and earneſt of what he muſt expect hereafter. As vice is uſually its own puniſhment, ſo virtue is generally and in the ordinary courſe of human affairs its own reward. The natural effects and conſequences of ſome virtues are themſelves a reward to the virtuous: And where mens virtues are not the immediate efficient cauſe, yet they are often the occaſion of their reputation and ſucceſs in the world. Men ſometimes by their virtues draw down ſimilar bleſſings upon their own heads, and the good which they do to others is repaid to them again. But though they ſhould be diſappointed of all other rewards, yet they cannot be deprived of the teſtimony and applauſe of a good conſcience: And a good conſcience will be the ſource of their happineſs in the next world, as well as double all their pleaſures and enjoyments in this. Which leadeth us very properly to our ſecond general head.

II. "A good man ſhall be ſatisfied from himſelf." No conſiderations whatever are more uſeful or more affecting than thoſe concerning happineſs, where it may be found, and how it may be attained. Not that we muſt expect any ſuch thing as perfect happineſs here below, and neither do we ſpeak of it in the ſtrict and proper ſenſe of the word,

word, but only according to the common acceptation; and all that we would be underſtood to aſſert is, that happineſs, ſuch as our preſent imperfect ſtate will allow, ariſeth chiefly from within, and this inward happineſs can be preſerved and acquired only by virtue and goodneſs. This is ſelf-ſatisfaction, and this its true ſource and origin.

As to our firſt inquiry *where happineſs may be found*, it is ſeated principally in the mind, it ariſeth chiefly from within. To conſtitute happineſs three things are in ſome meaſure requiſite, an eaſy fortune, a healthy body, and a chearful mind. But though theſe are all requiſite to conſtitute happineſs, yet they are not requiſite all in an equal degree. Our eſtate and fortune are not of ſuch immediate relation to us as our bodies, nor yet are our bodies ourſelves; the mind is at leaſt the principal part of the compoſition, and conſequently the principal part alſo of our happineſs muſt be founded in it and depend upon it. Happineſs, as well as charity, begins at home; and to apply the words of Moſes (Deut. XXX. 14.) there is no need "to go up into "heaven" to fetch it from thence, there is no need to go "beyond "the ſea to bring it" from thence, but it is "very nigh unto us in "our mouth and in our heart." If it is not ſeated chiefly in the mind, where elſe is it ſeated?

Will *riches* make any one eaſy and happy? No man can properly be ſaid to be rich, who is not contented; and contentment is ſeated in the mind. The riches of the mind only can make a man eaſy and happy. All other wealth may make him anxious, may make him covetous, may make him miſerable, and not only may but very frequently doth. (Eccleſ. V. 10.) "He that loveth ſilver ſhall not be "ſatisfied with ſilver, nor he that loveth abundance with increaſe, "this is vanity."

Will *power* bid fairer for happineſs? or rather do you not know many a private man happier than a king? As power increaſeth, cares increaſe with it; and a crown often proveth in effect a crown of thorns. The beſt command is the command over one's ſelf; (Prov. XVI. 32.) "he that ruleth his ſpirit is better than he that taketh a city:" nor indeed is that man fit or able to govern others, who cannot govern

himſelf; (Prov. XXV. 28.) " he that hath no rule over his own ſpi-
" rit is like a city that is broken down and without walls."

Our outward circumſtances of wealth and power will not conſtitute happineſs, will things which more immediately belong to us, ſuch as *health* and *ſtrength* of *body?* Strength of body without mind to govern is brutal; and many brutes ſurpaſs men in ſtrength and agility and long life. And for health there is little enjoyment in it without a chearful mind. It is a much more eligible ſtate to have a weakly conſtitution with good ſpirits than a robuſt one without. Few perſons are more miſerable than thoſe, who though they are well, yet are always fancying themſelves ill, and ſuffer as much by imaginary evils as by real.

Will *ſenſual delights and gratifications* have any better effect? Theſe by many are thought to be happineſs itſelf; but what is it that giveth us the taſte and reliſh of them? If the mind is inattentive or indiſpoſed, there is no ſatisfaction or pleaſure in them; and if they were taſted in the higheſt poſſible degree, ſtill the happineſs of an intellectual rational creature muſt be ſomething of a different nature, ſomething ſuperior and nobler than ſenſual pleaſure. Solomon had fully experienced all ſenſual pleaſures and gratifications; (Eccleſ. II. 4, &c.) he " builded," he " planted;" he " gave himſelf unto wine;" he " got him men-ſingers and women-ſingers with muſical inſtruments " of all ſorts; whatſoever his eyes deſired he kept not from them, he " withheld not his heart from any joy." And beſides " his wiſdom " remained with him;" he had a nicer taſte and ſuperior underſtanding to enjoy all theſe pleaſures in a more elegant and refined manner than any other of the ſons of men can pretend to do; and yet after all you know it was his concluſion, that ſenſual pleaſure was not only " vanity" but " vexation of ſpirit."

You ſee there can be no happineſs without the mind; let us now ſee what happineſs the mind will adminiſter. I believe there are no ſuch rigid Stoics now as to affirm that other things will not at all contribute to happineſs; but ſtill the mind is the agent, and other things are only the inſtruments.

It is the mind that perceives and diſtinguiſhes; it is not the eye that ſeeth or the ear that heareth; but the mind is the man, or as we may expreſs it, the god within us that is all in all. It is the mind chiefly that differenceth men one from another, and maketh inferiors often wiſer and better and happier than their ſuperiors. A chearful mind is the pleaſure of proſperity and the comfort of adverſity, the greateſt preſervative of health, and the beſt medicin in ſickneſs, and what in the language of Cicero we may call *vita vitalis*, the life of life itſelf.

It is the mind that adminiſters all the pleaſure which ariſeth from learning and knowlege, from the perception of preſent good, the remembrance of paſt, and the hope of future. All the pleaſures of imagination, of reflection, of memory, of judgment, of underſtanding, all ſpring and flow from this fountain. Philoſophy, poetry, hiſtory, thoſe fine flights of fancy, that clear vein of reaſoning, that ſtrong torrent of eloquence, all arts, all ſciences are the product of the mind, and are not only the moſt uſeful but the moſt delightful employments of the life of man. Untaught, unlettered we can ſee but little by ourſelves, but learning opens to us another world, that is always new and entertaining. The principal excellence of man's nature is that he is made a reaſonable creature, and the exerciſe and improvement of that reaſon muſt therefore be his principal happineſs.

It is the mind that adminiſters all the pleaſure which ariſeth from virtue and religion, virtue and religion being ſeated there, and thence diffuſed and exerted into action. Our virtue, like our blood, muſt circulate from the heart, or otherwiſe it is no virtue. Hypocriſy is as odious as ſincere piety is amiable; and they who are like God in goodneſs, cannot fail of being upon the whole like him alſo in happineſs.

All other pleaſures ſoon cloy and ſatiate, and the more they are taſted the more they pall upon the appetite; but the pleaſures of the mind continually improve upon us, and the more they are enjoyed the more they are deſired. All other pleaſures with the means and occaſions of them may be raviſhed from us by outward force and violence;

lence; but the pleaſures of the mind are more properly our own, and nothing can ſeparate us from ourſelves. All other pleaſures ſubſiſt only at certain times, and in certain places, and with certain perſons; but the pleaſures of the mind depend neither upon time nor place, and (4) a wiſe man is never leſs alone than when alone. All other pleaſures are common to the brutes, and what they perhaps enjoy as much or more; but the pleaſures of the mind not only diſtinguiſh us from the brute creation, but alſo make us "partakers of the divine "nature." All other pleaſures die before us or die with us; but the pleaſures of the mind are like the mind itſelf immortal, are not only pleaſures for a ſeaſon, but pleaſures for evermore.

Let this ſuffice for an anſwer to our firſt inquiry, *where happineſs may be found*; our ſecond inquiry is *how it may be attained.* And having attempted to prove that happineſs ariſeth chiefly from within, we ſhall now endevor to ſhow that this inward happineſs can be preſerved and acquired only by virtue and goodneſs. And much the ſame method of proof will ſerve in this caſe as in the former, for as there can be no happineſs without the mind, and the mind will greatly contribute to happineſs; ſo there can be none of this inward happineſs without virtue and goodneſs, and virtue and goodneſs will greatly contribute to this inward happineſs.

Guilt and uneaſineſs are inſeparable companions; and what "God "hath" thus "joined together, let not men" pretend to "put aſun-"der." Man, after he had contracted guilt, was an uneaſy being even in paradiſe; he was aſhamed "and hid himſelf from the pre-"ſence of the Lord God," whom he uſed before to meet with pleaſure. *Before* you commit a ſin, do you not uſually find ſome difficulty in contriving it, are you not anxious and trembling leſt your deſign ſhould be perceived, doth not your mind frequently miſgive you, and your own reaſon tell you that you ought to refrain? *When* you commit a ſin, ſtill doth not your own conſcience upbraid you, are you not jealous and afraid leſt any eye ſhould ſee you, and do you not find

(4) Nunquam minus ſolus quam cum ſolus. Cicero.

find much more diſappointment in it than ſatisfaction? And *after* you have committed a ſin, how doth your mind reproach and condemn you for having acted againſt your own ſenſe and conviction, how fearful are you of a diſcovery, and how aſhamed when diſcovered, how diſpirited are you often at the remembrance of your ſins eſpecially in a day of trouble or ſickneſs, and how ſenſible are you that you have reaſon to dread contempt from men here and puniſhment from God hereafter? So grievous are the wounds of conſcience; and wherever we go, the deadly arrow is (5) is fixed in our ſide. In ſuch caſes if any pretend ſerenity, it is only pretence; their conſcience all the while giveth them the lie; they may diſguiſe it in public, but they feel it in private; they may wear ſmiles upon the face, but depend upon it there is anguiſh at the heart. God who knoweth the heart hath declared by the prophet, (Iſa. LVII. 20, 21.) "The wicked are like "the troubled ſea, when it cannot reſt, whoſe waters caſt up mire "and dirt; there is no peace, ſaith my God to the wicked."

Reaſon, ſcripture, experience, all evince that there can be none of this inward happineſs, no peace and ſatisfaction of mind without virtue and goodneſs; it will as evidently appear that virtue and goodneſs will greatly contribute to this inward happineſs, to the peace and ſatisfaction of the mind. We are creatures indued with a moral nature and moral faculties of perception and of action. Our palate doth not diſtinguiſh more between ſweet and bitter, than this moral ſenſe this moral taſte doth between virtue and vice; and when our actions agree with our ſentiments, then all is harmony peace and ſatisfaction within; when they diſagree, then all is diſcord uneaſineſs and diſſatisfaction. Virtue huſheth and layeth aſleep all the rougher paſſions, ſo that there ſhall be no wicked ambition, no ſinful anger, no envy, no malice, no inordinate affections, to ſhake and diſturb our repoſe; and it will not only lay aſleep all the rougher paſſions, but will inſpire us with all pleaſing ſentiments, a ſpirit of contentment, reſignation to the divine will, chearfulneſs, love, freedom, generoſity, beneficence and benevolence

(5) ——Hæret lateri lethalis arundo. Virgil.

(6) Horace.

lence to the whole creation. O the peace and serenity, O the satisfaction and heavenly-mindedness which he enjoys, who is a friend to every body, and to whom therefore generally every body is a friend! Every virtue will contribute one way or other to our peace and satisfaction. Faith, hope, and charity are each of them the means and instruments of happiness here as well as herea er. What joy and comfort is there in believing, that we have an almighty preserver and protector, that nothing happens to us but what infinite wisdom seeth best for us, that (John III. 17.) "God sent not his son into the world "to condemn the world, but that the world through him might be "saved?" What is life without hope but a scene of gloominess and darkness? The finest prospect to the eye is not half so delightful as hope to the mind. And what hopes are so rational, so glorious as those of a good Christian, the hopes of divine favor in this world, the hopes of divine happiness in the world to come! What pleasure and satisfaction do acts of charity diffuse over the heart? Doing good to others is really doing good to ourselves. There is a pleasure surely in being obliged, but to a generous mind there is an infinitely greater in obliging. (Acts XX. 35.) "It is more blessed to give than to re-"ceive." What the wise man therefore says of religion (Prov. III. 15, &c.) is very true, that "all the things thou canst desire are not "to be compared unto her: Length of days is in her right-hand, and "in her left-hand riches and honor: Her ways are ways of pleasant-"ness, and all her paths are peace: She is a tree of life to them that "lay hold on her, and happy is every one that retaineth her."

The practical uses that we are to make of this consideration are such as these.

1. Since our minds contribute so much to our happiness or misery, and the temper of our mind is often constitutional and depends upon causes and influences out of our power, as perhaps upon certain dispositions and affections of our souls, perhaps upon certain humors and alterations in our bodies, which we can neither wholly remedy nor prevent, it may be proper for us to address ourselves in prayer to Him in whom "we live and move and have our being." That the

temper of our mind is often conſtitutional, and depends upon cauſes and influences out of our power, is evident from hence, becauſe ſome perſons ſhall be generally gay and lively without endevoring or even without thinking, and ſhall be happy in a flow of ſpirits as they are in a regular pulſe, not from any art but from nature; while others ſhall be generally dull and heavy let them ſtrive and exert ever ſo much to the contrary, and ſcarce any barometer ſhall be more ſenſible of the changes of the air than their bodies. It is not to be ſuppoſed that any perſons ſhould delight to make themſelves miſerable. It can be no pleaſure to be always complaining. There muſt be ſomething in it that they cannot help; but what is "impoſſible with men" is "poſſible with God." And how many ways may he purify or thicken our blood, and alter the humors of the body to raiſe or depreſs our ſpirits? how many ways may he affect our imaginations, raviſh us with glorious viſions or torture us with diſmal ideas, and make a heaven or a hell of our own boſoms? Let us therefore beg of "the Father of ſpirits" to refine and exalt our ſpirits. Let us pray after the manner of the devout pſalmiſt, (Pſal. LI. 10, &c.) "Create "in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right ſpirit within me: "Caſt me not away from thy preſence, and take not thy holy ſpirit "from me: Reſtore unto me the joy of thy ſalvation, and uphold "me with thy free ſpirit." We have the greateſt reaſon to believe that ſuch prayers will be heard and anſwered; for the Holy Ghoſt delights in no title or office more than that of "the Comforter," and by that he is moſt uſually repreſented and promiſed in the New Teſtament (John XIV. 16.) "I will pray the Father," ſaith our Saviour, "and he ſhall give you another comforter, that he may abide with "you for ever."

2. But it is not enough barely to pray unto God; we muſt alſo contribute our own endevors; and particularly beware of idleneſs, and keep ourſelves conſtantly employed. It requires little ſagacity and penetration to have obſerved, that the ſlothful and idle are always the moſt ſplenetic and melancholy. Their time hangeth heavy upon their hands, and they frequently know not what to do with

themſelves.

themſelves. They are at leiſure to ſit and fancy evils which they have not; and thoſe which they really have, they are perpetually poring and muſing upon, and multiply and magnify in their own imaginations. Their ſpirits for want of other employment prey upon themſelves, and devour their own peace and quiet. As Solomon ſaith elſewhere, (Eccleſ. IV. 5.) " The fool foldeth his hands together, " and eateth his own fleſh." Men of buſineſs and application, who are never at a loſs for ſome employment, feel little or nothing of this lowneſs and depreſſion; or if they feel ſomething of it, yet they are not at leiſure to regard it: and whereas others brood and dwell upon it, they diſſipate and divert it by a perpetual ſucceſſion of new objects and new ideas. Active aſpiring minds are always the moſt chearful, as the lark is then moſt melodious, when on the wing and mounting toward heaven.

3. It will be an additional help and aſſiſtance, to " keep under our " body and bring it into ſubjection," to live ſober and temperate, and " uſing this world as not abuſing it." Some perſons endevor to keep up their ſpirits by drinking, but this is all falſe fire, a flaſh that ſoon vaniſheth and is gone. And eating, if it be poſſible is more pernicious and deſtructive than drinking. As the ſon of Sirach obſerves, (Ecclus XXX. 25.) " A chearful and good heart will have a care of his meat " and diet." Nothing preſſeth down the mind like the load of a full ſtomach. A lump of lead is not heavier than a man overcharged and ſurfeited; his ſoul ſeemeth ſcarcely to inform his body, his blood can hardly circulate for overmuch repletion. (Ecclus XXXI. 19, 20.) " A very little is ſufficient for a man well-nurtured, and he fetcheth " not his wind ſhort upon his bed: Sound ſleep cometh of moderate " eating; he riſeth early, and his wits are with him."

4. But the care of the body is little in compariſon with the ſoul; and we ſhould learn from hence principally to improve our minds, ſince on our minds principally depends our happineſs. Do not imagin that the circumſtantials of happineſs are happineſs itſelf. Not he who poſſeſſeth the beſt eſtate, but he who is bleſſed with the beſt mind; not he who enjoys the greateſt preferment, but he who hath

the greateſt merit; not he who boaſteth the higheſt titles, but he who is of the nobleſt nature, the wiſeſt and eaſieſt, the beſt and beſt-tempered is the happieſt. Riches and power and pleaſure, ſtrength and health and long life, are to be deſired only as the means, and are not to be reſted in as the ends. (6) *Quod petis hic eſt*, the happineſs that you ſeek centers here in your own breaſt; and if you cannot find it here, in vain will you look for it any where elſe. Be careful therefore to cultivate and improve your mind, ſtore it with uſeful knowlege, " commune with your own heart and ſearch out your ſpirits," govern your paſſions, moderate your deſires and affections, ſoften and ſweeten your temper, cheriſh good-nature and chearfulneſs, and ſo will you lay the beſt foundation for your future felicity. Other circumſtances, like leſſer ſtreams falling into a river in its courſe, may raiſe and increaſe our happineſs; but ſtill the fountain and ſpring-head of all is within. And we have no reaſon to doubt of the future happineſs of the ſoul after it ſhall be ſeparated from the body, when ſo little of its preſent happineſs ariſeth from the body, even while it is united with it.

5. We may learn from hence the neceſſity of becoming virtuous and good, ſince there can be no happineſs without peace and ſatisfaction of mind, and no peace and ſatisfaction of mind without virtue and goodneſs. Goodneſs is the very temper of happineſs; and neither would God be the happieſt being in the univerſe, if he was not alſo the beſt. We are obliged to be good not only out of duty, but even out of intereſt; not only becauſe it is commanded, but farther becauſe it will moſt effectually promote our own eaſe and happineſs. And God is ſurely very gracious in requiring nothing from us but what is for our good, and we have the greateſt reaſon to be thankful to him for joining our duty and happineſs ſo together, that the one naturally leadeth to the other. (Pſal. CXXVIII. 1, 2.) " Bleſſed is every one " that feareth the Lord, that walketh in his ways; for thou ſhalt eat " the labor of thine hands, happy ſhalt thou be, and it ſhall be well " with thee." (Ecclus XXVI. 4.) " Whether a man be rich or poor, " if

(6) Horace.

" if he have a good heart toward the Lord, he ſhall at all times re-
" joice with a chearful countenance." (1 Pet. III. 10, 11.) " He
" that will love life and ſee good days; let him refrain his tongue from
" evil, and his lips that they ſpeak no guile; let him eſchew evil, and
" do good, let him ſeek peace and enſue it." In a word, would you live at eaſe and die in comfort, there is one way and only one, (Pſal. XXXVII. 37.) " Keep innocency, and take heed unto the thing that
" is right, for that ſhall bring a man peace at the laſt: Mark the per-
" fect man, and behold the upright, for the end of that man is peace." It is certain and indubitable, as the apoſtle hath ſaid, (1 Tim. IV. 8.) that " godlineſs is profitable unto all things, having promiſe of the
" life that now is and of that which is to come."

DISSERTATION XXI.

On a chearful and a wounded ſpirit.

THE proverbs of Solomon are of two kinds, partly moral obſervations and partly moral precepts; but the obſervation is made always for the ſake of a precept, which though not expreſſed is yet implied, and though he hath not drawn it for you, yet you may eaſily draw it for yourſelf. For inſtance, (Prov. XVIII. 14.) " The ſpirit
" of a man will ſuſtain his infirmity, but a wounded ſpirit who can
" bear?" This is a general obſervation, but the particular application belongs to you, and the proper inference you are to make for yourſelf, that therefore you ſhould cultivate your mind, ſince your happineſs or miſery depends chiefly upon it; and endevor by all means to cheriſh a chearful ſpirit as you would be happy, and avoid the contrary as you would not be miſerable.

" The ſpirit of a man will ſuſtain his infirmity." This life being deſigned for a ſtate of trial admits of nothing pure, nothing perfect. The greateſt earthly felicity, like the fineſt gold, is not without its allay. The moſt fortunate of mankind have their misfortunes, and the moſt healthy cannot paſs their days without ſome ſickneſs and pain. And in ſuch exigences and occaſions what can ſupport a man like a chearful ſpirit? Adverſity with a chearful temper is certainly a much more eligible ſtate than the greateſt proſperity with an uneaſy mind incapable of enjoying it. A weakly conſtitution with good ſpirits is vaſtly preferable to a robuſter healthier body with a gloomy imagination, always apprehenſive of the worſt, and ſuffering as much by fancied evils as by real. And if " the ſpirit of a man will ſuſtain his in-" firmity," and ſupport him in ſickneſs and adverſity, how much more will it improve his pleaſures, and add to the reliſh and enjoyment of health and proſperity? A *man of ſpirit* is a character much eſteemed and affected in the world, and includes ſeveral excellent qualifications. Such a man will ſcorn to do any thing mean and unworthy of himſelf, will reject a vicious offer though ever ſo much to his advantage with diſdain, is generous to his inferiors as he is above all ſcandalous ſubmiſſions to his ſuperiors, upon all occaſions exerts a proper and becoming courage, is not afraid or aſhamed to vindicate the truth, accounts all lying to be cowardice, and his word and honor ſhall be as ſacred and inviolable as the bond or oath of another. Nothing almoſt can happen amiſs to ſuch a chearful magnanimous ſpirit. It equally becomes and adorns every ſcene and condition of life. In ſolitude it is the beſt companion, in affliction the beſt friend, in ſickneſs the beſt medicin; will give new pleaſure to youth, and render even old age agreeable; improve our health, and prolong our days; and we ſhall ſet like the ſun in a fine evening bright and clear to the laſt.

" But a wounded ſpirit who can bear?" The queſtion implies an affirmation that it is altogether intolerable; and indeed what can ſupport, inlighten, ſtrengthen us, when our ſupport itſelf becomes our burden, and the light that is in us is darkneſs, and what ſhould be our

remedy

remedy is our diſeaſe? If a man was bleſſed with the moſt proſperous circumſtances of life, yet this ſingle defect is enough to deſtroy and ruin all. For if he had not real evils to trouble him, he would frame to himſelf imaginary ones; and though he was ever ſo rich, yet he would have no reliſh and enjoyment of his riches, and in all probability would torment himſelf, as is common in ſuch caſes, with anxious fears and horrors of coming to want. Though poſſibly he is in a tolerable good ſtate of health, yet he is always fancying himſelf ill, and imagins himſelf ſick ſo long, that at laſt he becomes ſo in reality. Though poſſibly he is both virtuous and religious, yet he ſhall perplex himſelf with unreaſonable doubts and ſcruples, condemn himſelf as guilty of crimes which he never committed, and perhaps deſpair of God's mercies and his own ſalvation. And if "a wounded ſpirit" will imbitter all our pleaſures and ſpoil the reliſh of proſperity, how much more will it increaſe our pains, and aggravate the weight of adverſity? A broken fortune and a broken ſpirit are either of them bad enough; but both together are certainly intolerable: and the caſe is as bad or worſe with a broken ſpirit and a broken conſtitution. It is as much as our ſpirits can do to ſupport us in theſe extremities; but if they fail us, we ſhall be miſerable and abandoned indeed. And if innocent perſons can ſuffer ſo much from the effects of melancholy; how much more muſt the wicked feel, and how muſt it ſharpen the ſtings of a guilty conſcience? Hence it proceeds that ſo many of them prefer death to life, are tempted to lay violent hands upon themſelves, and ruſh into they know not into what miſery in the next world, becauſe they cannot endure to live any longer in this. Such was the fate of the wicked politician Achitophel and of the traitor Judas, and the like cauſes frequently produce the like effects.

So plain and evident and undeniable is the truth of the obſervation, that "the ſpirit of a man will ſuſtain his infirmity, but a wounded "ſpirit who can bear?" and the practical inference, the moral precept naturally reſulting from hence is, that therefore we ſhould by all means cheriſh a chearful temper as we would be happy, and avoid the contrary as we would not be miſerable. For religion is never more

miſtaken than when it is taken for a dull moroſe melancholy thing. And yet how many really very well-meaning people make it the ſource of infinite uneaſineſs to themſelves and others? Inſtead of ſweetening their temper by their religion, they ſour their religion by their temper. They obſerve that the author and finiſher of our faith is never once recorded to have *laughed*, but is ſaid to have *wept* upon ſome occaſions. In the midſt of life they are in death. With them any diverſion, any amuſement "is vanity of vanities, all is vanity." Such perſons may mean well indeed, but this is not religion, but ſuperſtition. Whatever is unnatural can never be religious. Let not the adverſaries of our moſt holy faith therefore have ſuch an advantage againſt it. Let them not object that we are in a more gloomy and diſmal ſtate with it, than we ſhould be without it. Let them not imagin it deſigned to oppreſs and extinguiſh nature, but as it really is to refine and improve it. Let them not to follow after pleaſure forſake religion, but embrace religion to obtain real and laſting pleaſure.

Religion, the Chriſtian religion is ſo far from being an enemy to good humor, that on the contrary it is its greateſt friend; is ſo far from forbidding it as ſomething unlawful, that on the contrary it injoins it as part of our duty. Many are the paſſages to this purpoſe in ſcripture. St. Paul in particular ſaith (1 Theſſ. V. 16.) "Rejoice "evermore:" and in another place (Philip. IV. 4) "Rejoice in the "Lord alway," and to ſhow that he laid particular ſtreſs upon this precept, he repeats it again, "Rejoice in the Lord alway, and again "I ſay rejoice." There is indeed (Eccleſ. III. 4.) "a time to weep" as well as "a time to laugh, a time to mourn" as well as "a time to "dance;" there are ſeaſons proper for humiliation and contrition, as well as for jubilee and thankſgiving. We may practiſe the one or the other as particular occaſions ſerve or particular exigences require; but the general turn, the general diſpoſition of our ſouls, our habit, our cuſtom, our manner, our temper ſhould be to "rejoice evermore." It is ſaid "Pray without ceaſing," not that we are to be, nor indeed can be continually praying; but we ſhould live always in a devout frame

frame and temper of mind, in a continual ſenſe of devotion, though not in the continual exerciſe of it. In like manner it is ſaid "Rejoice "evermore," not that we can always actually rejoice; in ſuch a chequered ſcene of good and evil, every act of life cannot be joy; but the principle, the ſpirit ſhould always be within us, though not always exerted; we muſt rejoice, though not always in act, yet always in habit. "Praying without ceaſing" is an habitual ſpirit of devotion; and "rejoicing evermore" is an habitual ſpirit of joy and chearfulneſs. The acts may be occaſional; but the habit, the temper muſt be perpetual. It ſhould be the temper of the ſoul always to rejoice, as it is the nature of the ſun always to ſhine, though that ſun is ſometimes overcaſt, and ſometimes even eclipſed.

Yet on the other hand religion encourageth nothing of a light unthinking trifling mirth. This is ſo much below religion, that it is below a man. It is no better than the crackling of thorns, a ſudden blaze and ſoon over. It is ſo far from being agreeable to religion, that nothing is apter to betray us into irreligion. Of this ſort of mirth it is that the wiſe man declares (Eccleſ. II. 2.) "I ſaid of laughter "It is mad, and of mirth what doth it?" They too who are the moſt merry are ſeldom or never the moſt chearful. If they have their tides of ſpirits higher than other men, they have their ebbs as much lower. A ſigh moſt commonly ſucceeds a laugh: "Even in laugh-"ter," as Solomon ſaith, (Prov. XIV. 13.) "the heart is ſorrow-"ful, and the end of that mirth is heavineſs."

The man who liveth agreeably to reaſon, agreeably to religion, ſteereth a middle courſe between theſe two extremes, avoiding the gulph of melancholy on the one hand, nor yet running on the quickſands of mirth on the other. He is neither puritan like preciſe and ſolemn, nor libertin like light and profane. He is never more merry than wiſe, tempers mirth with diſcretion, relieves diſcretion with mirth. As his ſatisfaction is never empty, it is never loud, but inlivens and inlightens his ſoul, as the ſun doth the world, without noiſe. For the emptieſt things are the moſt noiſy; and as the ſon of Sirach ſaith (XXI. 20.) "A fool

" lifteth up his voice with laughter, but a wiſe man doth ſcarce ſmile " a little."

It is true there is naturally a great difference in mens complexions and tempers; ſome are of a more mercurial, others are of a more ſaturnine diſpoſition; ſome have more fire, others have more phlegm in their conſtitution; theſe may ſometimes find it more difficult to be chearful than thoſe, but however all are obliged to be chearful. As all have not tempers alike diſpoſed to forgiveneſs and charity, yet all are obliged to be forgiving and charitable; as all have not equally the gift of chaſtity and temperance, yet all are obliged to be chaſte and temperate: ſo in like manner though all are not equally bleſſed with the ſpirit of chearfulneſs, yet it is the duty of all to be chearful. Chearfulneſs is a duty that we owe to *ourſelves*, a duty to *others*, a duty to *God*.

Chearfulneſs is a duty that we owe to *ourſelves*, for it is every man's duty to promote his own happineſs by all the innocent means he can; and there is no poſſibility of being happy without being chearful. A life without chearfulneſs is as unpleaſant as a day without the ſun. Indeed ſuch a life hardly deſerves the name of *life*. " All the days " of the afflicted are evil," as Solomon truly ſaith (Prov. XV. 15.) " but he that is of a merry heart hath a continual feaſt." It is alſo wonderful how much the temper of the mind affects the body. A chearful mind is the ſpirit that feedeth the lamp of life, and when the ſpirit is gone the flame can laſt no longer. Low-ſpirited perſons ſeldom ſee many days; the longeſt livers commonly are the men of ſome fire and genius who make the pleaſant agreeable old men. As Solomon expreſſeth it, (Prov. XVII. 22.) " A merry heart doeth good " like a medicin, but a broken ſpirit drieth the bones." If the temper of the mind thus affects the body, how much more the mind itſelf. All the noble qualities and indowments of mind, lively wit and ſolid judgment, clear underſtanding and fine imagination, ſagacity to diſcover and memory to retain, nature may plant, art may water, but chearfulneſs giveth the increaſe. Deſtroy this one, and in effect you deſtroy them all. " Give not over therefore thy mind to heavineſs,"

this

this is the advice of the wiſe ſon of Sirach, (Ecclus XXX. 21, &c.) " and afflict not thyſelf in thine own counſel. The gladneſs of the " heart is the life of man, and the joyfulneſs of a man prolongeth " his days: Love thine own ſoul, and comfort thy heart, remove ſor- " row far from thee, for ſorrow hath killed many, and there is no " profit therein."

This is obligation enough to be chearful, but the obligation to it is doubled, it being a duty to *others* as well as ourſelves. For man is deſigned for a ſociable creature, but the melancholy man cutteth himſelf off in a manner from ſociety. He is another Timon or Manhater; he flieth from the world, and ſometimes it would be happy too if he could fly from himſelf. " A little leaven (1 Cor. V. 6.) leaveneth " the whole lump;" and one ſplenetic melancholy man dampeth the mirth and good humor of a whole company. But this is not the worſt. As one ill quality generally begets another, the ſpleen ſeldom cometh ſingle; it is the evil ſpirit that taketh unto it ſeven other ſpirits worſe than itſelf; and you rarely know men ſplenetic and melancholy, but at the ſame time they are ſullen, peeviſh, jealous, rigid, hardly obliging and hardly to be obliged. In reality chearfulneſs is the life and ſoul of all the ſocial virtues. It is not to be conceived how a man can be agreeable without it. It is ſhowing others that you are pleaſed with them, and engages them in return to be pleaſed with you.

But chearfulneſs is ſtill farther enforced by being a duty to *God*. It is indeed an ill return to the father of mercies for all the good that we enjoy in this life, and all that we hope for in the next to be ſullen and diſcontented. A chearful temper is an habitual gratitude, a continual thankſgiving to almighty God in all his diſpenſations. And indeed who can contemplate the wonderful works of creation and providence, the redemption of loſt mankind, the remiſſion of our ſins, the comforts of the holy Ghoſt, the eaſy ſervice that is required of us, the gracious promiſes which are made to us, our reſurrection from the dead, our exaltation into heaven; and would not, as St. Peter emphatically expreſſeth it, (1 Pet. I. 8, 9.) " rejoice with joy unſpeak-

" able

" able and full of glory, receiving the end of our faith, even the ſal-
" vation of our ſouls?" It would be a ſort of denial of our faith to give way to diſmal thoughts and terrible apprehenſions. The ſpirit of melancholy is not only contrary to the ſpirit of the Chriſtian religion, but is enough to extinguiſh it in ourſelves and others. Inſtead of inviting and engaging men to the ſervice of God, it is enough to diſcourage and deter them from it. One dull religioniſt produceth many latitudinarians. A memorable inſtance we had of this in the laſt century; for I believe every one will allow, that the looſeneſs immorality and atheiſm which reigned after the Reſtoration were in great meaſure owing to the preciſeneſs ſolemnity and over-acted ſanctity of the times before; it being common with men in avoiding one extreme to run into another. God would have all his creatures ſerve him with a willing mind and gladneſs of heart. The dull dead worſhipper is no worſhipper. " Serve the Lord with gladneſs," ſays the pſalmiſt (C. 2.) " come before his preſence with ſinging." Hymns and thankſgivings are the moſt noble part of devotion, the worſhip of angels imitated by men, the ſervice of heaven begun upon earth.

Well; but admitting that it is our duty to be chearful, yet it may be aſked, How is it poſſible for a man to keep up his ſpirits, while he is languiſhing in ſickneſs or overwhelmed with afflictions? As for ſickneſs, it is not expected that we ſhould be as chearful then as at another time; but ſtill " the ſpirit of a man," as we have ſeen, " will ſuſtain " his infirmity." There are perſons who are ſcarce ever well, and yet are always chearful. So that want of health doth not always neceſſarily infer want of ſpirits. There may be ſuch a thing as a ſound mind in an unſound body, ſo that the one ſhall be too ſtrong and active for the other. The man ſeemeth to be all ſpirit, and leaveth as it were his body behind him.

As for afflictions, we cannot indeed pretend with the Stoics to be inſenſible of them, but every Chriſtian knoweth that it is our duty to bear them patiently. " Whatſoever is brought upon thee," ſaith the ſon of Sirach, (Ecclus II. 4) " take chearfully." To a good man all diſappointments are for the beſt, uſually here, certainly hereafter.

A fond mother hath loſt her only child, and like Rachel refuſeth to be comforted: but how doth ſhe know but this is done more in mercy to both than in judgment to either; how doth ſhe know but he is taken from the evil to come, and might have occaſioned greater trouble by his life than now by his death? A man hath been unfortunate in his affairs, hath been diſappointed of a place, or hath not ſucceeded to an eſtate, and is abandoned to ſorrow: but how doth he know but he ſhould have made a wrong uſe of them, and is better without them than with them; how doth he know but they might have drawn him into ſnares and dangers, and what ſeemed a bleſſing in expectation might have proved a curſe in poſſeſſion? Recollect the former paſſages of your lives; and I believe there are none who have not ſome time or other had what may be called *fortunate croſſes*, *lucky diſappointments*. In the lottery of life blanks often prove the higheſt prizes. As the apoſtle expreſſeth it, (Rom. VIII. 28.) "All things work together for good to them that love God." But ſhould the good man's croſſes and diſappointments prove all for the worſt here, yet they cannot fail of being for the beſt hereafter: And who would not contentedly weather out the ſtorm, which he knoweth will bring him unto the haven where he would be? who would not take chearfully this "light affliction for a moment (2 Cor. IV. 17.) which he knoweth will work for him a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory?" Sure we are there never was a greater ſufferer than the bleſſed Jeſus, and yet he was the fartheſt removed from a moroſe melancholy character; he kept company and was converſable; "he came eating and drinking," as the ſcripture phraſe is; and the beginning of his miracles was the converting of water into wine at a wedding.

There is one caſe indeed an exception to this general rule of chearfulneſs, for none are obliged to impoſſibilities; and that is when the melancholy is not the fault of the mind but the diſtemper of the body, *ægreſcitque medendo* and groweth worſe by curing. This is a caſe not to be blamed, but pitied; and inſtead of being to be ridiculed for a fanciful vaporiſh diſorder is to be talked of and thought of with the utmoſt tenderneſs in nature. But then we ſhould con-

ſider

ſider with ourſelves, Are we ſure that our melancholy is the diſtemper of the body, and not the fault of the mind? are we ſure that we do not add by the badneſs of our temper to the badneſs of our diſeaſe? are we ſure that we ſtrive all we can againſt it, and are overcome at laſt by force and neceſſity? There is a great deal in reſiſting melancholy thoughts, in reſolving not to give way to them, in determining to make one's ſelf eaſy. Melancholy thoughts are diſpelled by reſolution like miſts by the morning ſun. It may be ſaid in this caſe as well as in ſome others, (James IV. 7.) " Reſiſt the devil, and he will " flee from you."

The moſt effectual way of reſiſting evil is to keep always employed, employed always in what is good. It is generally the ofspring of idleneſs; at leaſt if idleneſs be not its parent, it is always its nurſe. You ſeldom know a man of buſineſs troubled with it. It is oftener a companion in their ſolitary hours to the men of pleaſure. It hardly ever is ſeen on the public ſtage of the world, but like a bat flieth about lonely walks and darkſom cloiſters. It is ſcarce known to thoſe who are inured to labor and exerciſe. They who have the leaſt to do, and the leaſt elſe to trouble them, are moſt troubled with it. They who feel the feweſt real evils in life make to themſelves the moſt imaginary ones.

But it is not enough to be employed, we muſt be employed always in what is good. Guilt has no title, can have no title to chearfulneſs. A man wicked and merry is like the madman in the Proverbs (XXVI. 18, 19.) " caſting firebrands arrows and death, and ſaying " Am not I in ſport?" There can be no true joy without religion, ſo far is religion from being inconſiſtent with joy. A prelate famous in his generation [Biſhop Hacket] had it for his motto, and we ought every one to have it for a rule of life, *Inſervi Deo et lætare*, *Serve God and be chearful.*

Many circumſtances may concur for a time to raiſe and elevate our ſpirits, as youth, health, fortune, friends, and other delights and gratifications; but there can be no true eſſential laſting joy and chearfulneſs without " having always (Acts XXIV. 16) a conſcience void " of

" of offenſe toward God and toward men." A good conſcience will accompany us through every ſtage of life, and not only make life happier, but death eaſier, and ſupport and comfort us when all other comforts fail us. That is the great time of trial, and a friend in extremity is a friend indeed, and worth a thouſand at any other ſeaſon. What is beauty at the blaſt of death, but a fading dying flower? What are riches, when we can neither enjoy them, nor carry them with us? What profit is there then in titles and honors, or what good can power and greatneſs do us? They may poſſibly ſerve to reproach and upbraid us, but they cannot relieve and aſſiſt us. What will then become of all the boaſted gratifications and delights of life? in what ſtead will they ſtand us, or what ſervice will they do us? Alas! then, if not before, we ſhall find them to be lighter than vanity, ſhall look upon them as nothing or worſe than nothing; they cannot give us pleaſure, it will be happy if they do not give us pain. Our friends and relations ſtanding round our bed, ſorrowful and weeping, can adminiſter little help and comfort to us. Their concern and commiſeration will rather ſoften and weaken our minds than ſupport and ſtrengthen us. Nothing can yield real comfort in thoſe moments but the conſciouſneſs of a life well ſpent here, and in conſequence of that the aſſured hope of everlaſting happineſs hereafter. We may then look death in the face not only without concern but with pleaſure; we ſhall conſider it not as leaving the world but as going to God; we ſhall feel ſuch ſatisfaction ſpringing up in the ſoul, that we ſhall be leſs ſenſible of the pains of a dying body; we ſhall quit the ſtage of life like a graceful actor, and be more than mortal in mortality; we ſhall even anticipate the joys of the next world before we enter upon them, and be able to ſay with the triumphant apoſtle, (2 Tim. IV. 7, 8.) " I have fought a good fight, I have finiſhed my courſe, I have " kept the faith; Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of " righteouſneſs." And all who ſee it and hear it ſhall ſay God grant that I may die in like manner, (Numb. XXIII. 10.) " Let me die " the death of the righteous, and let my laſt end be like his."

DISSERTATION XXII.

On flattery.

OF all the abuſes of ſpeech and language there are not many more pernicious and fatal, and at the ſame time more familiar and common than *flattery*. All people exclame againſt it, and yet almoſt all in their turns are more or leſs guilty of it. There are ſcarce any perſons ſo great but they bow down to ſome idol and careſs ſome favorite or other: and there are ſcarce any ſo mean but they have now and then a little incenſe offered to them, and are admired and commended for ſome performance ſome quality or other. Though without doubt the higher the ſituation, the more it is expoſed to flattery; which pierceth like the lightning, and like the lightning too uſually paſſeth over the lowly ſhrubs, and doeth the moſt damage to the towring oaks and lofty cedars. No body flatters another but to ſerve his own ends and purpoſes; and in the ſame proportion as more is to be got by them, ſo conſequently greater court is paid to ſuperiors than inferiors. It is not improperly expreſſed paying of *court*, becauſe this vice abounds moſt there. It is a weed that groweth in every ſoil, but floriſheth moſt in the ſun-ſhine of high places. But the vice is not confined there but extends farther. Commendation and compliment are looked upon as a kind of tribute due to the other ſex, and through the cuſtom and faſhion of an inſincere world are become ſuch neceſſary ingredients in polite converſation, that the man who ſhould converſe with the moſt ſincerity, I am afraid, would be thought to have the leaſt good breeding.

Nay common converſation itſelf is quite overrun with ceremony and compliment, profeſſions which are ſeldom intended and promiſes which are ſeldom kept, commendations to your face, and malicious

inſinuations behind your back. The old Engliſh plainneſs and integrity are grown out of faſhion. Words have almoſt loſt their uſe and ſignificancy. Language is in a manner become a lie, and men continually ſpeak one thing and mean another. They make inquiries, as if they were ſollicitous, about the health of perſons for whom they have no manner of kindneſs or concern. They are often extremely glad to ſee thoſe whom they had much rather eſcape and avoid. They expreſs the higheſt value and eſteem for perſons who are almoſt unknown to them, are very much their friends for no cauſe, and infinitely obliged to them for no obligation. They are wondrous liberal and profuſe in their profeſſions, how much they are at your ſervice, and how ready to obey your commands: but were you really to aſk them any favor, they would look grave, contract themſelves, and ſhrink from the touch like a ſenſitive plant. They mourn with thoſe who mourn, and rejoice with thoſe who rejoice, condole with you upon any misfortune, and congratulate with you upon any ſucceſs, though perhaps they are ſecretly pleaſed with the one, and inwardly grieved at the other. An honeſt man would almoſt be ſick of the world to ſee the diſſimulation that is practiſed in it; and to converſe with them upon equal terms, he muſt wiſh either that himſelf had leſs ſincerity, or mankind had more.

The deluſion would be leſs prevailing, and we might better guard againſt it, if it was only of one kind, and all were treated and addreſſed alike: but it is cooked up differently for different palates; and if your vanity cannot be eaſily attacked one way, yet perhaps it may another. No titles and commendations can be too fulſome and extravagant for ſome perſons; they readily ſwallow the groſſeſt and moſt ſervile adulation, as Herod (Acts XII. 22.) was complimented for his oration with "the voice of a god and not of a man;" tyrants have been called (1) *benefactors* and *ſaviours*, and ſuch monſters of men, as Caligula and Nero, have been worſhipped as gods.

But

(1) Euergetes. Soter.

But if you are too delicate to bear with ſuch fulſome compliments to your face, then perhaps the flatterer will ſpare your modeſty, and only trumpet forth your praiſes behind your back, but in ſuch a manner that they ſhall be ſure to be ecchoed to you again; and by this management he deceives more effectually, as it appears freer from deſign. Some inſinuate themſelves under the maſk of friendſhip, pretend wonderful zeal and affection for your ſervice, are inquiſitive into your affairs, are communicative of their own, ſubmit to your judgment, deſire your advice and opinion, and would have you believe that you govern them, when perhaps all the while they ſecretly govern you. Others recommend themſelves not ſo much by what they ſay as by their very ſilence, are all attention whenever you ſpeak, always admit never contradict whatever you ſay, preſume not to commend but humbly imitate your ways and manners, and imitate your faults and imperfections rather than fail, as Plato's ſcholars imitated their maſter's ſtooping in the ſhoulders, and Ariſtotle's his ſtammering, and Dionyſius his courtiers his ſhort-ſightedneſs, and Alexander's the inclination of his neck and the harſhneſs of his voice. Some are all ſmoothneſs and complaiſance, and ſome again all ruſticity and roughneſs, the better to work their purpoſe, to diſguiſe their deſign and inſtil their poiſon. Sometimes they will rail plentifully at others, and ſometimes even find fault with themſelves, to feed your vanity, and incline you to think more favorably of yourſelf upon the compariſon. The baits are various as the prey is ſo, and the greateſt art is to conceal the art and deſign; for nothing can be more nauſeous and offenſive than open and undiſguiſed flattery. (Prov. I. 17.) "Surely "in vain the net is ſpread in ſight of any bird."

But poſſibly you may ſay within yourſelf, where is the great harm of all this? If people will be pleaſed with empty compliments, why ſhould we not be willing to pleaſe them at ſo cheap a rate? Is not a civil lie that will do no harm and will oblige, better than a blunt truth that will offend, and put a man out of humor and out of countenance? Indeed if fine ſpeeches and compliments were only words of courſe, which were underſtood for nothing on one ſide, as they commonly

monly are meant for nothing on the other, we might paſs them over as matters of form below our notice and animadverſion; but I conceive there is greater harm in them than is generally apprehended, and Solomon was plainly of opinion (Prov. XXVI. 28.) that "a flattering mouth worketh ruin." It *worketh ruin* in a double reſpect; and we will endevor to ſhow a little in what follows the great evil and miſchief of it both to *the flatterer himſelf* and to *the perſon that is flattered.*

1. To *the perſon that is flattered.* It is in plain Engliſh making him a fool, a prey and property to others: and it is an indication of a little mind, a weakneſs that we all diſown, a vanity that we all pretend to be above, to be fond of flattery. And generally we may obſerve, that they are the moſt ridiculouſly fond of praiſe who leaſt deſerve it; the dulleſt will hear you extol their wit, and the plaineſt people their perſon with pleaſure: and the commendations which every body elſe perceives to be given them in banter they will apply with great ſerioufneſs to themſelves. Not but ſome of great parts have likewiſe as great vanity, and with their ears drink greedily their own praiſes and commendations: but it is very well known that men of parts are not always men of judgment, and in this they manifeſtly diſcover a want of juſt penetration and diſcernment, and hereby are often made the dupes and inſtruments of perſons of much inferior underſtanding than themſelves. Nay though we entertain but a mean opinion of thoſe who commend us, yet commonly we are weak enough to be pleaſed with their commendations, and come in time to think more favorably of them only for profeſſing to think ſo well of us; and can any thing give deſigning men a greater advantage againſt us?

As it hinders us from diſcerning the characters of other men, ſo it prevents us likewiſe from gaining a juſt knowlege of our own. It is an enemy to all truth, and eſpecially to that divine precept "Know yourſelf." We truſt more to the pleaſing repreſentations of others than our own experiences and reflections; and ſo put a double cheat upon ourſelves, firſt in believing that they ſpeak their real ſentiments, and

and then in conceiving that their ſentiments are true. If we were to ſit to other painters, and a truer likeneſs and reſemblance ſhould be drawn, we ſhould find ourſelves perhaps other kind of creatures, and be differently affected.

And from this ignorance of ourſelves, eſpecially by the help of a little flattery, we are apt to grow proud and conceited of ourſelves not only without reaſon but often againſt reaſon. We fondly fancy our merits to be greater, and our failings to be leſs, than they are in reality; this we are too much inclined to do through the natural vanity of our hearts, and much more when that vanity is fed by the compliments and commendations of others. No poiſon ſwelleth a man more than flattery doth with vanity and ſelf-conceit. We grow thereupon remiſs and careleſs, as if we had already attained perfection, and there was no farther room or occaſion for improvement. We expect the ſame ſort of language from every body, and being conſtantly uſed to it by ſome are cruelly diſappointed if we receive it not from others, and reckon them rude and unmannerly; and are ſo blown up that rather than not be commended, we will commend ourſelves.

As it renders us conceited of our good qualities, ſo it hardens and confirms us in our ill ones, and induces us to think our defects to be perfections, our very vices to be virtues. We grow above all reproof and advice, and if any one ſhould preſume to cenſure and admoniſh us ever ſo reaſonably, we ſhould probably impute it all to rank malice and burning envy, and embrace the fawning flatterer for the deareſt of friends, and reject the real friend as the worſt of enemies. Nay we may come in time to think ſo highly of ourſelves, and attribute ſo much to our own gifts and talents, as to forget God the giver.

How many youths of great hopes and expectations have been ſtopt ſhort in their progreſs to virtue, and enticed into the ways of vice by the ſiren ſong of flattery! How many women have been adored only to be ruined, and have afterwards found to their ſorrow that the moſt cringing ſlaves always prove the moſt haughty tyrants! How many men have been cajoled and flattered out of their eſtate, out of their reputation, out of their underſtanding, and have ſuffered others to

feed

feed upon their vitals only for feeding them with empty praiſe! How many private families have been infeſted with theſe inmates; and what great table is there almoſt without ſome paraſite or other! How many public ſocieties have been made miſerable by theſe ear-wigs wriggling in the ears of princes and governors; and how many kings have been betrayed and ruined by their unworthy favorites, been flattered to think they had ſo much power that they have forfeited all power, and have not only loſt the affections of their people, but perhaps their lives and kingdoms! So that the (2) philoſopher, being aſked which was the moſt hurtful of all creatures, had great reaſon to make anſwer as he did, that of all wild ones a tyrant was the worſt, and of all tame ones a flatterer.

II. But *the flatterer himſelf* is concerned as well as the perſon that is flattered; and if we impute folly to the one, I am afraid that we muſt aſcribe nothing leſs than knavery to the other. It may be weak to believe, but it is wicked to make, great profeſſions of reſpect and kindneſs without any truth or ſincerity; and we can ſcarcely be guilty of a more dangerous kind of hypocriſy, of a worſe ſort of falſehood and lying. It is a violation of truth, that moral truth which ought to be preſerved in all our words and actions; and it is more eſpecially a violation of the Chriſtian religion, which unites us in cloſer bonds of alliance and affection, conſiders us not only as fellow creatures but as brethren and members of the ſame body, and therefore ſtrictly injoins us "to put away lying (Eph. IV. 25.) and to ſpeak truth every man "with his neighbour, for we are members one of another."

The uſual motives too to this vice greatly aggravate the guilt of it. Sometimes a ſpirit of ridicule, to expoſe men to contempt and laughter; but this is cruel and inhuman, and though it may be ſport to you, yet you ſhould conſider that it may be death to them. Sometimes a ſpirit of vanity, rank pride under the diſguiſe of humility, and we commend others only that they may be induced to commend us again. Sometimes it proceeds from worſe motives; and many a man

(2) Bias in Plutarch.

(3) See

man and many a woman have been admired and commended that they might the more eaſily be deluded and ruined. In ſhort it is always founded in ſome bad principle or other, and men flatter only to betray, and to make their advantage of another's weakneſs and credulity.

But though perhaps it may be cunning, yet certainly it is not wiſe, as indeed nothing can be that is not honeſt. It is an indignity and meanneſs that a generous ſpirit would ſcorn to ſubmit to, to cringe and fawn and flatter the greateſt man above him. Beſides it is very difficult to maintain a conſtant ſcene of diſſimulation; truth and nature will ſometimes break forth from men, if they are not continually upon their guard; and ſo they muſt live always in conſtraint, and often diſguiſe and defend one lie by another. But generally they are apt to diſcover themſelves by overacting their part; and while they endevor to make fools of others render even themſelves ridiculous. They ſurfeit us more by their exceſſive civility than others can poſſibly offend us by their rudeneſs; and ſo very much complaiſance is infinitely worſe and more troubleſome than none at all. They who commend every body do in effect commend no body. Praiſe is never grateful, but when it is rarely beſtowed. It is like perfume of which a little at a time may be perhaps agreeable and refreſhing; but too much of it is enough to make one ſick, and it is always greatly to be ſuſpected that it is intended only to conceal an ill ſcent.

Neither is this the way to ſucceed and proſper at laſt. Such arts and expedients may ſerve for a time, but when the flatterer is once detected, his credit is blaſted for ever. His fineſt ſpeeches and compliments paſs for nothing; there is no dependence upon any thing that he ſays; and he will not, even though he ſpeak the truth, be believed. And as the character is juſtly odious to men, ſo muſt it be particularly offenſive to a God of truth. (Prov. XII. 22.) "Lying "lips are abomination to the Lord; but they that deal truly are his "delight." The prophets denounce "a woe to them who ſow pil-"lows to all arm-holes, and dawb with untempered mortar;" and among

(3) See Plutarch's treatiſe Πως αν τις διακρινειε τον κολακα τε φιλε, *How any one may diſtinguiſh a flatterer from*

among thoſe who ſhall have their portion in the lake which burneth with fire and brimſtone there is particularly mentioned (Rev. XX. 15.) "whoſoever loveth and maketh a lie."

Having ſeen the great evil and miſchief of this faſhionable vice, both with reſpect to *the flatterer himſelf* and to *the perſon that is flattered*, let us now conclude with a word of exhortation and advice to each of them.

1. *To the perſon that is flattered.* Endevor by all means to know yourſelf better and to love yourſelf leſs, and there cannot be a more effectual antidote againſt the poiſon of flattery. The flatterer without would have little advantage over us, if there was not another and greater flatterer within, that took all commendation in good part and readily improved it. If we were duly ſenſible of our failings and imperfections, we ſhould not ſo willingly receive the praiſes which do not belong to us; but ſhould think them deſigned to ſhow us rather what we ought to be than what we really are. You ſhould alſo entertain a wiſe jealouſy, a prudent diſtruſt of others as well as of yourſelf: and notwithſtanding all their art and addreſs, yet with proper care and circumſpection a ſkilful eye may diſtinguiſh (3) a flatterer from a friend, as you may counterfeit money from true. The flatterer will commend and perhaps imitate your ways and manners: but obſerve the whole tenor of his behaviour, and you will perceive ſtrange diſſonance and diſagreement; he will commend one thing in you, and quite the contrary in another. A friend will commend and imitate only what is right, but the flatterer right and wrong indiſcriminately. The flatterer endevors only to divert and entertain, but a friend to pleaſe and profit together. A friend will reprove you for your faults upon occaſion, and moſt for the greateſt; but the flatterer will paſs over the greater and reprove you only for the leſſer, and that perhaps in ſuch a manner as to make you think them none at all. You may diſtinguiſh likewiſe the flatterer from a friend by his over-obſequiouſneſs. The flatterer would not fail in the leaſt tittle of ceremony and reſpect; but a friend is more indifferent about forms, and

a friend, from whence the learned reader may obſerve ſeveral hints to be borrowed in this diſcourſe.

more regards realities. A friend will ſerve you only in what is juſt and honeſt; but the flatterer will oblige at any rate, and even pimp to your vices. A friend often doeth good ſilently and unknown; but the flatterer is more oſtentatious, appears to ſtir and buſtle more, and will take care that you ſhall fully underſtand how much you are obliged to him. The flatterer, like the ſwallow, always follows the ſun, attends you in the ſummer of your proſperity, but forſakes you in the winter of adverſity; but a friend is a friend at all times and ſeaſons, and eſpecially in any diſtreſs or difficulty. By theſe and the like characteriſtics you may diſtinguiſh the one from the other; not that we would have you ſpoil the reliſh of life by unreaſonable jealouſy and ſuſpicion, and deceive yourſelf for very fear of being deceived by others. It is better to be one of thoſe open generous creatures to be betrayed ſometimes, than to be ſo overwiſe and overwary as never to truſt or believe any body. No doubt ſome perſons may be very ſincere in their commendations; only let it be your care and endevor to deſerve them: and then if they flatter you, it cannot hurt you; that will be turning flattery itſelf into truth.

2. To *the flatterer himſelf*. If you would be really wiſe, be ſincere and honeſt. Be above flattering others, as you would not be flattered and deceived yourſelf; let your tongue be always the interpreter of your mind, ſpeak as you think, fulfil what you promiſe, and be what you appear. Not that you are to tell all your mind upon all occaſions, but never upon any occaſion ſay any thing contrary to it. You are not obliged to ſpeak all the truth, but be ſure ſpeak nothing but the truth. You may be reſerved and prudent without deceit and diſſimulation, as you may be ſincere and honeſt without bluntneſs and ill manners. The greateſt integrity is conſiſtent with the greateſt good-breeding: and indeed I do not ſee how any one can be reputed a gentleman or a man of honor without it. Be juſt to merit, and give honor to whom honor is due; but ſcorn to proſtitute it by beſtowing it on the worthleſs and undeſerving. Pleaſe and oblige every one if it be poſſible; but do not, to pleaſe or oblige any one, forfeit your integrity. Reverence all men, but above all men reverence truth and honor.

honor. This is the moſt eaſy as it is the moſt natural behaviour, will eſtabliſh your credit and reputation, add weight and authority to every thing that you ſay, and ſerve all wiſe ends and purpoſes better than all the little expedients and artifices in the world. "The folly of "fools," as the wiſeſt of men aſſerts, (Prov. XIV. 8.) "is deceit;" they fancy themſelves to be very wiſe, and think to impoſe upon others: but all ſuch wiſdom is really the highth of folly, and they never more egregiouſly deceive themſelves. There is not a more amiable quality than ſincerity; it giveth a luſtre and value to all the reſt; and the greateſt parts and abilities without it only make a man ſo much the worſe, more formidable and more dangerous. It is a qualification that our Saviour thought very ſingular and worth recommending, (John I. 47.) "Behold an Iſraelite indeed in whom is no guile:" and it was part of his own excellent character, (1 Pet. II. 22.) that "he "did no ſin, neither was guile found in his mouth." The pſalmiſt maketh it one of the neceſſary conditions of our preſent holineſs and future happineſs, (Pſal. XV. 1, 2.) "Lord, who ſhall abide in thy "tabernacle? who ſhall dwell on thy holy hill? He that walketh "uprightly, and worketh righteouſneſs, and ſpeaketh the truth in "his heart." And to finiſh, as we began, with a ſentence of Solomon, (Prov. XII. 19.) "A lying tongue is but for a moment, but "the lip of truth ſhall be eſtabliſhed for ever."

DISSERTATION XXIII.

On reproof.

IT is a ſign of no very virtuous age, when a man only for doing his duty ſhall be thought to be guilty of rudeneſs and ill manners. The general turn of converſation is more to pleaſe and entertain than im-

prove and inſtruct; and truth is not ſo much regarded as ceremony and compliment. In company we commend others oftner for the good qualities which they have not, than reprove them for the ill ones which they really have; and rather ſpeak the moſt pernicious lies which may oblige than the moſt wholeſome truths which may offend. Not but we are quick-ſighted enough to ſpy our neighbours faults, and forward enough to condemn them; but not where it may do any good, *to their faces*; but poſſibly where it may do infinite harm, *behind their backs*. Solomon, who ſo ſeverely cenſures flattery, and ſays that "a flattering mouth worketh ruin," as ſtrongly recommends reproof, and declares (Prov. XXVII. 5, 6.) that "open rebuke is "better than ſecret love;" the rebuking of a brother or neighbour freely for his faults is better than loving him without the like expreſſions of kindneſs: "Faithful are the wounds of a friend, but the "kiſſes of an enemy are deceitful;" the juſt reproofs of a friend are evident tokens of real regard and eſteem, but the warmeſt profeſſions of an enemy are to be ſuſpected of fraud and treachery; for as it is ſaid afterwards (XXIX. 5.) "A man that flattereth his neighbour "ſpreadeth a net for his feet." It may be proper therefore, after diſcourſing on flattery, to preſs and inculcate the duty of brotherly reproof; for it is not only the duty of the miniſters of the goſpel, or of parents to children, or of maſters to ſervants, (though of thoſe more eſpecially) but of man to man, and of Chriſtian to Chriſtian. But though the thing is to be done, yet it ſhould be done with judgment and diſcretion, or perhaps is better omitted; and if men are offended at you for taking (as they think) an indecent liberty, that poſſibly may be owing as much to the manner as to the matter of your reproofs. And therefore we will not only endevor to ſhow firſt the duty and expediency of brotherly reproof, but alſo conſider ſecondly after what manner this duty may be beſt performed, that we may not do more hurt than good, where only good is intended.

I. We are to ſhow the duty and expediency of brotherly reproof; and it is ſo much the more expedient as it is ſo little practiſed among us. Every Jew was to a Jew, as every man is to a Chriſtian, a neighbour

bour and a brother; and the law implies (Levit. XIX. 17.) that it is hatred to our neighbour and brother not to rebuke him upon occaſion; "Thou ſhalt not hate thy brother in thine heart, thou ſhalt in "any wiſe rebuke thy neighbour;" and it is not only love to him, but love to ourſelves too, and we cannot entirely omit it without ſharing in his guilt; for the words following, "and not ſuffer ſin "upon him" are rendered in the margin "that thou bear not ſin "for him." But it is not only injoined by the law, it is alſo a precept of the goſpel. It is our Saviour's own direction, (Luke XVII. 3.) "If thy brother treſpaſs againſt thee, rebuke him;" and if we ſhould rebuke him for treſpaſſes againſt ourſelves, it ſurely argues greater generoſity to do it for offenſes committed againſt others. The apoſtle adviſes us (Gal. VI. 1.) "if a man be overtaken in a fault," to endevor by all winning ways "to reſtore him;" and "exhort one "another daily," ſays he in another place, (Heb. III. 13.) "leſt any "of you be hardened through the deceitfulneſs of ſin."

It is the duty of all men, and eſpecially of Chriſtians, to promote, as much as in them lieth, the ſpiritual and temporal welfare of others; and in many caſes there is not any more effectual way of promoting it than ſeaſonable reproof. It is inhuman to be a careleſs and indifferent ſpectator of what paſſes in the world, and to have no concern, no feeling for others. "Am I my brother's keeper?" was the anſwer of Cain; (Gen. IV. 9.) and they muſt like him have put off their nature, who have put off all ſympathy and tenderneſs for their brethren. The duty appertains in ſome meaſure to every body, but riſes in proportion to mens authority and abilities and opportunities of doing it with ſucceſs: and the omiſſion of it is the more ſinful and ſhameful becauſe good advice coſteth us nothing; we may communicate knowlege without impairing our own; our candle will not burn leſs bright, nor be ſooner conſumed for lighting another's. But if it ſhould be attended with ſome inconveniences, we have yet ſtronger motives and obligations to it.

We ſhould do it out of zeal for the glory of God, and to propagate as much as we can truth and righteouſneſs in the earth: and

ſhall

ſhall we be ſo ſollicitous upon all occaſions to promote our own intereſts, and have ſo little concern for the advancement of religion and virtue? If we are aſhamed of God's cauſe in this world, is it not juſt that he ſhould be aſhamed of us in the world to come? We ſhould do it out of love and affection to our brethren, and what good effects may not the advice of a friend have upon a friend? or for want of it what evil conſequences may not follow? and how many have periſhed whom timely admonition might have preſerved? The Jewiſh law injoined that whoever met an ox or an aſs going aſtray, he ſhould conduct it home to the owner; and will not Chriſtian charity much more oblige us to reclaim a man from the error of his way and "ſave a "ſoul from death?" We ſhould do it even out of love and regard to ourſelves, that we may diſcharge our own conſciences, and that conniving we may not ſeem conſenting, or become any ways "partakers "of other mens ſins."

The good effects would be worthy of the cauſes and motives from whence they proceed. It would be of wonderful ſervice to the cauſe of religion, encourage virtue and put vice out of countenance, keep bold offenders in awe, and either prevent their miſcarriages, or be the moſt likely means to reform them; and the private admonitions of a friend may ſink deep, where the public calls of the miniſtry cannot be heard or cannot enter. It would greatly refine and improve converſation, introduce openneſs and ſincerity, baniſh flattery, prevent jealouſies and miſunderſtandings, and make company a ſchool of good manners inſtead of (what it too often is) a nurſery of vice and folly. It would beſides be a mighty ſatisfaction to ourſelves, and no pleaſure can be greater or more godlike than giving good advice, informing the ignorant and directing the erroneous. As tempting and encouraging men to ſin is doing the work of the devil, ſo recovering and inciting them to their duty is doing the work of the Holy Ghoſt. It will moſt probably gain the good-will and eſteem of men, for as Solomon obſerves, (Prov. XXVIII. 23.) "He that rebuketh a man, afterwards "ſhall find more favor than he that flattereth with the tongue;" and (XXIV. 24, 25.) "He that ſaith to the wicked thou art "righteous,

"righteous, him ſhall the people curſe, nations ſhall abhor him; but "to them that rebuke him ſhall be delight, and a good bleſſing ſhall "come upon them:" and moſt certainly it will recommend us to the favor of God; for as St. James aſſerts, (James V. 19, 20.) "Brethren, if any of you do err from the truth and one convert "him; Let him know that he, which converteth the ſinner from "the error of his way, ſhall ſave a ſoul from death and ſhall hide a "multitude of ſins."

II. Having thus briefly, but yet I hope fully, evinced the duty and expediency of brotherly reproof, let us now conſider ſecondly after what manner this duty may be beſt performed; only premiſing that if there is a duty in giving advice upon occaſion, there is alſo a reciprocal duty in receiving it; and it is the conceitedneſs and ſufficiency of men, that renders them ſo very unwilling to be told of their faults, and diſcourages a friend from ſpeaking his ſentiments for fear of incurring their diſpleaſure. But however whether they will hear or whether they will forbear, we ſhall have done our duty and ſhall have delivered our own ſouls; only we ſhould take care to make the reproof as pleaſing and agreeable as we poſſibly can, that the means may not defeat the end, and that we may not do more hurt than good, where only good is intended. And in order hereunto ſeveral precautions are to be obſerved with relation to the *qualifications* and *intentions* of thoſe who reprove, and the *characters* and *tempers* of thoſe who are to be reproved, and the *occaſions* and *times* of reproving, and the *addreſs* and *ſpirit* wherewith it is done, though after all rules and directions much muſt ſtill be left to every one's prudence and diſcretion.

It is certain every one is not *qualified* to be a reprover and cenſor of manners. Yet generally we may obſerve, that they who are leaſt capable of judging, are moſt forward and preſuming to paſs ſentence upon every perſon and every thing. There is no character ſo great, no ſubject ſo ſacred, as to be exempt from their juriſdiction. The reverence of the church and the majeſty of the throne cannot ſecure the one or the other from the petulance of ſuch pragmatical cenſors,

" who have ſaid With our tongue will we prevail, our lips are our " own; who is lord over us?" Some ſort of dignity and authority is requiſite for that office, or contempt of your perſon will beget contempt of your advice and opinion. Reproving another is aſſuming a manifeſt ſuperiority over him; and therefore inferiors ought to be very cautious how they find fault with their ſuperiors; ſuperiors may with much better grace admoniſh their inferiors; and by how much the greater their natural ſuperiority, their aſſuming will appear ſo much the leſs. The leaſt that can be expected from every body is, that he ſhould be free from thoſe faults himſelf, which he condemns and reproves in others, otherwiſe his cenſures will loſe their edge and keenneſs, and will look like mockery and abuſe of himſelf or others. One who is a bad writer himſelf can have no pretence to criticiſe the works of other authors. Thoſe are the beſt qualified to find faults, who commit none. A good life will give double efficacy to reproof, and there are not only your words to enforce it, but what will be regarded more, your example. (1) Who can endure to hear the factious declaiming againſt ſedition, or the fat and pampered preaching up abſtinence and mortification, the avaricious extolling charity, or the prodigal and extravagant reading lectures of œconomy and frugality? " Phyſician " heal thyſelf" will be conſtantly retorted in ſuch caſes; and indeed how can you ſee clearly to pull the " mote out of your brother's eye," when you have " a beam in your own eye?"

But it is not enough to poſſeſs the talents and qualifications proper for reproving, but you ſhould alſo manifeſt your good *intentions*, which are principally to be regarded in this as well as other actions. You ſhould ſhow plainly that your reproofs are intended only to do good, that they flow from benevolence and affection, and proceed not from the leaſt malice or reſentment; that they are free from all mixture of ſelf-love, and calculated purely for the advantage of the perſon reproved and by no means to ſerve your own private views and intereſts. Some perſons find fault only for the ſake of finding fault and to indulge their ſpleen and ill humor; others do it out of pride and vanity, and

(1) Quis tulerit Gracchos de ſeditione querentes? Juv.

and to ſhow, as they fondly imagin, their ſuperior judgment and underſtanding: ſome are impertinently buſy and pragmatical, and love to be meddlers and adviſers in other mens matters; others eaſily paſs over all other the greateſt crimes, but make heavy complaints of the ſlighteſt injury done to themſelves; their counſels and admonitions are only ſelf-love; but nothing renders reproof more ineffectual than any mixture and allay of theſe kinds, and inſtead of doing good to others it will only procure hatred to yourſelf. A good intention will make your advice well accepted, though perhaps it ſhould not prove the moſt proper, nor be delivered in the moſt proper manner; but let your wiſdom be ever ſo great and your addreſs ever ſo graceful, an evil intention will ſully and ſpoil all. No body will thank you for the beſt advice, when they find it ſuited rather to your humor and your intereſt than their own.

Regard ſhould likewiſe be had to mens *characters* and *tempers*, for neither is every one fit to be reproved any more than every one is qualified to reprove. A perſon, who is ſure to diſparage and neglect one's advice, one would not be too forward to adviſe, nor ſow good ſeed in a barren and ungrateful ſoil; and much leſs would one interpoſe one's opinion, where it will not only have no good effect upon others, but poſſibly may be of great diſſervice and detriment to one's ſelf. For there are natures which are not to be melted; they are rather hardened by reproof; they look upon all advice as inſolence and impertinence; their hatred and ill will is the leaſt return that we can expect for our good offices: and our Saviour himſelf hath taught us, (Matt. VII. 6.) "Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither "caſt ye your pearls before ſwine, leſt they trample them under their "feet, and turn again and rend you." A proper diſcrimination therefore is to be made of perſons and characters, and we ſhould conſider what it becomes them to hear as well as us to ſpeak, leſt the good that we intend ſhould prove the occaſion of greater evil. (Prov. IX. 7, 8, 9.) "He that reproveth a ſcorner getteth to himſelf ſhame, "and he that rebuketh a wicked man getteth himſelf a blot; Re-"prove not a ſcorner leſt he hate thee, rebuke a wiſe man and he

"will love thee; Give inſtruction to a wiſe man, and he will be yet "wiſer, teach a juſt man and he will increaſe in learning." In our manner too of reproving thoſe whom it may be proper to reprove, we ſhould ſtill make a diſtinction of perſons, and not treat all alike, but handle ſome more gently and ſome more ſeverely as occaſion requires. The ſame preſcription will not ſuit all caſes, but the medicines muſt be varied with the variety of diſtempers and conſtitutions. As St. Jude expreſſeth it, (Jude 22, 23.) "Of ſome have compaſſion "making a difference, and others ſave with fear, pulling them out "of the fire, hating even the garment ſpotted by the fleſh."

Neither ſhould we be too forward to reprove upon *every occaſion*, but only where the importance of the caſe requires it. There are affairs of moment, wherein the interpoſition and remonſtrance of a friend may be neceſſary: but to find fault for every trifle is abuſing and proſtituting reproof, renders it too cheap and common, and will ſooner convince another of your peeviſhneſs and ill-nature than of his own error and miſconduct. It will abate the weight and value of every thing that you ſay; and being accuſtomed to find fault in leſſer things, your opinion will not be ſo much regarded in matters of conſequence. Reproving is taking a liberty that few people like; you yourſelf perhaps would not be pleaſed with it from another; and you ſhould not therefore uſe this freedom but where you have ſufficient reaſons to bear you out, and where the greatneſs of the occaſion may juſtify and excuſe it. We ought not to think ourſelves only in the right and others always in the wrong; but ſhould make favorable allowances for their humors and cuſtoms as well as our own. In the courſe of this world we muſt not expect to meet with every thing to pleaſe us; many things and perſons may chance to offend, which however are much better connived at than taken notice of, this being many times the only way of making them conſiderable. One would not immediately adminiſter phyſic for every little ailment and diſorder, for that would make a good conſtitution a bad one; but only when there was real occaſion for it, and then it would have the better effect by being applied but ſeldom. And ſo reproof loſeth its force and efficacy by

being

being made too familiar; the frequency of it leſſens the dignity; you muſt be more ſparing of your cenſures, if you would have them more regarded; exert them only upon great occaſions, and they will have greater weight and authority.

You ſhould alſo take care to reprove at proper *times* as well as upon proper occaſions; for there is a proper time and ſeaſon for this as well as for every thing elſe, and for want of obſerving it the moſt wholeſome advice may miſcarry and have a bad effect inſtead of a good one. Men are not always equally in the humor to liſten to advice; the ſame admonitions which are ill received at one time may be well accepted at another; and it is happy if we can catch them juſt in the temper, for generally more depends upon the diſpoſition of the hearer than the ability of the ſpeaker. One would not for inſtance admoniſh a man of his errors and miſcarriages, when he was intoxicated with liquor, but rather wait a favorable opportunity, till he ſhould come to himſelf and be capable of ſober reflection. One would not pretend to adviſe a man in the highth and fury of paſſion, for probably that would only provoke and inflame him more; but rather take him in his cooler hours, when the whirlwind and the fire of paſſion were ceaſed, and the ſtill ſmall voice of reaſon might be heard. One would not upbraid a man with his faults before company, for that would ſooner exaſperate than reclaim him; but rather lay open his wounds in private, where they may be probed and ſearched to the bottom with leſs offenſe, than they can only be touched, in public; and therefore when our Saviour (Matt. XVIII. 15.) delivers the precept, "If thy brother ſhall treſpaſs againſt thee go and tell him his "fault," he ſubjoins "go and tell him his fault between thee and "him alone;" and afterwards if he refuſe to hear, then we are to take other meaſures. If you would be ſucceſsful therefore in your reproofs, or indeed in any thing elſe, you muſt be ſure to watch the times and opportunities. The beſt good ſenſe, like muſic, ſoundeth harſh and offenſive, when out of time and tune. Unſeaſonable advice (Prov. XXVI. 1.) is "as ſnow in ſummer and as rain in harveſt;"

but as Solomon ſays (XV. 23.) "a word ſpoken in due ſeaſon how "good is it?"

As reproof is in itſelf a diſagreeable thing to moſt perſons, you ſhould endevor to render it as agreeable as you can by a pleaſing *addreſs* and behaviour. It is not ſo much what ſome people ſay, as their manner of ſaying it, that prejudices us againſt them; and we are ſhocked and offended at the reproof out of diſlike to the reprover. A man of eaſy winning addreſs may ſay almoſt any thing; and I do not know that phyſic is the leſs wholeſome, and is certainly much better taken, for being made a little palatable and conveyed in ſome pleaſant vehicle. It may be proper ſometimes to mix praiſes with your reproofs, to commend a man for his good qualities at the ſame time that you blame him for his faults; and the ſweetneſs and ſmoothneſs of the one will take off all the ſharpneſs and eagerneſs of the other. It may be proper ſometimes to hint your opinion rather than to dogmatize and be poſitive; to diſguiſe the truth in fables and allegories ſimilitudes and alluſions rather than to ſpeak it openly and bluntly, and ſo to ſteal and inſinuate good advice into men before they are aware of it, and to pleaſe them even while you correct and inſtruct them. It may be proper ſometimes to condeſcend to the manners, humors, and even weakneſſes of others, to be grave where gravity is required and to laugh where ridicule will do better, and as the apoſtle ſays (1 Cor. IX. 22.) to become "all things to all men" in order "to "ſave ſome." In moſt caſes a ſoft rebuke is the moſt effectual. Reproof cuts the more for being genteel, as a razor carries the keener edge by being ſet in oil.

But let your addreſs be what it will, you ſhould however reprove in the *ſpirit* of *humility* and *meekneſs tenderneſs* and *compaſſion*. A pleaſing addreſs it is not in every one's power to acquire; but every one may if he pleaſes be kind and courteous, forgiving and pitiful to his offending brother. Look always upon men, as you chooſe to do upon pictures, in the beſt and moſt commodious light, that you may ſee them to the greateſt advantage. If a man's words and actions are capable of two conſtructions, put the moſt favorable upon them: and

rather

rather commend his good qualities, than aggravate his bad ones; rather pity than condemn him; rather throw a veil over his failings than expoſe them; and like the good Samaritan, "have compaſſion "upon him, and bind up his wounds, pouring in oil and wine." Such a friendly monitor no reaſonable perſon can be angry with, every prudent perſon would deſire. It is ſuch ſort of treatment as we ſhould expect from others, and what in common equity therefore we ought to practiſe ourſelves. It is what the good pſalmiſt earneſtly wiſhes, (Pſal. CXLI. 3.) "Let the righteous ſmite me, it ſhall be "a kindneſs; and let him reprove me, it ſhall be an excellent oil "which ſhall not break my head." It is what the apoſtle preſſeth upon Chriſtians by the rules of prudence and by the law of Chriſt; (Gal. VI. 2.) "Brethren, if a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which "are ſpiritual reſtore ſuch an one in the ſpirit of meekneſs, conſider-"ing thyſelf leſt thou alſo be tempted; bear ye one another's bur-"dens and ſo fulfil the law of Chriſt."

But after all the rules and directions which can be given to this purpoſe, much muſt ſtill be left to every one's prudence and diſcretion, both as to the diſcharge of this duty and as to the manner of diſcharging it. It is a very nice and difficult province to reprove and adviſe judiciouſly and properly; but for our encouragement let us remember that we cannot perform any work more charitable to men or more acceptable to God, that is more uſeful and beneficial in this world, or will be more gloriouſly rewarded in the world to come; for (Dan. XII. 3.) "they that be wiſe ſhall ſhine as the brightneſs of "the firmament, and they that turn many to righteouſneſs as the "ſtars for ever and ever."

DIS-

DISSERTATION XXIV.

Agur's wiſh.

NOTHING is more idle and extravagant than for the moſt part are mens wiſhes. When a man begins a ſentence with *I wiſh*, it is great odds but he is going to utter ſome piece of folly. Our wiſhes may more properly be called our waking dreams. It is therefore a great ſecret in life to know how to wiſh, to know how to moderate our deſires; and no wonder that among ſo many confeſſedly bad this good one of Agur hath been ſo much admired and celebrated in all ages. Who this Agur was, we know no more than the title of the chapter (Prov. XXX.) informs us. We may preſume, that he was a wiſe man among the Jews; and ſuch he muſt have been eſteemed, that his ſayings were thought worthy to be added to the proverbs of Solomon, and they were added probably by the men of Hezekiah, who made the collection of proverbs from the 25th chapter incluſive. His ſayings ſhow him indeed to have been a wiſe man, and his wiſdom appears no where more than in this his wiſh or prayer, which deſerves to be written in characters of gold. (ver. 7, 8, 9.) "Two things have I required of thee, deny me them not before I "die." The one concerns his ſpiritual eſtate, "Remove far from "me vanity and lies." The other relates to his temporal condition, "Give me neither poverty nor riches, feed me with food convenient "for me," or with "bread ſufficient for me," it being uſual with the Hebrews to expreſs all proviſions by the name of *bread*.

It muſt not be underſtood that he prayeth abſolutely againſt poverty or riches, as if they were any thing ſinful in themſelves; for without doubt the bleſſing of God may attend both conditions, and there may be virtue cloathed in rags as well as ſeated on a throne: but he prayeth for

ſor a competency or middle eſtate rather than either of the extremes. Nor are there wanting inſtances of the like manner of ſpeaking in other parts of ſcripture. When it is ſaid (Rom. IX. 13.) " Jacob " have I loved but Eſau have I hated," the meaning is not that God really hated Eſau, but he loved Jacob better than Eſau, he preferred the one to the other. When it is ſaid (Matt. IX. 13.) " I will have " mercy and not ſacrifice," the meaning is not that God never required ſacrifice, but he choſe mercy rather than ſacrifice, he was more pleaſed with the one than the other. And ſo likewiſe when it is ſaid " Give me neither poverty nor riches, feed me with food con- " venient for me," the former clauſe is not to be taken independent of the latter, but both muſt be conſtrued together, and the meaning is Give me a competency, " give me food convenient for me" rather than " poverty" or " riches."

What is a competency, it is much eaſier for every man to conceive, than perhaps for any man to define; only it is not the ſame in all ranks and conditions of life. For what is ſufficient for a ſingle man, is not ſo for a man with a family; and what may be ſuperfluous to a man in a private ſtation, to a man in a public capacity may be no more than neceſſary. Let but a man's rank and condition be known, and it is not hard to conceive what is a competency for him, which is a thing much better underſtood in particulars than explained in generals.

This is the ſtate that Agur prayeth for, and preferreth not only to want but even to abundance, and he doth not barely pray for it, but addeth withal his reaſons. " Give me neither poverty nor riches, " feed me with food convenient for me, leſt" on the one hand " I " be full and deny thee and ſay Who is the Lord? or leſt" on the other " I be poor and ſteal and take the name of my God in vain." We ſee that his prayers for his temporal condition he ſtill refers to his ſpiritual, and deſires things or not as they conduce or not to this end, and in order to avoid ſin is ſollicitous to avoid the occaſions. He prayeth againſt *riches*, leſt he ſhould be tempted to luxury and irreligion, leſt he " ſhould be full and deny the Lord;" and he prayeth

againſt *poverty*, leſt his neceſſities ſhould make him " ſteal and take " the name of his God in vain," firſt induce him to theft and then to perjury. For we muſt underſtand that it was a law and cuſtom among the Jews, that whenever a man was charged with theft, and full proof could not be made, he was to clear himſelf by oath if he was not guilty, or if guilty he was to make reſtitution. A man of any religion would certainly rather confeſs and make reſtitution than incur the guilt of perjury: but to others of leſs ingenuous natures here was a ready door of communication opened between theft and perjury; and rather than plead guilty, rather than make reſtitution, they might be tempted to " take the name of God in vain:" and therefore Agur joineth both together, the one being ſo likely to produce the other, " leſt I be poor and ſteal and take the name of my God in vain." The ſame law and cuſtom indeed have not prevailed among us as among the Jews: but yet if we reflect how natural it is for one ſin to draw on another, how apt men are when they have done wickedly to defend it with excuſes, to guard it with lies, or if need be to deny it even with oaths and execrations, we ſhall conclude the reaſon of this requeſt to be not only proper for the Jews in particular, but to be excellently adapted to the nature of mankind in general.

Agur's wiſh then is for a *competency* or *middle ſtation* rather than *poverty* or *riches*; and though ſome men may pretend to be wiſer and to have better notions of things than Agur, yet the reaſonableneſs of this wiſh will evidently appear, if we conſider firſt the temptations and dangers of *poverty*, particularly with a view to what Agur ſays, " leſt I be poor and ſteal and take the name of my " God in vain;" and if we conſider ſecondly the temptations and dangers of *riches*, with a view ſtill to what Agur ſays, " leſt I be " full and deny thee and ſay Who is the Lord?" and thirdly and laſtly if we conſider the ſecurity and advantages of a *competency* or *middle ſtation*, " Give me neither poverty nor riches, feed me with food " convenient for me."

1. There is the leſs need to be particular in ſetting forth the temptations and dangers of *poverty*, becauſe moſt men ſeem to be ſenſible enough

enough of them by their endevors to avoid them. Poverty appears dreadful in any ſhape; and men will "riſe up early and late take "reſt and eat the bread of carefulneſs," will do almoſt any thing and ſuffer almoſt any thing, to remedy or prevent it.

It is certain that poverty expoſeth men to contempt, for who regardeth even merit in want? It is enough to depreſs the moſt riſing genius, and to hinder it from ſoaring to any noble highths. As the ſatiriſt obſerves (1), They cannot eaſily emerge, whoſe virtues are cramped with narrow circumſtances at home. As Solomon obſerves, (Eccleſ. IX. 16.) "The poor man's wiſdom is deſpiſed, and his words "are not heard." And contempt from the world is apt to beget ſpleen and contempt of the world again.

Poverty not only expoſeth virtue to contempt, but what is worſe, to temptation. It maketh men apt to repine and murmur at their own condition, and to malign and envy that of others; to tax God with partiality, and men with injuſtice. Uneaſy with their condition, they are commonly impatient to mend it, and it is well if the beſt will make uſe of none but honeſt means to ſupply their neceſſities. Want and hunger are indeed powerful things; and who can live on deſpair or hoping even againſt hope? Alas! can you wonder if in ſuch circumſtances innocence is more eaſy to be ſeduced, and integrity more liable to be corrupted? Few people are ſo wicked as to do evil for the ſake of evil; but their wants, real or imaginary, incite them. And neceſſity is ſeldom found to have any law, and putteth men upon thoſe actions, which their nature would abhor if they were in eaſier circumſtances. The devil underſtood this very well, when he ſaid of Job in his affluence, (Job I. 9, 11.) "Doth Job fear God for nought?" He may well be obedient, who hath all that he can want, all that he can wiſh; but "put forth thy hand now, and" ſtrip him of "all that "he hath, and he will curſe thee to thy face." A ſtate of poverty and want is certainly the ſtate of the greateſt trial: and therefore our bleſſed Saviour, who was to be a pattern of all holineſs, was born in

(1) Haud facile emergunt, quorum virtutibus obſtat
Res anguſta domi. Juv.

poverty and lived in want, " having not ſo much as where to lay his " head," (Luke IX. 58.) that he might exhibit the greater example of patience, and be made perfect through ſufferings. And we may obſerve that the devil thought that the fitteſt opportunity of tempting him, while he was in want and hunger in the wilderneſs.

If poverty is a ſtate of ſuch temptation and danger, how can it be pretended, as the mendicant friers in the Church of Rome pretend, that it is a ſtate of perfection? If providence ſeeth fit to lay the burden upon us, we do well indeed to bear it as patiently and chearfully as we can: but to impoſe it voluntarily upon ourſelves, to profeſs it, to glory in it, who hath required this at our hands? Religion no where injoins it, nature diſclaims it, and we ſee that Agur for very wiſe reaſons prayeth againſt it. And what then ſhall we ſay of thoſe men, who having all the advantages of birth and fortune might live not only free and independent, but floriſhing and happy, and yet make themſelves poor and neceſſitous, and ſell their birthright like Eſau, to ſupport themſelves in their luxury and extravagance? ſomewhat like the prodigal in the parable, (Luke XV.) who " waſted his ſubſtance with " riotous living," fed among the ſwine, and at laſt was willing to become as " one of the hired ſervants," to ſerve there where he might have commanded.

2. You cannot wonder indeed at Agur for praying againſt poverty; you yourſelf would do the ſame: but ſtill perhaps you may think it ſtrange and unaccountable that he ſhould pray againſt *riches*. You may think it natural for men to deſire power and greatneſs; and whenever they pretend to deſpiſe them, it is only becauſe they are conſcious to themſelves, that they do not deſerve them or cannot attain them. And yet if we will conſider things ſeriouſly and calmly, riches will appear to have their temptations and dangers as well as poverty, and will be found really to be what they have been often called, *irritamenta malorum*, incentives to vice, and *impedimenta virtutum*, clogs and hindrances to virtue.

It ſeemeth hardly poſſible to acquire great riches, and eſpecially to acquire them in haſte, with innocence. (Prov. XXVIII. 20.) " He

" that

" that maketh haſte to be rich," ſays Solomon, " ſhall not be inno-
" cent." " They that will be rich," ſays the apoſtle, (1 Tim. VI. 9, 10.) " fall into temptation and a ſnare, and into many fooliſh and " hurtful luſts which drown men in deſtruction and perdition; for " the love of money is the root of all evil."

And after riches are acquired, after " goods are increaſed; (Eccleſ. " V. 11.) they are increaſed that eat them; and what good is there to " the owners thereof, ſaving the beholding of them with their eyes?" Whatever elſe the rich and great may enjoy, they have little of the true enjoyment of life, little enjoyment of themſelves. Their very privacies are public. Their times, their actions, and even their thoughts are hardly their own. And with all their ſtate and greatneſs they are in a manner debarred from the freedoms and pleaſures of true friendſhip. Friends to their fortune they have many; but alas, how few who are friends to their perſon! And what a ſad ſituation is that, to be placed above the reach of advice, and for friendſhip to hear nothing but flattery!

As wealth expoſeth the owners to the flattery of ſome, ſo likewiſe to the envy of others; as it maketh many falſe friends, ſo likewiſe many real enemies: and many a man by growing rich hath only haſtened his ruin; his greatneſs hath been made his crime, his eſtate his treaſon.

As it is dangerous to poſſeſs riches, ſo likewiſe is it difficult to know how to uſe them. For men are apt to value them too much or too little; to hoard with avarice or ſpend with profuſion, according as our temper is, for they make the covetous more covetous, and the extravagant more extravagant.

Wealth is apt likewiſe to beget pride and ſufficiency in the poſſeſſors. They are ſo happy in their fortunes, that they think little of improving their minds; and many a promiſing genius hath been ſpoiled, only by knowing that he was born to a good eſtate. Wealth is often found to taint our tempers as well as our underſtandings. There is a character that we expreſs very well in Engliſh by the word *purſe-proud*; and indeed riches are too apt to make men humorſome, and obſtinately fond and conceited of their own ways and opinions, eſpe-

cially if their wealth is of their own acquiring. Feeling few of the wants and evils of life themſelves, they have not the moſt tender ſenſe and compaſſion for others; and it is to be feared, are oftener oppreſſive to their inferiors than charitable.

But what is the worſt of all, they are as negligent of their duty to God as they are to men. God hath done the moſt for them of all mankind, and of all mankind they commonly do the leaſt again for God. They ſeem little to think that increaſing their talents is increaſing their duty, the more they have received the more they are accountable, "to whom much is given, (Luke XII. 48.) of them "much is required;" and by an odd kind of infatuation they are ſo taken up in enjoying the gifts, that they forget the giver, like as "Jeſhurun (Deut. XXXII. 15.) waxed fat and kicked, then he for-"ſook God which made him, and lightly eſteemed the rock of his "ſalvation." It is enough to cool all immoderate deſires of growing rich, to conſider what our Saviour hath declared of the danger of riches. (Luke VI. 24.) "Wo unto you that are rich, for ye have re-"ceived your conſolation." (Matt. XIX. 23, 24.) "Verily I ſay "unto you, that a rich man ſhall hardly enter into the kingdom of "heaven; and again I ſay unto you, It is eaſier for a camel to go "through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the "kingdom of God." And who then would be ſo preſſing and eager after riches, when they do not ſo much accommodate our temporal condition, as indanger our eternal ſalvation?

Theſe are ſome of the temptations and dangers attending poverty on the one hand and riches on the other. And you ſee even from theſe particulars what great reaſon we have to pray, as we are taught in our Litany, that "in all time of our tribulation" and "in all time of "our wealth," in the one as well as in the other, "God would "pleaſe to deliver us." And therefore now thirdly and laſtly we may proceed to conſider the ſecurity and advantages of *a competency* or *middle ſtation*, yet farther to evince and illuſtrate the reaſonableneſs of Agur's wiſh, "Give me neither poverty nor riches, feed me with "food convenient for me."

A middle

A middle ſtation is the happieſt of all conditions for the ſame reaſon that a temperate region is the beſt of all climates, as ſuffering none of the extremities of weather, and being neither burnt with heat nor ſtarved with cold. A middle ſtation is certainly the ſecureſt and freeſt from danger of every kind. Beaſts and cattle browze upon the lowly ſhrubs, ſtorms and tempeſts tear the lofty cedars; whereas what attains a moderate highth, ſtandeth more ſecure, the ſtorms roll over its head, the beaſts lie at its feet.

As this ſtate of life is more for one's ſecurity, ſo likewiſe is it more for one's health, living too high and living too low being both of them equally pernicious. And then one is placed juſt in the middle point below envy and above contempt: and as one is not envyed himſelf, ſo neither has he any reaſon to envy others. For if one hath a competency, what can they enjoy more? they cannot more uſe the things of the world, they may more abuſe them; and if they have greater riches, they have likewiſe greater wants and greater demands for their riches; and perhaps upon occaſion one may have as much ready money at command, as another of much ſuperior eſtate and fortune.

As one is freer in this ſtation than in any other from envying and being envyed, ſo likewiſe from flattering and being flattered, from fearing and being feared, and from all thoſe affections and paſſions which diſcompoſe and trouble human life. One lieth as it were ſafe at anchor in a commodious haven, where is all calm and neither winds nor waves can moleſt us. One liveth his own maſter, free and independent of the world; no man's ſlave, no man's prey; eaſy and indifferent about the courſe of events; obſerving and yet unobſerved; without noiſe and hurry on the one hand, without ſolitude and neglect on the other; with neither too little attendence nor too much; for there may be ſo much as to be troubleſome, and they who have the moſt ſervants and attendents, are not always the beſt ſerved and attended.

And freer from cares, freer from perturbations and paſſions of every kind, one is more at leiſure to enjoy himſelf and his own thoughts; and if one would leave any work of genius as a monument to poſterity,

rity, this is the ſcene of life moſt proper, this the ſituation moſt favorable to ſuch undertakings. Accordingly we may obſerve, that the world is moſt indebted in this kind to men of moderate fortunes. There have been few Solomons among princes, and few Homers among beggers. Others are generally too idle or too buſy, lazy rich or laboring poor; their pleaſures or their neceſſities prevent them.

As one has more enjoyment of himſelf, ſo likewiſe of others, having more true friends and fewer enemies in this ſtate of life than in any other. And one has this advantage, that he may keep as much or as little company almoſt as he pleaſeth; may live more public if he will than his inferiors, and more private if he will than his ſuperiors.

And what is principally to be regarded, in this ſtation there is the leaſt temptation, and the moſt virtue and religion. For I know not how, the rich are commonly above religion, and the poor are below it; there is generally the moſt devotion, the moſt truth and honeſty to be found in perſons of a middle condition.

In ſhort this is the condition of life that hath been dignified with the title of the (2) *golden mean*; and whoever hath attained this, hath all that the world can give to make him happy, and may live free from all the inconveniences and all the vices of poverty and want in the one extreme and of ſatiety and abundance in the other.

The golden mean is not only the beſt for ſingle perſons, but likewiſe for ſocieties, that the balance may be preſerved among them. One would never wiſh to ſee any order of men grow too powerful. One would not have even kings ſo great as to be abſolute, no more than ſubjects ſo free as to be licentious. And for the Church one would never wiſh it to be like Gideon's fleece, either to be wet with the dew of heaven while all is dry round about it, or while all is wet round about it that only to be dry. Its beſt friends ought not to wiſh the former, and I think its worſt enemies can hardly wiſh the latter.

And now you ſee there is more reaſon in Agur's wiſh than perhaps at firſt you would have imagined. It is the very ſame thing that the apoſtle

(2) *Auream* quiſquis *mediocritatem*
Diligit, &c. Hor.

(3) ——Vitiis

apoſtle recommends, (1 Tim. VI. 6, &c.) " Godlineſs with content-
" ment is great gain; for we brought nothing into this world, and
" it is certain we can carry nothing out; and having food and rai-
" ment, let us be therewith content." It is the very ſame thing that our Saviour teacheth us to pray for in that petition, " Give us this
" day our daily bread;" bread, as we have obſerved, in the language of the Hebrews ſignifying all the neceſſaries of life. Men wiſh and wiſh without end; but if we have enough what would we deſire more? It is quite chimerical to expect any ſuch thing as perfect happineſs here below; the utmoſt that we can hope for in this life is an eaſy paſſage. (3) No body is born without vices, no body liveth without inconveniences; and as he is the beſt man who hath the leaſt vices, ſo he is the happieſt man who is ſubject to the leaſt inconveniences. The greateſt happineſs in this world is eaſe, and the greateſt riches are contentment. Every wiſe man therefore would pray in the ſpirit of Agur; O Lord God, author of my being and diſpoſer of all events, what the world call fate and fortune, that I acknowlege all to be thy providence; and may I learn in all things to ſubmit to thy diſpenſations, and think that condition of life beſt, which thine infinite wiſdom ſeeth beſt to allot me. If thou giveſt me *riches*, give me ſtill a religious and humble mind, that I may alſo be " rich
" in good works." If *poverty* muſt be my portion, ſtill may I live honeſt though poor, and with patience endevor to ſuit my wiſhes to my fortune, ſince I cannot my fortune to my wiſhes. But if thou bleſſeſt me with a *competency*, that is all I deſire, then I ſhall think that " the lot is fallen unto me in a fair ground, yea that I have a
" goodly heritage." I aſk not for greatneſs to gratify any pride or vice, but only for an independent eaſy fortune, that I may live in peace and die in comfort. O my God, all my requeſts are compriſed in little, Make me eaſy here, and happy with thee hereafter. For thine is the diſpoſal of both worlds; " thine is the kingdom and the
" power and the glory for ever and ever. Amen."

(3) ——Vitiis nemo ſine naſcitur, optimus ille
Qui minimis urgetur. Hor.

DIS-

DISSERTATION XXV.

On public worſhip.

SOLOMON ſeemeth to have been the firſt who built a magnificent temple for the worſhip of the true God, being appointed to this work by God himſelf, and preferred before his father David: and no man therefore more proper or more able than he to give directions for our behaviour in ſuch ſacred places. This is what he undertakes in the former part of the fifth chapter of Eccleſiaſtes; and it behoves us to pay the greateſt attention, as the ſubject here treated of is ſo very important, and the perſon who treateth of it the wiſeſt of the ſons of men. "Keep thy foot," ſaith he, "when thou goeſt to the "houſe of God." The "houſe of God" is the place ſet apart for his worſhip and ſervice; for though heaven is his throne and earth is his footſtool, and he who filleth all places may as well be worſhipped in one as in another, yet if not for the ſake of God who inhabiteth immenſity, however for the uſe and convenience of men, ſome particular places muſt be appointed for their aſſembling together, if they will aſſemble together to worſhip God at all. Such places the text intimates that it is our duty to frequent, and directs how we are to behave, when we go there. "Keep thy foot when thou goeſt to the houſe "of God."

The cuſtoms and manners of men are ſo different in different ages and countries, that no wonder ſeveral phraſes and expreſſions, eaſy and familiar enough in one age or country, can hardly be underſtood in another age or country. The phraſe of "keeping our foot" or "feet" when we go to the houſe of God may ſound ſtrange to us who live in theſe weſtern parts of the world, but to the inhabitants of the eaſt nothing is more intelligible, it being an alluſion to a ceremony

in

in uſe among them from time immemorial to put off their ſhoes from their feet at their entrance into their places of worſhip. When God appeared unto Moſes in the burning buſh, he ſaid unto him, (Exod. III. 5.) "Draw not nigh hither, put off thy ſhoes from off thy feet, "for the place whereon thou ſtandeſt is holy ground." The like command was repeated to Joſhua upon a like occaſion, (Joſh. XV. 15.) "Looſe thy ſhoe from off thy foot, for the place whereon thou "ſtandeſt is holy, and Joſhua did ſo." The Jews both ancient and modern have obſerved the ſame ceremony; and it is ſtill in uſe among all the Mohammedans at this day. They never enter into their moſques without firſt uncovering their feet, as at our entrance into our churches we always uncover our heads. They, who meaſure every thing by their own rule, may perhaps think this an odd unaccountable ceremony; but however it is their way in the eaſt of expreſſing their reverence of the ſupreme being; and from this practice the metaphor is evidently borrowed, and applied to the preſent occaſion.

"Keep thy foot" therefore "when thou goeſt to the houſe of "God" is as much as to ſay "Behave reverently when thou goeſt to "the houſe of God," the keeping of the foot being a token of reverence, and the firſt ceremony of religious worſhip in the eaſt. And as our Saviour ſaid, (John XIII. 10.) "He that is waſhed needeth not "ſave to waſh his feet but is clean every whit:" So this expreſſion of "keeping our foot" comprehends all reverential behaviour, both internal and external, both of mind and body. There are then two things implied in the text, firſt that it is our duty to frequent the houſe of God, the place of his public worſhip; and ſecondly that we are obliged to behave with devotion and reverence upon ſuch occaſions. "Keep thy foot when thou goeſt to the houſe of God."

1. The words plainly ſuppoſe that it is our duty to frequent the houſe of God, the place of his public worſhip. All who allow that there is ſuch a being as God, muſt allow that he is to be worſhipped by us. He is our creator; and we are "the work of his hands." He is our preſerver and greateſt beneſactor; and we depend on him continually for "life and breath and all things." We are blind and

ignorant of futurity; he is of infinite wiſdom to direct and diſpoſe all events to our advantage. We are weak and indigent, unable of ourſelves to ſatisfy or content ourſelves; he is rich in mercies and mighty to ſave, of power equal to his goodneſs, and of goodneſs infinite as his power. In ſhort he is the great judge of the world; and we are vile miſerable ſinners. The relation therefore between God and man plainly demonſtrates the obligation and neceſſity that we are under to pay him all homage and adoration, to deplore our ſins, to deprecate his judgments, to pray to him for his bleſſings, to praiſe him for his mercies; and it might with equal reaſon be aſſerted, that the whole is not greater than a part, as that man is not to worſhip God, the ſervant to acknowlege his lord, the creature to adore his creator.

It is then the duty of man to worſhip God, a duty ariſing both from the nature of man and the nature of God: neither will private adoration alone be ſufficient, but we muſt alſo join in his public worſhip and ſervice. For to what end was ſpeech given to man? Was it only to ſerve our own neceſſity and convenience? Or was it not as well to ſhow forth the praiſes of our maker? He who formed the tongue hath certainly the beſt right to the tribute of its praiſe and thankſgiving. If we were born dumb, we might ſtill worſhip God with our heart in private; but the tongue is an inſtrument to ſhow forth his praiſe in the congregation, and the power of doing it infers an obligation to do it. The pſalmiſt very well underſtood this uſe of the tongue, and therefore in more places than one calleth his tongue his "glory," (Pſal. LVII. 8, 9. CVIII. 1, 3.) and declares "I will praiſe thee O "Lord among the people, I will ſing unto thee among the nations." One argument then for joining in public worſhip is drawn from our faculty of ſpeech, which as it fitteth us for other offices of ſociety, ſo qualifieth us particularly for this.

Again. Man may be conſidered in two points of view, as an individual and as a member of ſociety. As an individual, he may have his particular prayers and particular thankſgivings; but as a member of ſociety, he is obliged to worſhip God in ſociety. A ſociety may be looked upon as one body, whereof different men are the different

members.

members. As members of the ſame body, they all partake of the ſame common bleſſings, they all ſhare in the ſame common calamities; and the ſafety or danger of the whole is the ſafety or danger of the parts. As one body therefore they ought to make one common prayer, and join in one common worſhip. And the greater intereſts and concerns any one hath in the ſociety, the more is he bound to wiſh and pray for its peace and welfare.

And if we are obliged to join in the public worſhip of God as men and members of ſociety, we are certainly more obliged as Chriſtians and members of the church. For the Chriſtian religion tieth the bands of ſociety ſtraiter than ever they were before, and unites us more cloſely as members of the ſame body under the ſame head Chriſt Jeſus. Communion is or ought to be the diſtinguiſhing character-iſtic of Chriſtians. For this there are ſo many precepts, for this there are ſo many examples, in almoſt every page of the New Teſtament. For this our Saviour taught his diſciples to pray not as ſingle perſons, but as a ſociety of brethren, "Our Father, give us this day our "daily bread, forgive us our treſpaſſes," and ſo forth. For this partly the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper was inſtituted, and is there-fore called the *communion* of his body and blood. And indeed for what did Chriſt come into the world, but to found and eſtabliſh a church, and what is the church but a ſociety of Chriſtians joining in the ſame faith and worſhip, not an independent company without relation one to another, but one fold under one ſhepherd? If Chriſti-ans therefore ſhould "forſake the aſſembling of themſelves together, "as the manner of ſome is," (Heb. X. 25.) they would be doubly criminal, they ſhall receive "greater damnation." They are not Chriſtians, but rather apoſtates, who refuſe to communicate with the church of Chriſt.

It is to be feared that there are many even among Chriſtians, who know not how to pray of themſelves for themſelves, who are not able ſo much as to read the word of God, and how then ſhall they under-ſtand it? Now ſurely it is fitting, that there ſhould ſome proviſion be made for ſuch perſons, that there ſhould be ſome public places for

them to reſort to, where they may hear prayers read and the word of God explained. And indeed without public places and public forms of worſhip not only all religion, but all learning and humanity would be loſt in the nation, and we ſhould degenerate into greater ſavages than were our anceſtors of old, when they had their Bards and their Druids, before ever the Romans came among them. For I believe it ever was and ever will be found true, that where is no eſtabliſhed religion, there is no government no learning no humanity; and again on the reverſe, where is government learning humanity, there is an eſtabliſhed religion.

Even the places of public worſhip may have a good effect upon ſome men, ſtrike an awe into their minds, and inſpire them with greater reverence and devotion than perhaps they would feel in private. They may be ſeiſed with religious horror and admiration, in ſome meaſure as Jacob was after his viſion of angels, when he ſaid, (Gen. XXVIII. 17.) " How dreadful is this place! this is none other but " the houſe of God, and this is the gate of heaven."

And if the place may have ſome effect, the ſolemnity of the ſervice may make ſtill greater impreſſion, and the devotion of ſome may raiſe and inflame the devotion of others. They may catch the fire, one from another, as we read (1 Sam. XIX.) that even Saul among the prophets was ſeiſed with the ſpirit of prophecy.

Our prayers certainly are never more effectual, than when they are offered up to God in the congregation; as in a conſort of muſic there is always ſomething nobler than in any ſingle voice or inſtrument. Our Saviour, no doubt, lendeth a gracious ear to the devout prayers of all his faithful ſervants; but he hath particularly engaged (Matt. XVIII. 20.) that " where two or three are gathered together in his " name, there will he be alſo in the midſt of them."

And as public worſhip is more for the benefit of men, ſo likewiſe is it more for the glory of God. As it is profitable to ourſelves, it is alſo ſetting a good example to others: whereas by the neglect of this duty we certainly do ourſelves no good but a great deal of hurt, and the example is of moſt pernicious influence, eſpecially in thoſe of high

high ſtation: And God will reſent it accordingly, for he hath expreſly declared, (1 Sam. II. 30.) "Them that honor me I will honor, and "they that deſpiſe me ſhall be lightly eſteemed."

Nor is there only all the reaſon in the world for joining in the public worſhip of God, but alſo the practice of the beſt and wiſeſt men in all ages. Are you greater and better than David? But how many pſalms did he compoſe for the ſervice of the ſanctuary? and when abſent, how paſſionately did he wiſh to be preſent at the place of God's worſhip? (Pſal. XLII. 1, 2.) "As the hart panteth after the "water-brooks, ſo panteth my ſoul after thee, O God: My ſoul "thirſteth for God, for the living God; when ſhall I come and ap-"pear before God?" (LXXXIV. 10.) "For a day in thy courts is "better than a thouſand; I had rather be a door-keeper in the houſe "of my God than to dwell in the tents of wickedneſs." Are you richer and wiſer than Solomon? But he thought it the glory of his reign to build and dedicate a temple to God. The particular inſtances in the New Teſtament are too numerous to be quoted; but the general account of the firſt Chriſtians is, (Acts II. 42.) that "they con-"tinued ſtedfaſtly in the apoſtles doctrin, and fellowſhip, and in "breaking of bread, and in prayers:" and again (ver. 46, 47.) "they "continued daily with one accord in the temple, praiſing God and "having favor with all the people." Joint worſhip is the duty and employment not only of men, but of angels; not only of the church militant in earth, but alſo triumphant in heaven: for there they are repreſented in the Revelation (V. 13.) as ſinging in conſorts and companies "unto him that ſitteth upon the throne and unto the lamb for "ever and ever."

Thus I hope it fully appears that it is our duty to frequent the houſe of God, the place of his public worſhip. There is the leſs need therefore to be particular in the proof of what was aſſerted in the ſecond place, that we are obliged to behave with devotion and reverence upon ſuch occaſions. For certainly if we are to aſſemble for the worſhip of God, we are to aſſemble with devotion and reverence; or otherwiſe

otherwiſe it is not worſhip, but a profane mockery of the divine majeſty, and an impious taking of his name in vain.

For conſider the greatneſs and majeſty of God, an infinite, eternal, all-wiſe, all-powerful, all-good, and all-perfect being; and one would think it impoſſible to addreſs him without awe and reverence. It is natural to be under ſome awe and apprehenſion, when we come before our earthly ſuperiors; and how then ſhall we appear in the more immediate preſence of "the king of kings and lord of lords?"

As you conſider his greatneſs, conſider alſo your own vileneſs, and what are you that you ſhould (Gen. XVIII. 27.) "take upon you to "ſpeak unto the Lord who are but duſt and aſhes?" The angels themſelves cover their faces before him, and cry (Iſ. VI. 3.) "Holy, "holy, holy is the Lord of hoſts, the whole earth is full of his glory:" and how much more then ſhould man who is a worm and nothing?

A decent external behaviour will cheriſh and improve our inward devotion; for the body reacteth upon the mind, as the mind acteth upon the body. The devotion of the heart will naturally ſhow itſelf in ſuitable emotions of body, and ſuitable emotions of body will again aſſiſt the devotion of the heart.

A decent behaviour will have a good effect not only upon our own devotion, but alſo upon that of others, and engage them to "go and "do likewiſe." When Chriſtians are aſſembled together, worſhipping their heavenly father, after an orderly manner in "the beauty of "holineſs," one may not improperly apply to them the words of the apoſtle; (1 Cor. XIV. 24, 25.) "If there come in one that believeth "not, or one unlearned, he is convinced of all, he is judged of all; "and thus are the ſecrets of his heart made manifeſt, and ſo falling "down on his face, he will worſhip God, and report that God is in "you of a truth." An indecent behaviour in the public aſſembly is a breach of good manners as well of religion, an affront to men as well as an offenſe to almighty God.

Nor are men only witneſſes of our behaviour in the congregation of the faithful, but likewiſe angels; for which reaſon St. Paul (1 Cor. XI. 10.) is ſuppoſed to recommend a decent dreſs and demeanor to the Corinthians

Corinthians in their public aſſemblies "becauſe of the angels." And if theſe heavenly ſpirits ever attend as guardians and miniſters to men, one may reaſonably preſume that they do ſo particularly at ſuch ſeaſons and upon ſuch occaſions. He muſt have a narrow ſoul indeed, who cannot raiſe his conceptions above mere matter, and will believe nothing but what he ſees.

But if we are not in the preſence of angels, we are ſure however that we are in the preſence of God, who as he filleth the univerſe ſo delighteth eſpecially in the hearts and temples dedicated to his honor and ſervice. And he not only obſerves our outward behaviour, but is privy to the very thoughts and intents of our hearts: and what then doth it avail (Matt. XV. 8.) to "honor him with our lips when our "hearts are far from him?" (John IV. 24.) "God is a ſpirit, and "they that worſhip him muſt worſhip him in ſpirit and in truth."

"O come" then (Pſal. XCV. 6.) "let us worſhip and bow down, "let us kneel before the Lord our maker." If you are rich, you have the more reaſon to be thankful for the bleſſings which you enjoy above others. And yet commonly the rich and great are the moſt negligent of public worſhip, and God is leaſt honored by thoſe whom he has honored moſt. "Their ſin" is indeed "exceeding ſinful," for it is the worſt of ingratitude added to irreligion; and the more good things they have enjoyed in this world, the more evil things ſhall they ſuffer in the next. If you are poor, this is ſtill the likelieſt way to remove or eaſe your burden, to deliver you from it, or to make you contentedly bear it. Here high and low, rich and poor are all upon the level before their common creator; and though being poor you cannot "lay up for yourſelf treaſure upon earth," (Matt. VI. 19) yet here you may "lay up for yourſelf treaſure in heaven."

No buſineſs can be a ſufficient excuſe for abſenting yourſelf always. For what buſineſs can be of greater importance than to pay your duty and homage to your maker? what more neceſſary to be done, or more dangerous to be left undone? And do not think the ſhort portion of your time thus employed employed to no purpoſe. For what

is all your prudence and wiſdom and policy, all your attendence and induſtry and labor, without the bleſſing of God to proſper them?

Nay though you are ever ſo moral in other reſpects, yet will not that be any excuſe for your failure in this particular. The obſervance of the ſecond table will never atone for the breaches of the firſt. The doing your duty to men will never make amends for the neglect of it to God. As religion without morality is vain, ſo certainly vain is morality without religion. Be careful firſt to diſcharge your duty to God, and then to men. That morality is but a ſpurious ſort of morality, which ſpringeth from popular eſteem, or faſhion, or worldly intereſt, or any thing but religion.

In ſhort there can be no juſt excuſe for not frequenting the houſe of God, but an utter inability through want of health; and in ſuch a caſe "mercy" may be better than "ſacrifice." Other excuſe there can be none, unleſs the public prayers and terms of communion are ſinful. Let other churches vindicate their worſhip as they can, but the Liturgy of the Church of England, though we cannot boaſt it indeed to be perfect as of divine inſpiration, yet we may venture to ſay is no where exceeded or equalled by any human compoſition of the ſame kind ſince the days of the apoſtles.

A good form of prayer is not wanting to your devotion, let not your devotion be wanting to this good form of prayer. *Hoc age, do this, mind what you are about*, uſed to be proclaimed aloud at the Heathen ſacrifices; and how much more is it our duty to be attentive, to be all ear, all devotion at the Chriſtian ſacrifice of prayer and thankſgiving? Conſider in what place you are, in whoſe more immediate preſence you are, and for what end you are come or ſuppoſed to come hither: and it is ſtrange that you can be ſo ceremonious and exact in paying your little civilities one to another, and at the ſame time ſo negligent of that greater reverence which you owe to the ſupreme being. "What have ye not houſes to eat and to drink in," ſaid St. Paul, (1 Cor. XI. 22.) "or deſpiſe ye the church of God?" and in like manner it may be ſaid now, "What have ye not houſes" to talk and to ſleep in, "or deſpiſe ye the church of God?" This certainly

(ver. 17.) " is coming together not for the better but for the worſe." You may as well not come at all as come and behave irreverently. And not to come at all, however you may gloſs and excuſe it, is really a ſort of practical atheiſm. It is an overtact of denial of God's providence and government of the world. It is in effect ſaying unto God, (Job XXI. 14, 15.) " Depart from us, for we deſire not the " knowlege of thy ways. What is the Almighty that we ſhould " ſerve him? and what profit ſhould we have if we pray unto him?" And whoſoever ſhall thus " deny him before men," him will he alſo " deny before the angels in heaven." " Now conſider this, ye that " forget God," as God is introduced ſaying by the pſalmiſt, (Pſal. L. 22, 23.) " leſt I tear you in pieces, and there be none to deliver: " Whoſo offereth praiſe, glorifieth me; and to him that ordereth his " converſation aright will I ſhow the ſalvation of God."

" O come then (Pſal. XCV. 6, 7.) let us worſhip and bow down, " let us kneel before the Lord our maker: For he is our God, and " we are the people of his paſture and the ſheep of his hand." " Honor and majeſty (Pſal. XCVI. 6, 7, 8, 9.) are before him, " ſtrength and beauty are in his ſanctuary: Give unto the Lord, O " ye kindreds of the people, give unto the Lord glory and ſtrength: " Give unto the Lord the glory due unto his name: O worſhip the " Lord in the beauty of holineſs." " Enter into his gates with thankſ- " giving, (Pſal. C. 4, 5.) and into his courts with praiſe, be thank- " ful unto him, and bleſs his name: For the Lord is good, his " mercy is everlaſting, and his truth endureth to all generations."

DISSERTATION XXVI.

On dreams.

IT is a memorable ſaying of (1) an ancient ſage, that every thing hath two handles, and you may either take it right or take it wrong, you may make a proper uſe, or be guilty of an unreaſonable abuſe of it. And this is verified as much perhaps in our *dreams* as in any thing elſe. Nothing hath adminiſtered occaſion to more weakneſs and ſuperſtition; and at the ſame time, I conceive, there is ſcarce any thing that may be made the ſubject of more uſeful, more pious reflections.

It is ſaid indeed that ſome perſons ſleep without dreaming, but ſuch inſtances are exceeding rare, and it is much to be queſtioned whether there are any at all. For how is it poſſible for them to remember and be certain that they *did not* dream? It is highly probable they may forget that they *did*, for want of timely recollection, and through attention to the thoughts which ruſh in upon them and the various objects which ſurround them. Every body, I preſume, is conſcious of his dreaming more or leſs, and when he is awake cannot help ſometimes reflecting a little upon ſuch ſtrange and ſurpriſing incidents; but the queſtion is what are his reflections upon this occaſion, and how are his waking thoughts employed about his ſleeping ones.

The royal preacher hints both at the uſe and abuſe of dreams in the following words (Eccleſ. V. 7.) " In the multitude of dreams and " many words there are alſo divers vanities; but fear thou God:" Or as it may be tranſlated better and nearer to the original, " In the mul- " titude of dreams both vanities and words are multiplied; but fear " thou God." And we will purſue the ſame deſign, and inlarge upon the

(1) Παν πραγμα δυο ιχει λαβας. Epictetus.

(2) Prudens

the text, firſt by giving ſome inſtances of the *abuſe* of dreams, and ſecondly by pointing out other more proper *uſes* to which they may be applied. " In the multitude of dreams both vanities and words are " multiplied; but fear thou God."

I. The firſt and moſt principal inſtance of the *abuſe* of dreams, becauſe the moſt common, is the laying ſtreſs upon them in the conduct of life, and regarding them as ſignificative of future events. For how are ſome people elated, when they have had as they think a propitious dream! and again how are they terrified and dejected, when they imagin it to portend ſome evil! To weak minds there is not a more fruitful ſource of horror and ſuperſtition. They would not undertake any thing of conſequence for fear it ſhould miſcarry; and the viſions of the night make them miſerable all the day. And if any croſs accident ſhould intervene, though never ſo contrary to expectation, yet they reckon it all to this account, and conclude their dream to be fulfilled; they knew ſome misfortune would befall them, and their heart had boaded as much before. Thus they confirm themſelves in their ſuperſtition, and one imagined omen prepares and diſpoſes them for the eaſier reception and belief of another.

" He that obſerveth the wind ſhall not ſow, and he that regardeth " the clouds ſhall not reap," ſaith Solomon in another place; (Eccleſ. XI. 4) and the man who regardeth his dreams, obſerveth what is altogether as uncertain, and ſhall ſow nothing but folly and reap the fruits of it. Not but ſome dreams may be ſo ordered as to be predictive of future events, and whoever can queſtion it muſt deny the credibility of all hiſtory: but the examples are too few to create any rational aſſurance and dependence upon the event; and where it hath ſucceeded in one inſtance, it hath failed in millions. (2) What ſhall be hereafter, and how, and when, and where, God hath wiſely wrapt in night from our ſearch and diſcovery; and it is not eaſy to determin whether the folly or preſumption is greater in ſhort-ſighted man to be prying into futurity. Be ſollicitous for nothing but to do your duty,

(2) Prudens futuri temporis exitum
Caliginoſa nocte premit Deus, &c. Hor.

(3) Nihil

duty, and refer the iſſues and events of things to providence: and in this reſpect it may be ſaid very properly, (Matt. VI. 34.) "Take no "thought for the morrow, for the morrow ſhall take thought for "the things of itſelf; ſufficient unto the day is the evil thereof."

2. Another folly, near akin to the foregoing, and uſually an attendent upon it, is the delighting to relate one's dreams in company, and to liſten to the interpretation of others. And this abuſe ſeemeth alſo to be particularly hinted at in the words of the text, "In the "multitude of dreams both vanities and words are multiplied;" "words" are multiplied as well as "vanities," and they furniſh idle people with matter for much idle diſcourſe. But nothing is more tedious and irkſome to perſons of ingenuity than this ſleepy converſation. Relate not therefore your dream to another, for though you may be delighted with telling it, yet a perſon of underſtanding can take no pleaſure in hearing it. And what certainty can there be in the interpretation of dreams, when the general rule is that they go by contraries? Without doubt God may if he pleaſes inſpire one man with a dream and another with the interpretation, but ſuch inſtances belong to the age of miracles which hath ceaſed long ago. It is with our interpreters of dreams, as with all other fortune-tellers. It is merely by chance if they are in the right. There is all the moral certainty that they are in the wrong: and therefore we may ſay with the prophet, (Jer. XXIX. 8, 13.) "Let not your diviners that be in the "midſt of you deceive you, neither hearken to your dreams, which "ye cauſe to be dreamed; but ye ſhall ſeek me, ſaith the Lord, and "find me, when ye ſhall ſearch for me with all your heart."

3. Becauſe our dreams are for the moſt part ſo wild and extravagant, ſome men have therefore argued that rational thinking depends upon the body, and would thence infer the materiality of the ſoul. But here we muſt take care to diſtinguiſh. It may be true, that rational thinking doth depend upon a right diſpoſition of body, but we muſt remember not as the cauſe but only as the inſtrument. There may not be rational thinking without a right diſpoſition of body, but a right diſpoſition of body is not therefore the efficient cauſe of rational

tional thinking. The body may hinder thought, but cannot effect it. The faculties of the ſoul like the light may be obſcured and eclipſed by an interpoſing body; but remove the obſtruction, and the light will ſhine out again in its full force and luſtre.

4. As ſome men have argued from our dreams againſt an immaterial ſubſtance, others would infer from them that there is no material ſubſtance. Becauſe the impreſſions made on our ſenſories are ſo ſtrong when we are aſleep, in the abſence of the objects themſelves, it is imagined that the caſe may be the ſame when we are awake, and there is no more reality in the one ſtate than in the other; all is viſionary in both. But ſuch ſingular opinions are peculiar to philoſophers, I may ſay to minute philoſophers, and ſtand in need of none other refutation but barely to mention them. A man only of common ſenſe could never think and argue after this manner. He muſt be ingenious in abſurdity to deviate ſo much from the right road of thinking. And indeed, as (3) Cicero hath ſaid, there is ſcarce any thing ſo monſtrous and abſurd, but ſome or other of the philoſophers hath aſſerted it.

II. In this manner men deceive themſelves and deceive others; and having given ſome inſtances of the *abuſe* of dreams, we ſhall now proceed to point out other more proper *uſes* to which they may be applied.

And firſt it is an inquiry worthy of a real philoſopher to conſider what may be the cauſe of dreaming, and what is the moſt probable and rational method of accounting for our viſions. The ſubject is curious, if it be curiouſly handled: and either way, I believe, we may reap ſome advantage from it, whether we can or cannot complete the diſcovery, and give an adequate ſolution or not.

If we can diſcover the cauſe, we ſhall make a notable diſcovery indeed, we ſhall gratify a moſt natural curioſity, we ſhall accompliſh what the ancients and our fathers have attempted in vain; and perhaps it may enable us to make farther diſcoveries, truths uſually following in train, and one ſmoothing and opening the way for others. Now the cauſes, which have been aſſigned or may be aſſigned, are all perhaps

(3) Nihil tam abſurde dici poteſt, quod non dicatur ab aliquo philoſophorum. Cic. de Divin. II. 58.

perhaps reducible to theſe three, and in all probability it muſt be one or other of them; either the action of the body upon the ſoul, or of the ſoul upon the body, or of ſome other ſpirit upon both; and it may be worth our while to conſider a little, which is the likelieſt candidate, and approacheth neareſt to the truth.

As to the action of the body upon the ſoul, who can conceive it poſſible, eſpecially if he hath in the leaſt conſidered the paſſiveneſs inactivity and deadneſs of matter, that a *vis inertiæ* as it is called is neceſſary and eſſential to it, that it is entirely deſtitute of all powers, excepting only this one negative power, that every part of it will of itſelf always and neceſſarily continue in the ſame ſtate, whether of reſt or motion, wherein it is at preſent: And how can ſuch a ſubſtance, howſoever compounded or decompounded, in any configuration or under any modification whatſoever, paint ſuch lively pictures in the fancy, and repreſent not only the greateſt variety of material objects, but even whole ſcenes of diſcourſe and action? If our dreams were owing to the mechaniſm of the body, they would be like all other mechanical effects more conſtant and regular; but the irregularity and extravagance of them, if there was nothing elſe, are of themſelves ſufficient to refute all thoſe who would account for them mechanically according to the laws of matter and motion. If they were occaſioned by any traces left in the ſenſory, they would preſent us with nothing but what we had ſeen or thought of before, and the viſions of the night would all conſiſt of the ideas of the day; but we frequently ſee perſons and things ſuch as we never thought of before, nay ſuch perhaps as never exiſted, and inſtead of dreaming always of what is paſt we dream ſometimes of what is future and what afterwards happens accordingly.

The action of the body upon the ſoul cannot poſſibly then be the cauſe of dreaming; more probably it is the action of the ſoul upon the body. But how can the ſoul act in this wonderful manner, and yet not be conſcious that her own operations are her own operations? how can ſhe raiſe ſo many phantoms without being in the leaſt ſenſible that they are of her raiſing? Others are actors in our dreams as well

as ourſelves; and how can ſhe miſtake her own ſuggeſtions for the diſcourſe and actions of others? The ſoul is paſſive and ſuffers as much upon occaſion when we are aſleep as when we are awake; and how can ſhe at the very ſame time and in the very ſame inſtance be both agent and patient, act upon herſelf and ſuffer from herſelf, and yet be not at all conſcious of either?

Are not theſe ſeeming impoſſibilities? and muſt we not then look out for ſome other cauſe? and what other cauſe can we deviſe or imagin ſo probable as the action of ſome other ſpirit upon the ſoul or ſenſory while we are aſleep? All other ways the thing ſeemeth impoſſible; this way it is poſſible, though liable indeed to inexplicable difficulties and invincible objections. It may ſeem ſtrange that our dreams, if owing at all to the influence of other ſpirits, ſhould not be more coherent and rational than they uſually are. But we have no manner of notion how many different degrees and ſpecies there are of ſpirits in the univerſe. It is reaſonable to believe, that there is an infinitely greater variety of immaterial beings than of material, and that the univerſe is fuller of ſpirit than of matter. As we can by no means comprehend the number and diverſity of ſpiritual beings, ſo much leſs can we have any conception of all their powers and faculties, of all their ways and manners of acting. How do we know but the irregularity of our dreams may proceed from the indiſpoſition of the organ rather than from the imperfection of the agent, from ſome obſtruction in the brain or ſenſory rather than from any incapacity in the ſpirit at that time acting upon the ſenſory? Or if we could not ſolve all the difficulties of this hypotheſis which however is poſſible, yet ſhould we not prefer it to any other hypotheſis which is plainly impoſſible? There are inexplicable difficulties in almoſt every other part of phyſics; but rather than admit difficulties, ſhall we believe impoſſibilities?

But this hypotheſis, you may imagin, will encourage ſuperſtition rather than cure it: but if it be true, truth can never by any legitimate conſequence beget ſuperſtition; and can there be any queſtion whether we ſhall be more ſuperſtitious in referring theſe appearances to ſpiritual agents, or to chance which is only a name and the powers

of

perhaps reducible to theſe three, and in all probability it muſt be one or other of them; either the action of the body upon the ſoul, or of the ſoul upon the body, or of ſome other ſpirit upon both; and it may be worth our while to conſider a little, which is the likelieſt candidate, and approacheth neareſt to the truth.

As to the action of the body upon the ſoul, who can conceive it poſſible, eſpecially if he hath in the leaſt conſidered the paſſiveneſs inactivity and deadneſs of matter, that a *vis inertiæ* as it is called is neceſſary and eſſential to it, that it is entirely deſtitute of all powers, excepting only this one negative power, that every part of it will of itſelf always and neceſſarily continue in the ſame ſtate, whether of reſt or motion, wherein it is at preſent: And how can ſuch a ſubſtance, howſoever compounded or decompounded, in any configuration or under any modification whatſoever, paint ſuch lively pictures in the fancy, and repreſent not only the greateſt variety of material objects, but even whole ſcenes of diſcourſe and action? If our dreams were owing to the mechaniſm of the body, they would be like all other mechanical effects more conſtant and regular; but the irregularity and extravagance of them, if there was nothing elſe, are of themſelves ſufficient to refute all thoſe who would account for them mechanically according to the laws of matter and motion. If they were occaſioned by any traces left in the ſenſory, they would preſent us with nothing but what we had ſeen or thought of before, and the viſions of the night would all conſiſt of the ideas of the day; but we frequently ſee perſons and things ſuch as we never thought of before, nay ſuch perhaps as never exiſted, and inſtead of dreaming always of what is paſt we dream ſometimes of what is future and what afterwards happens accordingly.

The action of the body upon the ſoul cannot poſſibly then be the cauſe of dreaming; more probably it is the action of the ſoul upon the body. But how can the ſoul act in this wonderful manner, and yet not be conſcious that her own operations are her own operations? how can ſhe raiſe ſo many phantoms without being in the leaſt ſenſible that they are of her raiſing? Others are actors in our dreams as well

as ourſelves; and how can ſhe miſtake her own ſuggeſtions for the diſcourſe and actions of others? The ſoul is paſſive and ſuffers as much upon occaſion when we are aſleep as when we are awake; and how can ſhe at the very ſame time and in the very ſame inſtance be both agent and patient, act upon herſelf and ſuffer from herſelf, and yet be not at all conſcious of either?

Are not theſe ſeeming impoſſibilities? and muſt we not then look out for ſome other cauſe? and what other cauſe can we deviſe or imagin ſo probable as the action of ſome other ſpirit upon the ſoul or ſenſory while we are aſleep? All other ways the thing ſeemeth impoſſible; this way it is poſſible, though liable indeed to inexplicable difficulties and invincible objections. It may ſeem ſtrange that our dreams, if owing at all to the influence of other ſpirits, ſhould not be more coherent and rational than they uſually are. But we have no manner of notion how many different degrees and ſpecies there are of ſpirits in the univerſe. It is reaſonable to believe, that there is an infinitely greater variety of immaterial beings than of material, and that the univerſe is fuller of ſpirit than of matter. As we can by no means comprehend the number and diverſity of ſpiritual beings, ſo much leſs can we have any conception of all their powers and faculties, of all their ways and manners of acting. How do we know but the irregularity of our dreams may proceed from the indiſpoſition of the organ rather than from the imperfection of the agent, from ſome obſtruction in the brain or ſenſory rather than from any incapacity in the ſpirit at that time acting upon the ſenſory? Or if we could not ſolve all the difficulties of this hypotheſis which however is poſſible, yet ſhould we not prefer it to any other hypotheſis which is plainly impoſſible? There are inexplicable difficulties in almoſt every other part of phyſics; but rather than admit difficulties, ſhall we believe impoſſibilities?

But this hypotheſis, you may imagin, will encourage ſuperſtition rather than cure it: but if it be true, truth can never by any legitimate conſequence beget ſuperſtition; and can there be any queſtion whether we ſhall be more ſuperſtitious in referring theſe appearances to ſpiritual agents, or to chance which is only a name and the powers

of

of matter which are nothing? It is certain the philoſophy of this age attributes too much to matter and the powers of matter, and too little to ſpirit; whereas in reality the one is never more than an inſtrument, the other is always the agent. The principle of gravitation itſelf, anſwering as is very well known not to the ſurface of bodies but to their ſolid content, cannot poſſibly be accounted for by any action of matter upon matter, but muſt of neceſſity be reſolved into ſome immaterial cauſe, that penetrates the inmoſt ſubſtances of things, and exerts a power of which matter is altogether incapable: and if even matter cannot act upon matter without the agency of ſome ſpiritual being, why ſhould we think it ſtrange to have recourſe to ſuch a cauſe for the production of ſo much more extraordinary effects as dreams and viſions? There is many a one, I believe, who ſome time or other in his life hath dreamed of ſomething happening to him, that hath made a moſt ſurpriſing impreſſion upon him; and the thing hath happened afterwards in the very ſame manner and with the very ſame circumſtances as in his dream. And have not ſuch dreams confeſſedly ſomething of *divine* in them, and do they not plainly declare a ſpiritual original? and ſhall we aſcribe ſome to ſpiritual and ſome to material cauſes? or ſhall we not rather be more conſiſtent with ourſelves, and ſuppoſe that good ſpirits may inſpire ſome as evil ſpirits may excite others?

It is a ſentiment as old (4) Homer that dreams are from Jupiter: and the beſt and wiſeſt authors of antiquity ſpeak the ſame language. Nay what is more, the ſcriptures themſelves, the oracles of truth, ſpeak always of dreams and viſions as proceeding from God immediately or mediately, by his inſpiration or by the agency of angels and ſpirits through his permiſſion: and the worſe ſort of dreams is expreſly attributed to the ſame cauſe as well as the better. Hear how holy Job complains in the bitterneſs of his ſoul, (VII. 13, 14.) "When I ſay "my bed ſhall comfort me, my couch ſhall eaſe my complaint; then "thou ſcareſt me with dreams, and terrifieſt me through viſions." And as ſome ſpiritual agents are confeſſedly the cauſe of ſome dreams, is

(4) ——οναρ τε Διος εστιν. Il. I. 63.

is it not moſt probable that other ſpiritual agents are the cauſe or occaſion of others? And if one ſufficient cauſe is inveſtigated, why ſhould we not reſt contented, why look out for others? Theſe things are humbly offered by no means as a certain, but only as a probable ſolution of the difficulty; by no means as infallible truths, but only as reaſonable conjectures in a dark and intricate ſubject, which deſerves farther conſideration.

But if we find after all, that we cannot diſcover the cauſe of dreaming, and that we know too little of the nature of the ſoul and of its union with the body to be able to account for our viſions; we may however learn modeſty and humility, and be convinced that our underſtandings are very unequal and very imperfect meaſures of truth; that things may be, though we cannot tell how they be; that therefore we may reaſonably believe the myſteries of religion which yet we cannot explain; that ſleeping as well as waking we are a myſtery to ourſelves; that it is no objection againſt the immateriality of the ſoul becauſe we cannot account for the union of an immaterial being with a material, for we cannot even account for our own dreams; that it is no argument againſt a future ſtate becauſe we cannot conceive how the ſoul will act when the body is dead, for we cannot even conceive how the ſoul acteth and is acted upon while the body is only aſleep; that the works of God are unſearchable, and (Ecclus XVIII. 7.) "when "a man hath done then he beginneth, and when he leaveth off then "he ſhall be doubtful." (Pſal. CXXXIX. 6.) "Such knowlege is "too wonderful for us; it is high, we cannot attain unto it."

2. Our dreams may be of excellent uſe in another reſpect, foraſmuch as by them we may in ſome meaſure learn what is our natural diſpoſition and temper. Our viſions frequently take a tincture from our thoughts and paſſions. What is uppermoſt in our minds by day, that is often the matter whereof our dreams are made up at night. And if we will but obſerve them properly, the general tenor of them may help us to diſcover our general bent and inclination, whether we are ambitious, or whether we are libidinous, or whether we are revengeful, or what is the ruling paſſion of our ſouls. All artifice, all

diſguiſe is then laid aſide; and the man appears in his natural and genuin colors. And by theſe means the time that is taken up in ſleep will not be entirely loſt, but we ſhall improve in the moſt uſeful knowlege, the knowlege of ourſelves.

3. Our dreams may be of farther uſe and advantage, as they may furniſh us with no inconſiderable arguments for the immateriality and immortality of our ſouls. It is commonly ſaid that ſleep is the brother and image of death; and in one reſpect indeed it is ſo, a token of the mortality of the body, but a pledge of the immortality of the ſoul. For it is very evident, that the ſoul is in great meaſure independent of the body, even while ſhe is within the body, ſince the deepeſt ſleep that poſſeſſeth the one cannot affect the other; and while the avenues of the body are all locked up and cloſed, the ſoul is ſtill indued with ſenſe and perception, and the impreſſions are often ſtronger, and the images more lively, when we are aſleep than when we are awake. They muſt neceſſarily be two diſtinct and different ſubſtances, whoſe natures and properties, whoſe conſtitutions and conditions are ſo very different, that while the one ſhall ſink under the burden and fatigue of the day, the other ſhall ſtill be freſh and active as the flame; while the one ſhall ſtand in need of ſuch frequent repairs, and cannot ſubſiſt without its due returns of reſt, the other ſhall diſdain all reſt, want no reſtoratives, and yet be ſenſible of no decay; while the one ſhall lie little better than a carcaſs dead to the world and buried in ſleep, the other ſhall then enter upon new ſcenes, and be ranging in thought through the univerſe. And why then ſhould the death of the one be any more the death of the other, than the ſleep of the one is the ſleep of the other? ſince the ſoul can think and act in this manner without the body, even while ſhe is joined to the body, why ſhould ſhe not be able to think and act in a more inlarged and more exalted manner, when ſhe ſhall be ſeparated from the body, or united to a ſpiritual body that ſhall no longer hinder her operations? Since the ſoul hath her diſtinct joys and ſorrows, pleaſures and pains, while the body is ſenſeleſs and aſleep, why ſhould ſhe not be capable of the ſame alſo, when the body ſhall be no more? and ſince the ſenſations

ſations and affections are uſually ſtronger in ſleep, when the ſoul hath leſs to do with the body, why ſhould they not be ſtronger ſtill after death, when the ſoul ſhall have nothing to do with the body at all, when (1 Cor. XV. 54.) "this corruptible ſhall have put on incor-"ruption, and this mortal ſhall have put on immortality?"

4. And for the concluſion of all, "Fear God. In the multitude "of dreams both vanities and words are multiplied, but fear thou "God. He is about thy path, and about thy bed, and ſpyeth out "all thy ways." He hath an abſolute power over thy ſoul, and can either raviſh thee with the moſt pleaſing images, or torment thee with the moſt terrible viſions; and if there was none other heaven or hell, could conſtitute one in thine own boſom. Revere therefore his power, and truſt in his mercy. Beware of ſinning againſt him, as thou wouldſt live eaſily and ſleep ſecurely. A guilty conſcience will haunt thee upon thy bed worſe than ghoſts and ſpecters; and the ſleep which ſhould refreſh thee, will diſtract thee, and thy very reſt will be wearineſs. Live a life of ſobriety and temperance, and thy ſleep will be ſweet. Broken reſt and frightful dreams are often occaſioned through fulneſs and indigeſtion. And ſleeping as well as waking commend thyſelf to God; and by day he will direct thee, by night he will protect thee, and bid his angels watch over thee that nothing ſhall approach to hurt thee. When thou lieſt down, pray to God and ſay (Pſal. IV. 9.) "I will lay me down in peace and take my reſt, for it "is thou Lord only that makeſt me to dwell in ſafety." When thou riſeſt up, give thanks and ſay (Pſal. III. 5.) "I laid me down, and "ſlept, and roſe up again, for the Lord ſuſtained me." By no means be ſuperſtitious, but yet be religious; and in all events be ready to profeſs with the good pſalmiſt, (XXX. 7.) "I have hated "them that hold of ſuperſtitious vanities, but my truſt hath been "in the Lord:" Or as the ſon of Sirach hath expreſſed the ſame ſentiment more at large, (Ecclus XXXIV. 1, &c.) "The hopes of a "man void of underſtanding are vain and falſe, and dreams lift up "fools: Whoſo regardeth dreams is like him that catcheth at a ſha-"dow, and followeth after the wind: If they be not ſent from the

" moſt High in thy viſitation, ſet not thy heart upon them: For
" dreams have deceived many, and they have failed that put their
" truſt in them: The law ſhall be found perfect without lies, and
" wiſdom is perfection to a faithful mouth: The ſpirit of thoſe
" that fear the Lord ſhall live, for their hope is in him that ſaveth
" them."

The foregoing diſcourſe was compoſed ſoon after the reading of Mr. Baxter's excellent book intitled *An inquiry into the nature of the human ſoul*, wherein the phænomenon of dreaming is explained more at large, as well as ſeveral other abſtruſe and difficult points of natural philoſophy, with the greateſt clearneſs of reaſon and ſtrength of argument.

DISSERTATION XXVII.

On the abuſe of names and words.

AS all things are liable to be corrupted and abuſed, and the corruption of the beſt is always the worſt; ſo nothing perhaps is capable of doing more good, and at the ſame time hath been perverted to do more harm, than the faculty of *ſpeech* and *language*. I do not mean only when this noble faculty is proſtituted and profaned in blaſphemy, ſwearing, lying, or any irreligious and wicked diſcourſe, or any indecent and fooliſh converſation; but it may be abuſed, and often is abuſed in various other ways and manners to the great loſs of time and exerciſe of the hearer's patience.

A needleſs profuſion of language is itſelf a manifeſt abuſe, and let it be ever ſo innocent, yet to perſons of underſtanding at leaſt it muſt be

be tedious, as it is impertinent. How many impoſe upon others, and very often upon themſelves, by falſe points of wit, ſimiles and metaphors, tropes and figures, and miſlead the judgment by dazzling the imagination! How many affect to make uſe of hard words, without any clear and determinate ideas, or even with none at all, neither underſtanding themſelves and confounding others! How many are exceeding unſteddy in their application of names and words, now uſe them in one ſignification and then in another, as beſt promotes their preſent purpoſe and occaſion! How many are obſcure and equivocal in their phraſes and expreſſions, have ſtill ſome ſecret meaning in reſerve, and if exception be taken at their words in one ſenſe, can eaſily explain them in another! and by theſe means diſputes are increaſed, and controverſies become endleſs, but knowlege inſtead of being advanced is buried under the rubbiſh of books and words.

But of all the abuſes of language none perhaps is more notorious, or more fruitful of fatal conſequences, than that ſpecified and reprehended by Iſaiah, " the calling of evil good and good evil." (Iſa. V. 20, 23.) " Woe unto them that call evil good and good evil, that " put darkneſs for light and light for darkneſs, that put bitter for " ſweet and ſweet for bitter: Which juſtify the wicked for reward, " and take away the righteouſneſs of the righteous from him." And we will firſt give ſome inſtances of this abuſe and miſapplication of names and words; and ſecondly endevor to ſhow the great wickedneſs and miſchievous effects of it, which deſerve a woe to be pronounced againſt it. " Woe unto them that call evil good and good " evil."

I. We will give ſome inſtances of this abuſe and miſapplication of names and words. The text is by commentators, I think, generally underſtood of judicial proceedings; and it is certain that an advocate's pleading to varniſh over and vindicate guilt, and to diſguiſe and ſuppreſs the truth, and a judge's regarding the perſons of men more than the juſtneſs of the cauſe, and giving an iniquous ſentence out of hatred or affection, is really and truly " calling evil good, and good " evil, juſtifying the wicked for reward, and taking away the righte-

" ouſneſs

" ouſneſs of the righteous from him." But there is no neceſſity for reſtraining the text to a particular ſenſe, when it will as well admit of a more general interpretation.

All who by their writings or diſcourſes or practices endevor to confound the nature of virtue and vice, and to leſſen our reverence of the one, our horror of the other, may very properly be charged with " calling evil good and good evil;" whether they deny the eternal and eſſential difference of right and wrong, juſt and unjuſt, and reſolve it all into the effects of prejudice and education, or derive it wholly from the force and influence of faſhion and cuſtom, or aſcribe it to the power of the Leviathan, the governing power, that conſtitutes the lawfulneſs or unlawfulneſs of things by enacting or forbidding them: or whether they plead the expedience and neceſſity of ſome crimes, and maintain that private vices are public benefits; or pervert their wit and ſatir to ridicule and miſrepreſent what is virtuous and praiſe-worthy, and exhibit a vicious character as the favorite character with all poſſible circumſtances to render it agreeable: or whether they pretend godlineſs to ſanctify iniquity, make a market of pardons and indulgences, ſubſtitute ſuperſtitious rites and ceremonies in the room of true piety and virtue, reconcile the hopes of heaven with a wicked life, and inſtruct men how near they may approach unto ſin without ſinning, threaten damnation to the moſt virtuous of another communion, and promiſe ſalvation to the moſt vicious of their own.

Some virtues border very nearly upon ſome vices, and like different colors in painting run into one another, ſo that it is extremely difficult to ſay exactly where is the end of one and beginning of another: and here therefore men may eaſily miſtake, eſpecially if they will miſtake wilfully; and our friends and flatterers have ſome opportunity to embelliſh and repreſent things better, and our enemies and revilers may take occaſion to blacken and repreſent matters worſe, than they are in reality. Courage and raſhneſs, cowardice and meekneſs, generoſity and extravagance, frugality and covetouſneſs, pride and magnanimity, humility and meanneſs, dulneſs and gravity, cunning and wiſdom,

zeal

zeal and bigottry, luke-warmneſs and moderation, religion and ſuperſtition, how frequently have they been confounded, and the one miſtaken and miſapplied for the other!

Above all when men are heated and inflamed by party, whether in church or ſtate, how apt are they to throw out names and characters at random, think no ſort of language too opprobrious for thoſe who differ from them, or too honorable for thoſe who concur with them, vilify even the virtues of the former, and dignify the very vices of the latter!

How hath almoſt every little ſect of Chriſtians appropriated to itſelf the denomination of *the Church of Chriſt*; and a part only, and the moſt corrupt part of it, claimed the title of the whole, and been proudly ſtiled *the catholic Church!* How have the names of *heretic* and *ſchiſmatic* been banded to and fro among Chriſtians of different communities and perſuaſions; and ſome of the very beſt men, lovers of truth and ſervants of the God of truth, been ſo ſtigmatized by ſome of the very worſt, pretended champions for religion, but really an offenſe and ſcandal to it! How have ſome of the moſt eminent men, whom the Church of England ever bred, and who have ſignalized themſelves moſt by their immortal writings againſt popery, been branded notwithſtanding with the odious appellation of *papiſts!* and how have ſome again arrogated to themſelves the merit of being the only true *proteſtants*, when they are in reality the tools and inſtruments of papiſts, and (whether they underſtand it or not) the greateſt factors and abetters of popery! If a man happens to be a little more religious than ordinary, how is he preſently traduced under the character of *enthuſiaſt*, *madman*, and what not! and on the other ſide how often have the moſt extravagant rants of enthuſiaſm, and rhapſodies of nonſenſe and blaſphemy, been eſteemed *the only edifying preaching*, and the preachers ſaid to be *moved by the Holy Ghoſt!*

Nothing is more common than for *faction* and *ſedition* to wear the dreſs and aſſume the name of *patriotiſm* and *public ſpirit*; and again, for *public ſpirit* and *patriotiſm* to be ridiculed and exploded under the notion of *ſedition* and *faction*. *Prerogative* is often but another

word

word for *uſurpation*, and *liberty* only a more popular name for *licentiouſneſs*. It is certain that *republicaniſm* is not *anarchy* and *confuſion*, neither is all *monarchy tyranny* and *arbitrary power*; but yet the men of different principles will ſo miſrepreſent and miſcall both the one and the other. In ſhort any thing may be made any thing, qualities and perſons change their names, black ſhall be white, and white ſhall become black, a Cato ſhall be decried as a Cataline and a Cataline extolled as a Cato, if the voice of prejudice ſo pleaſes.

A man of pleaſure, as he is commonly called, is he really a man of pleaſure, or can there be any true ſolid laſting pleaſure without religion and virtue? Conſider the pains he taketh in his unlawful purſuits; how vaſt his expectations are before, and how little his ſatisfaction after enjoyment; how he generally loſes his reputation, ruins his fortune, deſtroys the health of his body, confounds the peace of his mind; and then conſider whether this is not more a life of pain than of pleaſure, of pain here and miſery hereafter.

Can any appellation be more glorious than *a man of honor?* but how is the beſt of names debaſed and applied to the worſt of perſons? *A man of honor* in the modern phraſe is one who boldly aſſerts that he is ſo, and will cut any man's throat who ſhall dare to queſtion it. *A man of honor* is above paying his tradeſmen's bills and ſatisfying his juſt and legal creditors; he will plead privilege or any thing rather than be punctual and honeſt; the only debts which he ever diſcharges are what are called his *debts of honor*. *A man of honor* will ſwear and forſwear, talk big things and act little ones, do an injury but forgive none, and with an implacable hatred purſue an innocent man to death for ſuch things, as it would be a greater victory, a nobler triumph to overlook and pardon. So far is he from acting with honor, that he doth not even act with common honeſty; and certainly honor is the ſtrictneſs, the nicety, the punctilio of honeſty, the flower, the quinteſſence, the perfection of virtue, or as we ſay, heroic virtue.

The word *orthodox* you ſeldom hear mentioned in converſation without a manifeſt ſneer; but is there any thing then really ridiculous in *orthodoxy?* or on the contrary is it not much to be valued and deſired,

if

if there is any thing valuable and deſirable in what the word properly ſignifies, *right ſentiments and opinions?* But in a looſe and licentious age, when ſome men can glory in being thought heretics, no wonder that others are ridiculed for being orthodox.

What can be worſe in ſound than the word *free-thinker*, as it is commonly applied, and better in its original ſignification? To think freely is both our privilege and our duty, the dignity and excellence of our nature; but can they with any propriety of ſpeech be called *free-thinkers*, who think in the moſt ſlaviſh abject manner, have ſouls hardly elevated above matter, and as they generally live like the beaſts, entertain no greater hopes and expectations than that they ſhall alſo die like them? Let them for ſhame renounce the title of *free-thinking*, when their fault is want of thinking. It is not ſuperior thought and reaſon that directs and influences them, but ſuperior luſt and paſſion.

II. Several other inſtances might be aſſigned of this abuſe and miſapplication of names and words, but theſe are ſufficient to explain the nature of the ſin here cenſured, "the calling of evil good "and good evil:" and therefore now ſecondly we will endevor to ſhow the great wickedneſs and miſchievous effects of it, which deſerve a woe to be pronounced againſt it, "Woe unto them that call evil "good and good evil."

It is manifeſtly perverting the uſe and intent of ſpeech, and is the moſt dangerous ſort of lying and falſehood. (1) *Verba valent ut nummi*, words obtain their currency like money, and ſuch an abuſe and miſapplication of words is as if one ſhould endevor to put off his counters for gold, only with this difference, that no body will take our falſe money, but others may eaſily be deceived by our falſe language, and we very often deceive ourſelves. Such and ſuch words are by conſtant uſage made and agreed upon as it were to be the ſigns of ſuch and ſuch ideas, and to apply them otherwiſe, to denominate "evil good and good evil" is plainly to fruſtrate and defeat the end of

(1) Horace.

of language, to ſpoil and abuſe the great inſtrument of ſociety intercourſe and correſpondence among men. It muſt be ſtrange depravity conſidered in any light, betrays moſt groſs ignorance indeed if done ignorantly, and if done knowingly argues as great wickedneſs.

But neither is this the moſt material objection to it; for it is not only perverting language and abuſing words, but what is ſtill more unpardonable, perverting nature, and confounding as much as in us lieth the eternal differences of things. Moral good and evil are as evidently diſtinguiſhed as natural good and evil; and I know not whether the abſurdity is not greater, as well as the conſequences more fatal, of confounding the former than the latter. The prophet intimates that "the calling evil good and good evil" is altogether as unnatural and monſtrous as "putting darkneſs for light and light for darkneſs, "bitter for ſweet and ſweet for bitter." He would be reckoned guilty of murder, who ſhould adminiſter poiſon for phyſic; and would his crime be leſs, who ſhould recommend vice for virtue? That could only deſtroy the body, but this would ruin the ſoul.

Conſider what is generally the occaſion of this abuſe and miſapplication of names and words. I am afraid that it proceeds always from evil, men hoping by theſe means to keep their vices in countenance, and poſſibly to render them even faſhionable. Virtue is nearly related to truth, it is really truth of action, and ſtandeth in need of no paint and diſguiſe, but appears to the greateſt advantage in its own native colors; the plaineſt words become it beſt, and thoſe who repreſent it trueſt commend it moſt. But vice cannot ſubſiſt without artifice and falſehood, fictitious ornaments muſt hide its real deformity, it cannot bear to be deſcribed or ſpoken of in its proper characters; but ſofter appellations muſt be given it, modiſh phraſes invented, and artful names contrived to leſſen the horror of the thing. It is a certain ſign that men are not very virtuous themſelves, when they ridicule and miſrepreſent the virtues of others; and would they ſpeak favorably of vice, and call *debauchery* for inſtance only *gallantry*, *gaming* only *play*, *drunkenneſs* and *gluttony good-living*, and the like, unleſs they were favorably inclined to thoſe vices themſelves? The faſhion may draw

in

in others afterwards to ſpeak the ſame language, but it proceeds originally from evil. "Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth "ſpeaketh;" (Matt. XII. 34.) and as we diſcover the genius and character of particular perſons by their diſcourſe, ſo we may learn the genius and character of the age in general from the current language of the times. In a ſober and virtuous age, there is always a modeſty and decency, a dignity and virtue in their ſpeeches as well as in their actions; but in an immoral and irreligious age, a certain levity of diſcourſe prevails, public virtues are ridiculed, and private vices are defended, and the ſame looſeneſs and licentiouſneſs reign equally in their life and converſation.

As this abuſe of language proceeds always from evil, ſo it conduces always to evil, and is the fruitful ſource of moſt of the miſchief and wickedneſs in the world. It is almoſt impoſſible to conceive the great force of words to do either good or harm. Men may be led by a whiſtle like beaſts, and are often governed more by ſound than by ſenſe, by words than by things. Cæſar quieted a mutiny in his army by a ſingle word, by calling them *citizens* inſtead of ſoldiers; and how often have we known a ſingle word inflame a whole multitude, and a nickname render even the beſt of perſons and the beſt of things ridiculous and odious?

What are half of the controverſies which are ſo hotly agitated in the learned world, but diſputes about words? and if they would only define their terms, and conſtantly affix the ſame ideas to the ſame words, what a ſaving would it be of time and trouble, and how much idle anger and altercation might be prevented?

How much have the peace and honor of the nation ſuffered from names and words through the folly and madneſs of many for the gain and ſervice of a few? The *word* is often given out among parties, as it is in armies: and the word *ſhibboleth* (Judg. XII.) was not more deſtructive to the Ephraimites of old, than ſome others have been in the fatal diviſions of our own people. And how have their ghoſts continued to haunt and divide us ſtill; and party-names and diſtinctions been kept alive, when the things ſignified by them have died long

ago; and honeſt men been made to think that they differed, when they really agreed, and equally wiſhed the good of their king and country?

What is flattery but "calling evil good," and what is ſcandal but "calling good evil?" and how many have been betrayed and pleaſed to their ruin by the one, how many again have been ſtung to the heart and made miſerable by the other? If you will obſerve it, moſt of the ſin and wickedneſs in the world is derived from the ſame ſource. Men do not forſake good *as* good, and commit evil *as* evil; but others repreſent things to them, or they repreſent them to themſelves, in falſe lights, good as evil and evil as good. Their luſts and paſſions blind the eyes of their minds; and no one was ever drawn into ſin, but he was firſt deceived with the promiſe of ſome advantage, the proſpect of ſome pleaſure or other. It hath been with mankind ever ſince, as it was with our firſt parents in the beginning. They were deluded by empty words, they were flattered that they ſhould be "as gods "knowing good and evil;" and while they promiſed themſelves happineſs, they forfeited paradiſe, and entailed death upon themſelves and their poſterity.

It is really the higheſt point of wickedneſs to recommend vice for virtue, and to decry virtue for vice. Many men can do what yet they cannot ſpeak; and it is eaſier to them to commit villany than to commend it. At leaſt the next ſtep to confounding good and evil in diſcourſe is confounding them in practice; and he who hath effrontery enough to do the one, will hardly refrain from the other.

You have heard ſeveral inſtances of this abuſe and miſapplication of names and words; you have ſeen the great wickedneſs and miſchievous effects of it; which deſerve a woe to be pronounced againſt it, "Woe "unto them that call evil good and good evil." And now therefore for the concluſion of all, let us determin to reverence truth; adhere to it religiouſly, inviolably in every thing that we ſay; and honeſtly and reſolutely call good good and evil evil. Let no favor or affection engage us, let no hatred or enmity provoke us, to "call evil good

"and

" and good evil." (2) This man may be a friend, and that man may be a friend, but the deareſt friend of all ought to be truth.

And as we ſhould not ourſelves be guilty of " calling evil good and " good evil;" ſo neither let us be the occaſion of it in others, but live always agreeably to our calling, and act according to the names and titles whereby we are dignified and diſtinguiſhed. What a ſhame would it be, if they who are intitled *honorable* and *right honorable*, ſhould in any inſtance act *diſhonorably* and below their quality! What a ſcandal would it be, if they who are denominated *worſhipful* and *reverend*, ſhould at any time act *irreverently*, and by their actions forfeit the reſpect due to their characters! Would it not be a manifeſt contradiction in terms for his *grace* to be *graceleſs?* Would titles be any longer marks of reſpect and honor, if men ſhould ceaſe to live anſwerably to them; or rather would they not become a mockery and inſult upon them; and could any ſarcaſm be bitterer, any ridicule be ſtronger, than to call a notorious ſinner *worſhipful*, or a profeſſed libertin *right honorable?*

We are all of us called *Chriſtians*, and let us be ſure to live worthy of that holy name. What inconſiſtency would it be to be pious in profeſſion and impious in practice, to call ourſelves *Chriſtians*, and yet at the ſame to live like *Jews* and *Heathens?* " I beſeech you" therefore " brethren, (Eph. IV. 1.) that ye walk worthy of the voca- " tion wherewith ye are called." (2 Tim. II. 19.) " Let every one " that nameth the name of Chriſt depart from iniquity." (1 Pet. I. 15.) " As he who hath called you is holy, ſo be ye holy in all man- " ner of converſation."

(2) Amicus Plato, amicus Socrates, ſed magis amica Veritas.

DIS-

DISSERTATION XXVIII.

On modeſty and ſhame.

NOTHING is more evident than that the manners of men are different in different times. Some ages, as well as ſome perſons, are more virtuous or vicious than others. Now in looſe and licentious times a man may be almoſt aſhamed to recommend ſhame and modeſty. They are looked upon by too many perſons as very unfaſhionable aukward qualities, are reckoned to betray ſtrange want of breeding, to proceed from utter ignorance of the world, and are ſo far from being any recommendation of a man, that uſually they are very great obſtacles to his ſucceſs. For men ſeldom get any thing by modeſty and merit; they oftener ſucceed by aſſurance and importunity; and impudence, though it is no virtue, yet is commonly found to beggar them all.

But there have been times, when another ſpirit prevailed, and the greateſt charm was ſimplicity of manners, when modeſty and reſerve were a better recommendation than boldneſs and confidence, when ſhame was a more powerful reſtraint than all the penalties and ſanctions of laws, and preferment inſtead of being courted was offered to the beſt and moſt deſerving. And however we may think ourſelves improved in politeneſs, yet the prophet Jeremiah accounts ſhameleſneſs a great want of virtue and a great aggravation of vice, and layeth ſuch ſtreſs upon it, that he repeats it in two chapters. (VI. 15.) "Were they aſhamed when they had committed abomination? nay "they were not at all aſhamed, neither could they bluſh: therefore "they ſhall fall among them that fall: at the time that I viſit them, "they ſhall be caſt down, ſaith the Lord." And again (VIII. 12.) "Were they aſhamed when they had committed abomination? nay "they were not at all aſhamed, neither could they bluſh: therefore

" ſhall they fall among them that fall: in the time of their viſitation " they ſhall be caſt down ſaith the Lord. I will ſurely conſume them, " ſaith the Lord."

Not that all modeſty is good; there is in this as in moſt other caſes a right and a wrong, and it may deſerve cenſure as well as merit praiſe. As the ſon of Sirach ſaith, (IV. 21.) " there is a ſhame that bringeth " ſin, and there is a ſhame which is glory and grace." Some men are aſhamed even of their virtues, and others can glory in their very impieties and vices. And therefore in the handling of this ſubject it may be proper to conſider in the firſt place the nature end and uſe of modeſty and ſhame in general, and then to ſhow more particularly in the ſecond place what things we ſhould not be aſhamed of, and of what we ſhould be aſhamed, though perhaps the reſt of the world may glory in them.

I. We will conſider in the firſt place the nature end and uſe of modeſty and ſhame in general. If we would make any diſtinction between them, modeſty may be conſidered as the cauſe and foundation of ſhame, and ſhame as the effect and conſequence of modeſty. The one is habitual, a fixed principle and diſpoſition of mind; the other is only occaſional, and what we feel and experience upon the commiſſion of ſuch and ſuch actions. Modeſty refers more to what is future, and ſhame to what is already paſt. The one is rather a check and reſtraint upon us before we attempt any evil, the other is an uneaſy ſenſation and painful reflection after we have been guilty of ſome immorality or indecency. But there is no need always thus nicely to diſtinguiſh them, and we ſhall ourſelves perhaps uſe them indiſcriminately in the following diſcourſe; for indeed it is much eaſier to diſtinguiſh them in idea, than to ſeparate them in fact and reality. There can be no ſhame without ſome modeſty any more than there can be modeſty without ſome ſhame; and a man muſt be deſtitute of neither or of both.

Now that a ſenſe of modeſty and ſhame is wrought and woven into our frame and conſtitution, all mankind muſt ſee in others, and experience in themſelves. Our ſpirits immediately take the alarm, our limbs

limbs tremble, our ſpeech falters, our hearts beat, our blood flieth up into our faces, we are overwhelmed with confuſion, and cannot prevent or help it. There is no commanding down a bluſh, and bidding the heart be ſtill; the more modeſt and ingenuous earneſtly wiſh it, but wiſh in vain; the more they ſtrive againſt it, the more it prevails; the fear of it often produces it; and the more hardened and conſummate in impudence cannot always hold out againſt it, but whether they will or not muſt be aſhamed and confounded upon ſome occaſions.

For what reaſon then was this ſort of inſtinct implanted in our nature? Was it not evidently for a preſervative and guard of virtue, to withhold us from committing any indecency, to reſtrain us from contracting any guilt, and to make us uneaſy under it? It teaches by natural feeling and averſion; it ſupplies the place of reaſon and recollection, and is excellently adapted to the occaſions of life, being ſtronger in youth, when the paſſions are ſtronger and more reſtraints are neceſſary. Bluſhing hath therefore been commonly eſteemed a ſign of grace, and is called by one of the heathen philoſophers *the color of virtue:* and generally we may obſerve, that the moſt virtuous perſons are the moſt modeſt and diffident of themſelves, and the moſt wicked are the moſt confirmed in inſolence and impudence. Not but bluſhing is ambiguous, and may be the livery of guilt as well as of innocence; and poſſibly you have known many a man whoſe demure baſhful look was only the maſk and diſguiſe of an impure impudent mind, and who with all the appearances of modeſty and ſanctity in public could yet be guilty of the groſſeſt indecencies and vileſt enormities in private. But then you muſt allow that ſuch perſons offend more againſt nature; their ſin doth violence not only to their conſcience, but to their conſtitution itſelf; nature plainly intended them for good, but they have perverted themſelves to evil. And is it not admirably provided for the intereſts of virtue, that guilt and ſhame are in a manner inſeparable, and a man no ſooner contracts the ſtain of the former than he is almoſt ſure to feel uneaſineſs from the latter, and thus by offending againſt virtue offends againſt nature too.

Our

Our firſt parents, as long as they preſerved their innocence, though they were both "naked," yet were "not aſhamed:" but when they had committed ſin, then they were "afraid," and "hid "themſelves from the preſence of the Lord God." As ſhame thus entered at firſt into the world, ſo it hath continued ever ſince the conſtant companion of guilt, and follows cloſe upon it, inſomuch that nothing is more uſual than for guilty perſons to betray themſelves by their very looks. This ſenſe of ſhame is of ſuch force and efficacy, that it will often keep men in awe, when all other motives and arguments avail nothing. I am afraid that moſt of the virtue that is in the world is not owing ſo much to the love of virtue as to the dread of ſhame. More people would do wickedly, if it was not for the fear of being expoſed. This altogether prevents the commiſſion of many a ſin, and others it occaſions to be committed with privacy and in the dark, and preſerves the appearances of virtue where it cannot maintain the reality. Even the moſt obdurate wretches and moſt abandoned of grace and goodneſs can yet hardly eradicate, and ſcarce ever totally eradicate, this fear, though they deſpiſe all others; they ſhake off this principle almoſt the laſt of any; and the infamy of the jail and the gallows will deter thoſe, whom no ties of honor nor checks of conſcience can reſtrain. Nay people will do almoſt any thing and ſuffer almoſt any thing rather than have their faults expoſed; they can endure guilt better than infamy, and will not ſcruple to commit a much greater crime for the ſake of concealing a leſs, as we have known ſeveral even murder their own children to prevent the ſhame and ſcandal of an illegitimate ofspring.

So difficult is it and almoſt impoſſible to harden one's ſelf againſt all ſenſe of ſhame, though without doubt there is very great difference in men's complexions and tempers, and ſome are born of a more bold and confident ſpirit, of a more daring and enterpriſing genius than others. This natural difference is greatly increaſed by the different methods of education, and the different companies they keep, and the different ways they take of living. The example of ſuperiors hath beſides a wonderful effect in overcoming natural modeſty, and making

men take a pride and a pleaſure in thoſe actions, of which they would otherwiſe be aſhamed. And when any thing, however unjuſtifiable in itſelf, is become the general vogue and practice, we bluſh no longer at it, and inſtead of being aſhamed of complying are aſhamed not to comply with the faſhion. But nothing hardens men in effrontery and ſhameleſneſs like a habit and cuſtom of doing ſhameful things. They improve in boldneſs as in wickedneſs, and arrive to ſuch a pitch at laſt, that they glory in acting thoſe things, which they could not ſo much as think of at firſt without horror and confuſion. And then is verified in them what the prophet complains of, "Were they aſhamed "when they had committed abomination? nay they are not at all "aſhamed, neither can they bluſh."

But if men were duly ſenſible how engaging modeſty really is, they would not be ſo willing to get rid of it, but would preſerve the appearances of it at leaſt. For it recommends and inhances knowlege and merit, palliates and excuſes error and ignorance; it maketh even vice tolerable and virtue charming; and like ſhade in painting ſoftens and conceals defects, hightens and improves beauties. Exceſs of modeſty indeed may diſcompoſe any one, and hinder him from appearing with proper advantage; but a due proportion of it conciliates eſteem and affection in a wonderful manner, and by ſhowing a regard and deference to people naturally pleaſes them. The moſt famous orator of Rome profeſſed of himſelf, that he could never begin an oration without trembling, and conceives ſome degree of concern and confuſion to be ſo graceful and affecting, that he preſcribes it among the other qualifications requiſite to form a complete orator. Confidence is very unbecoming, if a man's endowments are ever ſo great, but more eſpecially if they are little and inſignificant: and yet for the moſt part the emptieſt heads are the fulleſt of themſelves; where is leaſt worth and ability, there commonly is moſt arrogance and preſumption; merit and modeſty are almoſt always united. It is more peculiarly the grace and ornament of the other ſex, and what the apoſtle (1 Tim. II. 9.) recommends above all other ornaments. Nay this virtue is of all virtues ſo ſtrictly required of them, that I know not whether it is ſo

much a commendation for any of them to have it, as it would be a diſgrace and infamy to want it. A proper degree of it is indeed becoming in all ſorts of perſons, and if it doth not pleaſe every body, it can however juſtly offend no body; will enable a man to live blameleſs and irreproachable, and to die at laſt, as he had lived, with decency.

II. Let it ſuffice to have ſpoken thus much of the nature end and uſe of modeſty and ſhame in general; and now proceed we to ſhow more particularly in the ſecond place what things we ſhould not be aſhamed of, and of what we ſhould be aſhamed though perhaps the reſt of the world may glory in them. For it is certain, there is a vicious as well as a virtuous modeſty; there is a ſhame that deſerves ſhame; and as there are ſome (Philip. III. 19.) "whoſe glory is in "their ſhame," as the apoſtle ſaith, ſo there are others whoſe ſhame is their glory. Now this like other natural faculties is good or bad according to the objects and occaſions, upon which it is employed. Virtue and vice are the true meaſure and ſtandard of it, and it deſerves cenſure or commendation in the ſame degree and proportion as it promotes the one or the other. If a man is aſhamed of acting a mean and diſhonorable part, of ſaying or doing an indecent or immoral thing, of giving any reaſonable occaſion of offenſe to any body, this is true virtuous modeſty, and ought to be cheriſhed and encouraged: but on the other hand if a man is aſhamed of doing his duty and acting according to the conviction of his conſcience, of profeſſing the truth and vindicating the cauſe of God and religion, of oppoſing criminal cuſtoms and prejudices and bearing up againſt the ſtream and torrent of a wicked world, this is falſe vicious modeſty, and ought to be diſcountenanced and condemned.

We may too offend as in the kind, ſo likewiſe in the degree of it, for all exceſs is wrong, and too much even of a good thing becomes really good for nothing. Some degree of confidence is neceſſary as well as ſome degree of modeſty; for modeſty without ſome confidence is ſheepiſhneſs, and confidence without ſome modeſty is impudence; but both rightly tempered and mixed together conſtitute what we call

a modeſt aſſurance, which is ſo modeſt as to do nothing that it ought not, and at the ſame time ſo aſſured as to do every thing that it ought.

Nay farther, when a thing is neither good nor bad but perfectly indifferent in itſelf; and yet is authorized by the mode and practice of the time and place where you live, there modeſty will oblige a man to conform to the faſhion, and not to affect needleſs ſingularities. A man muſt have an uncommon front to differ from all the world, unleſs for a very good cauſe; and whatever reaſons are pretended, the true reaſon is vanity and oſtentation. The ſon of Sirach in the concluſion of the XLIſt and in the beginning of the XLIId chapter hath given us a particular account of what things we ſhould and of what we ſhould not be aſhamed, and you may peruſe and conſider it at your leiſure; and in proſecution of the ſame good deſign, we will add ſome other inſtances accommodated to the preſent times and manners.

A man ſhould not be aſhamed of any natural defect or deformity, or of his birth and parentage, or of his rank and condition in life; for theſe things not being in our own power and diſpoſal are not ſubjects worthy of ſhame. A man may be aſhamed of his own conduct, but he can never be rightly aſhamed of the divine diſpenſations. It is a ſhame indeed and reproach to a man to want, if he be reduced to want by his own fault and folly; but otherwiſe poverty is no diſgrace in itſelf; ſome of the beſt men in the world have been the pooreſt; and whatever burden providence layeth upon us, we know that it is our duty to bear it patiently. And why ſhould any man be aſhamed of his birth and parentage, and becauſe he is now advanced above it, be therefore willing to forget his original? It is ſurely nobler and more illuſtrious to raiſe a family than only to continue it. There is infinitely greater merit in doing honor to your name, than in your name doing honor to you. It is true in this ſenſe as well as in others (Acts XX. 35.) that "it is more bleſſed to give than to receive." And for any natural defect or deformity we ſhould endevor to palliate it with ſuperior graces and virtues, and compenſate for our imperfections in one kind by our perfections in another; like Socrates, who laboring under

under all the diſadvantages of perſon was therefore the more diligent to excel in wiſdom and the faculties of the mind.

In theſe inſtances it is weak and ridiculous, but modeſty becomes really vicious, when it hinders a man from exerting himſelf properly, from aſſerting the truth and living up to his principles; and in ſhort whenever it induces him through ſervile fear and compliance to omit any duty or commit any ſin. There is a courage becoming a Man and a Chriſtian, and not only becoming but abſolutely neceſſary, that he may be neither diſſuaded from what is right, nor perſuaded to what is wrong: and it may be queſtioned whether as many people have not been ruined through too much modeſty and ſhamefacedneſs as through too little. They are ſo yielding and eaſy, that they cannot find in their hearts to refuſe any thing to any body; they have not the ſpirit and reſolution to ſay No, but promiſe every thing to whoever ſollicits and importunes them, by which means they are frequently drawn into different, and ſometimes contrary engagements, and become guilty not only of indiſcreet but often of criminal compliances. But if any man hath the boldneſs to aſk you to do an ill thing, why ſhould not you have as much courage to refuſe him? They who have not learned to refuſe any thing, have not learned one of the moſt neceſſary things in life. As the excellent (1) Brutus was wont to ſay, they muſt have employed their youth very ill and have had a very bad education, who can deny nothing.

But modeſty is never more vicious, and never more to be condemned, than when we are aſhamed of our religion, and afraid to confeſs our faith before men and glorify our father who is in heaven: and this impious modeſty hath of late years prevailed to ſuch a degree among us, that a man is almoſt aſhamed to be betrayed into a ſerious reflection in company, and any religious diſcourſe can hardly eſcape the imputation of hypocriſy or ſuperſtition. The fear of being thought preciſe and formal occaſions many a man to ſtifle his ſentiments, and appear worſe than he is in reality. We grow daily more and more modeſt

(1) Plutarch. in vita Bruti.

(2) Plutarch.

modeſt and aſhamed of doing good, and more and more daring and impudent in doing evil. A fine gentleman as he would be reputed, is aſhamed to ſay grace at his own table, is aſhamed to read prayers in his own family; and how many, who have aſſurance enough in other things, would yet be perfectly out of countenance to be ſeen in the houſe of God, and have ſtayed away ſo long, that it would be as it were a public penance to come at laſt! It was not thus in former times, it is not thus in other countries: and if we are more afraid of the ridicule of profane men than of the terrors of the Lord, what can we expect will be the conſequence, but that he will be aſhamed of us in the next world as we are aſhamed of him in this, and caſt us from his preſence for ever; according to that dreadful denunciation of our Saviour (Mark VIII. 38.) "Whoſoever ſhall be aſhamed of me and of "my words in this adulterous and ſinful generation, of him alſo ſhall "the ſon of man be aſhamed, when he cometh in the glory of his "father with his holy angels!"

Theſe are things whereof we ſhould not be aſhamed, and yet too often are; there are others, whereof we ſhould be aſhamed, and yet too often are not. We ſhould be aſhamed of every thing that is indecent and immoral, though fortified by numbers without number. "Thou ſhalt not follow a multitude to do evil," ſaith the ſcripture: (Exod. XXIII. 2.) and ſurely a wiſe man would rather be thought unfaſhionable than do what is criminal, and would be leſs out of countenance to be in the right by himſelf, than to be in the wrong with thouſands.

There are people who glory in being (Iſa. V. 22, 11.) "mighty to "drink wine, and men of ſtrength to mingle ſtrong drink, who riſe "up early in the morning that they may follow ſtrong drink, who "continue until night till wine inflame them:" but "be not" you "drunk with wine," as the apoſtle ſaith, (Eph. V. 18.) "wherein "is exceſs." A drunkard requires not only a ſtrong head, but a ſtrong forehead too. There is no greater ſhame than for a man to make himſelf a beaſt.

There

There are people who indulge their criminal amours as openly as if they were lawful paſſions, and (Eph. IV. 19.) " being paſt feeling " have given themſelves over unto laſciviouſneſs to work all uncleanneſs with greedineſs:" but if any vices are contrary to modeſty, theſe are more eſpecially, and they who are not aſhamed of them now will be ſo hereafter. Shame is the portion of them and of their offſpring. No honors deſcend to the illegitimate. As the wiſe man ſaith, (Wiſd. IV. 6.) " Children begotten of unlawful beds are witneſſes of wickedneſs againſt their parents in their trial."

It is too much the faſhion of the world to live above their fortune, and to ſpend more than they can afford, and at the ſame time to deride and deſpiſe as covetous and mean-ſpirited all thoſe who will not run the ſame length of extravagance with themſelves: but ſurely it is a leſs diſgrace to want a thing than to run in debt for it, and there is more glory and honor in living upon a little of one's own than in being prodigal and profuſe of what is properly another's: and how mean and contemptible muſt the man appear, when he is ſtript of his borrowed gaudy plumes, and every bird demands his own feather?

It is too much the practice in low life, and of many who ought to know better in high life, to curſe and to ſwear, as if there was ſomething of bravery in it: but do you reverence an oath, be not afraid of it when you are called upon by proper authority, but be afraid of nothing more than of offending the divine majeſty by taking his name in vain.

It is too much the delight of many to paſs whole days and evenings after evenings in gaming, and probably you will often be tempted to be of their party: but as the (2) Heathen moraliſt ſays, be not you therefore out of countenance, nor fear being made the ſubject of their raillery, but reply with Xenophanes, who when he was called a coward for refuſing to play at dice, ſaid Yes, I confeſs, I am a very great coward, and want the courage to do an ill thing.

Others may think to gain the reputation of a ready forward wit by ridiculing ſacred perſons and ſacred things: but be you more decent than to

(2) Plutarch. περι δυσωπιας.

to profane the religion of your country; have more piety, or at leaſt more manners; and know (1 Cor. III. 19.) that "the wiſdom of this "world is fooliſhneſs with God." Others may pretend to uncommon ſanctity, boaſt of extraordinary gifts and communications of the holy ſpirit, and (Col. II. 18.) "intrude into thoſe things which they have not ſeen vainly puft up by "their fleſhly minds:" but be you more modeſt than to aſſume ſuch merit to yourſelf, and (Ecclus III. 21, 22.) "ſeek not out the things "which are too hard for thee, neither ſearch the things which are "above thy ſtrength, but what is commanded thee think thereupon "with reverence." In a word, be reſolute only to do good, and aſhamed always to do evil.

Hear this all ye people, but attend eſpecially you who are young, for youth is the ſeaſon of modeſty, and (Ecclus XLI. 24.) "So ſhall "ye be truly ſhame-faced, and find favor before all men." Shameleſneſs in ſin is the certain forerunner of deſtruction; ſo the prophet hath declared it, and the courſe of events will juſtify it; "Were they "aſhamed when they had committed abomination? nay they were "not at all aſhamed, neither could they bluſh: therefore they ſhall "fall among them that fall; at the time that I viſit them they ſhall "be caſt down ſaith the Lord." If not temporal judgments, yet certainly eternal puniſhments will be their final doom and portion; and ſinners have none other alternative and option, but ſhame here or miſery hereafter. "What fruit (Rom. VI. 21.) had ye then in thoſe "things whereof ye are now aſhamed? for the end of thoſe things is "death." It is a moſt excellent prayer of the wiſe man, and with that I will conclude: (Ecclus XXIII. 4, 5, 6.) "O Lord, Father and "God of my life, give me not a proud look, but turn away from thy "ſervant always a haughty mind: turn away from me vain hopes and "concupiſcence, and thou ſhalt hold him up that is deſirous always "to ſerve thee: let not the greedineſs of the belly nor the luſts of "the fleſh take hold of me, and give not over me thy ſervant to an "impudent mind."

DIS-

DISSERTATION XXIX.

Againſt learned pride.

NO diſeaſe is more incident to the mind of man than pride, and nothing more apt to ſwell us with pride than a conceit of our wiſdom and knowlege. It was the ſin of our firſt parents that they aſpired to be "as gods knowing good and evil;" and no wonder their children inherit their corruption, and fondly prefer the tree of knowlege to the tree of life. For every man values himſelf upon his knowlege of one ſort or other. Every man is ſufficient for his own ſtation at leaſt in his own eyes. As a ſhrewd author (Rochefaucault) obſerves, God hath not made a more equal diſtribution of any thing in the world than of ſenſe and underſtanding, becauſe every one is ſatisfied and content with his own ſhare. Nay commonly thoſe who have leaſt merit, with a ſelf-ſufficient air and magiſterial countenance pretend to moſt; and though few are willing to receive advice, yet every one is forward enough to give it. An half-learned atheiſt ſhall value himſelf as much as the greateſt philoſopher: and the little wits and free-thinkers of the age are wiſer in their own conceit than "ſeven "men who can render a reaſon." A man eaſily obtains his own good opinion, and then fancies that he has a right to the good opinion of others: And in fact it is found, that *fool* is one of the vileſt terms of reproach, and nothing affronts a man more than to call in queſtion his conduct and underſtanding. We know ſome perſons are well enough contented to paſs for *knaves*, provided they can but have the credit of playing the knave cleverly; but want of ſenſe is an imputation that offends every man, and is reſented even by thoſe who ſeem moſt incapable of reſentment.

To correct this ſpirit of pride and vain-glory we have a ſpecial command in the words of the prophet. (Jer. IX. 23.) "Thus ſaith the "Lord;" a ſolemn and emphatic preface, and therefore we may be certain that what it introduces deſerves our peculiar regard and attention: "Let not the wiſe man glory in his wiſdom." Let not the wiſe man "praiſe himſelf" (as the Hebrew word imports) for his wiſdom; let him not boaſt himſelf for having parts and underſtanding, nor deſpiſe others for not having them, as he imagins, in ſo large a proportion as himſelf. And to ſhow that this injunction is laid upon us not without very good reaſons, the following particulars may be taken into conſideration.

1. In the firſt place let it be conſidered that all human wiſdom is at the beſt very ſhort and imperfect. Our ignorance is infinitely greater than our knowlege. If things are too plain and obvious, we will not ſtoop to them; if too hard and abſtruſe, they will not ſubmit to us. An object too near or too remote eſcapes our ſight; too great or too little ſurpaſſes our imagination. Body and ſpirit are alike removed from our comprehenſion; of both we know ſome properties, the real nature and eſſence of neither. If our thoughts aſcend into heaven, we are quite loſt in a world of wonders, "things that eye hath not "ſeen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man "to conceive." If we deſcend again to earth, there is not an animal, nor a plant, nor a particle of matter, that is not able to baffle and confound the moſt exalted underſtanding. There are myſteries in nature as well as in religion; and where we have the light of demonſtration and certainty in one thing, we are beſet with darkneſs and obſcurity in a thouſand.

But we need not look abroad for problems to puzzle us. Man himſelf is a riddle to himſelf: and the mind, that underſtands other things, underſtands not its own powers and operations. Wherever we turn our eyes within us or without us, we can diſcover little elſe but the ſhort-ſightedneſs of human reaſon. Proofs of our ignorance are every where at hand: and a much eaſier taſk it would be to define what we know, than enumerate what we know not. We are tied down to a

point; and the horizon, that bounds and terminates our view, is nothing in compariſon of the whole extent of created things.

But leaving thoſe things which are plainly out of the reach of human underſtanding, where is the mind ſo large as to take in the whole circle of arts and ſciences, and comprehend all that men can comprehend? If we ſhine in ſome parts of learning, in ſome again we are defective and in the dark; as the ſea loſeth the ground in one country, that it gaineth in another. One genius can be a thorow maſter of only one ſcience; and ſo wide and diffuſive are even the ſingle branches of certain arts and ſciences, that they find ſufficient employment for the whole life of man.

And what is little in itſelf, I fear, has been made leſs by our methods of teaching and ſtudy. For falſe learning is worſe than no learning. Thoſe who have read the moſt, are not always the beſt read; and ſome men are only the more ignorant for being ſcholars. Such are the forms and rudiments of ſcience eſtabliſhed in ſome famous ſchools of litterature, that I know not whether our artificial ignorance may not be greater than our natural.

In reality the man who thinketh to know all things, knoweth nothing yet as he ought to know. The farther we carry our ſpeculations, ſtill the more matter we diſcover for future inquiries. The higher we ſtand as I may ſay on the hill of learning, the wider proſpect is opened to us of large tracts and fields of ſcience yet uncultivated yet unfrequented, and like Moſes on mount Nebo we may have an obſcure view of the country at a diſtance, but muſt never expect to reach it in this imperfect ſtate. The greateſt geniuſes in all ages have confeſſed, and gloried in confeſſing the vaſtneſs of arts and the ſhortneſs of human life and human knowlege. Socrates was reputed by the oracle the wiſeſt man living, becauſe he frankly acknowleged that he knew nothing: and a wiſer than Socrates obſerves, (Eccleſ. VIII. 16, 17.) "When I applied my heart to know wiſdom, and to "ſee the buſineſs that is done upon the earth; then I beheld all the "work of God, that a man cannot find out the work that is done "under the ſun; becauſe though a man labor to ſeek it out, yet he

" ſhall not find it, yea farther, though a wiſe man think to know it, " yet ſhall he not be able to find it."

2. In the next place let it be conſidered, that human wiſdom and knowlege are liable to many contingences, and are of ſhort and uncertain duration. The greateſt wits are often taken away in the prime of their age; as the fruits which are ripe the ſooneſt, the ſooneſt drop off and decay. True wiſdom is with great difficulty attained, and when it is attained, it is eaſily loſt or impaired. The noon of life quickly paſſes away and is gone, and our minds have no ſooner broke through the miſts, and diſpelled the prejudices of childhood and youth, but preſently they begin to decline, imagination languiſhes, memory decays, and all our faculties ſet in the gray evening of old age. Even while our faculties are at the highth, and ſhine forth in their meridian luſtre, how often are they clouded and overcaſt by one accident, one paſſion or other?

The body too often caſteth a vapor upon our reaſon, and (Wiſd. IX. 15.) " preſſeth down the mind that muſeth upon many things." Too much or too little food diſturbs our imagination; too much or too little ſleep renders us heavy and unfit for thinking. An unlucky blow or a fall, a ſudden apoplexy or a burning fever may deprive us at once of all our reaſon and underſtanding. Neither is great knowlege to be acquired without much ſtudy, and (Eccleſ. XII. 12.) " much ſtudy is a wearineſs to the fleſh." The labors of the mind are vaſtly greater and more painful than thoſe of the body, and nothing exhauſts the ſpirits, and impairs the conſtitution more than hard ſtudy. Hollow eyes and hectic looks, conſumptions and want of digeſtion, with many other diſeaſes, are incidental to a ſtudious thoughtful ſedentary life: and when the body is indiſpoſed, how can the mind exert itſelf freely and with full ſcope? An engin wound too high or overcharged will eaſily crack and burſt in pieces; and the mind that thinketh on too many things is apt to grow extravagant and unruly; and if nothing elſe, yet too much learning itſelf may make us mad.

Such

Such is the ſtate of man. When we are young, we think as children and ſpeak as children; and when we are old, we are in danger of turning children again. There are innumerable inſtances of the greateſt ſcholars and wiſeſt politicians, who have ſurvived their very ſenſes, and whoſe bodies have proved as it were the tombs and ſepulchres of their underſtandings. And what a ſad lamentable object are the ruins of a great genius, a decrepit withered body without a reaſonable ſoul to inform it!

3. It alſo deſerves our conſideration, that the wiſeſt perſonages, at the ſame time that their knowlege exalts them, have ſomething again to humble and abaſe them. Every man has, as one may ſay, his blind ſide, through which he is eaſily attacked and outwitted. The pureſt metals are not without their allay, the moſt ſhining characters are not without their ſpots and blemiſhes; and (Eccleſ. X. 1.) "as "dead flies cauſe the ointment of the apothecary to ſend forth a ſtink-"ing ſavor, ſo doth a little folly him that is in reputation for wiſdom "and honor."

We may, I think, generally obſerve, that great geniuſes have ſomething odd and unaccountable in them, ſomething ſingular in their mien and manner, that renders them ridiculous in the eyes of the world, while their parts and underſtanding raiſe the wonder and admiration of all who know them. Great wits are nearly allied to madmen; and the former have now and then their reveries as extravagant and wild as the latter. As the greateſt blockheads ſometimes enjoy lucid intervals; ſo men of the brighteſt parts have ſometimes their dark and gloomy hours, in which they are ſtrangely overſeen, and think and act altogether beneath themſelves. All people remark, that the greateſt ſcholars uſually know very little of that uſeful part of knowlege, *the world*. A man may have read many books, and not have read men; may be well ſkilled in the rules of logic, and little verſed in the better rules of good breeding.

Beſides, the moſt ingenious perſons are often cramped and ſtraitened in their circumſtances; for (Eccleſ. IX. 11.) "neither is bread "to the wiſe, nor yet riches to men of underſtanding, nor yet favor

"to

" to men of ſkill, but time and chance happeneth to them all." The beſt concerted ſchemes are often diſappointed, and the wiſe are taken in the craftineſs of their own counſel. The poverty of poets is grown proverbial; and how much ſoever projects may take, yet the projectors are almoſt ſure to ſtarve.

As the fineſt jewels are not always the beſt ſet, ſo neither is the faireſt mind lodged always in the faireſt body. St. Paul (2 Cor. XII. 7.) had " a thorn in the fleſh, leſt he ſhould be exalted above meaſure " through the abundance of the revelations:" and it was with him, as it is with ſeveral eminent men, (X. 10.) " his writings" were " weighty and powerful," but " his bodily preſence" was " weak " and his ſpeech contemptible."

And what is the worſt of all, (Eccleſ. I. 18.) " In much wiſdom " is much grief, and he that increaſeth knowlege, increaſeth ſorrow;" if we may take the word of one, who had the beſt and fulleſt experience of the matter. Men of fine parts have a quicker and more exquiſite ſenſe of things than the generality of mankind. Their taſte is extremely nice, and a little thing is apt to diſguſt it. They may be ſaid to ſuffer what others only feel. What is barely diſagreeable to others is perfectly ſhocking to them. They are ſubject to a thouſand little jealouſies and uneaſineſſes of mind, to which the ſtupid and unthinking are utter ſtrangers. Their paſſions are for the moſt very ſtrong and apt to grow wild, as the rankeſt weeds abound moſt in the richeſt ſoils.

Thus it appears that the greateſt men have their imperfections, as ſo many antidotes againſt the poiſon of pride. Their merits may weigh heavy in one ſcale, but there are infirmities and defects to counterpoiſe and balance them in the other.

4. It is farther to be conſidered, that pride is deſtructive of that very learning and knowlege which are its own foundation and ſupport. (Prov. XXVI. 12.) " Seeſt thou a man wiſe in his own con- " ceit? there is more hope of a fool than of him." Pride is the worſt quality in the world of a learner. The proud man has too high an opinion of himſelf, and too mean an one of other people, to regard

gard any merit, any performances but his own. He would ſain paſs for an univerſal ſcholar, and by graſping at all things he can thoroughly comprehend nothing. He has no ſooner got a ſmattering in any art or ſcience than inſtantly he conceives that he is a perfect maſter of it. He always affects novelty and ſingularity. He ſcorneth to follow the herd in the beaten track. If the many happen to be in the right, he purpoſely goeth wrong: and is not ſo much concerned to think and ſay what is juſt and true, as what is new and ſurpriſing. He frameth ſome particular ſet of opinions to himſelf, theſe he honors with the high titles of ſelf-evidence and demonſtration; and whatever coincides not with them, he rejects as unphiloſophical and abſurd. He fancies all truth, all knowlege to lie within his own ſphere; and all things beyond it are trifles, are vanity, are nothing.

Beſides, when a proud man is once out of the way, he can hardly ever be brought into it again: for (Prov. XIII. 1.) "a ſcorner heareth "not rebuke," ſays the wiſe man. He will never acknowlege himſelf to be in the wrong. He rejects all counſel and advice. He is overbearing in all ſorts of company; he ingroſſeth the diſcourſe to himſelf, and will not afford others a fair and candid hearing. He contradicts every body, and will bear contradiction from no body. In fine is there a ſceptic, an heretic, an infidel, an atheiſt? Pride is the great parent of them all; and more phrenzy and madneſs have ſprung from pride than from any diſorder or all the diſorders in the world. An evident token of a great capacity indeed, is to contain a great deal and yet not to be full, to be wiſe and yet to be humble; and if you are wiſe, you will of courſe be humble. "If any man think that he "knoweth any thing," ſaith the apoſtle, (1 Cor. VIII. 2.) "he "knoweth nothing yet as he ought to know."

5. Other conſiderations may be drawn from the ſtate of mankind and our own. For where is the man ſo wiſe as to have none equal, none ſuperior to him? We may ever obſerve that men of mean ſpirits and of a narrow education, "meaſuring themſelves by themſelves, and "comparing themſelves among themſelves," are moſt liable to pride and vain-glory. They who converſe with only one ſort of men, and

thoſe

thoſe perhaps their inferiors and flatterers, are always the moſt full of themſelves and moſt regardleſs of others; whereas by travel and polite company, by correſpondence and intercourſe with perſons of different ranks and profeſſions, mens minds are wonderfully opened and inlarged, and they acquire the art of being, or at leaſt of ſeeming affable and conſcending to all mankind.

A man ſhould conſider too that he can make but poor advances in learning and knowlege by himſelf. Other hands, other heads muſt aſſiſt him. As there are defects in the greateſt characters, ſo there are beauties in the meaneſt. The wiſeſt man may learn ſomething from every body; and upon a nearer acquaintance we may diſcover ſome excellencies or other, of which before we were not aware. Whatever we may think of ourſelves, others have their good qualities as well as we, though commonly we are pleaſed to look at our own, as I may ſay, through the magnifying end of the perſpective, and at theirs through the other. And as they have their good qualities as well as we, ſo we have our imperfections as well as they; and perhaps the more we enjoy in one kind, the more we ſuffer in another.

Beſides all men naturally hate the proud opinionative man; and he who deſpiſes every one is in return by every one deſpiſed. Humility you will always find the ready road to reſpect and honor, the leſs of which you arrogate the more you will receive. But pride ever defeats its own end; it is always aiming at reſpect, and is ſure always to loſe its aim. It is as our Saviour ſaith (Luke XIV. 11.) "Whoſoever exalteth himſelf ſhall be abaſed, and he that humbleth himſelf ſhall be exalted."

6. If inſtead of looking on thoſe below us, we turn our eyes to thoſe heavenly beings above us, we ſhall find that man, compared with angels and archangels, is altogether lighter than vanity itſelf. What advantages muſt thoſe ſpiritual beings enjoy over creatures immerſed in matter? Who can think on the vaſt and amazing diſtance between them and us, and not cry out with the ſon of Sirach (Ecclus X. 18.) "Pride was not made for man," for man who probably is one of the loweſt in the orders of intelligent beings.

7. Finally

7. Finally and above all let us conſider, that this temper of mind is particularly hateful in the ſight of God. Pride occaſioned the fall of angels. Pride expelled our firſt parents out of paradiſe. Inſpired writers again and again forbid this learned pride, and denounce a "woe unto them that are wiſe in their own eyes, and prudent in their "own ſight." (Iſa. V. 21.) And in the language of ſcripture (James IV. 6. 1 Pet. V. 5.) God is emphatically ſaid to "reſiſt the proud," to ſet himſelf as it were in oppoſition to them, and fight againſt them. Pride is a ſort of ſacrilege, robbing God of ſo much honor as it arrogates to ourſelves. It is a ſort of idolatry, "ſacrificing" as it were "unto our own net, and "burning incenſe" as it were "unto "our own drag." But (1 Cor. III. 19.) "the wiſdom of this "world is fooliſhneſs with God." We may build a tower whoſe top may reach unto heaven, but God will confound our devices, and "ſcatter the proud in the imagination of their hearts." Indeed it is impoſſible to have worthy notions of the deity, and at the ſame time not to think meanly of ourſelves. For what is earth and aſhes before its maker? What are our little perverſe minds in compariſon with the ſupreme univerſal mind, the original of all that is good and amiable in nature? Alas! the higheſt pitch of human knowlege beareth no manner of proportion to the divine! It is only as a point to infinity, as a moment to eternity. Our knowlege too, ſuch as it is, is the gift of God; and it was given us for his glory, and not merely for our own. To him it is owing, and to him therefore be the praiſe for ever and ever. It is good advice of the wiſe king Solomon, (Prov. III. 5, 6, 7.) "Truſt in the Lord with all thine heart, and lean not to thine own "underſtanding; In all thy ways acknowlege him, and he ſhall di"rect thy paths; Be not wiſe in thine own eyes, fear the Lord, and "depart from evil."

Upon the whole, what is there in human wiſdom to feed our vanity and ſelf-conceit? conſidering that it is imperfect in itſelf, and made ſtill more imperfect by the gloſſes of falſe learning and falſe philoſophy—that it is altogether precarious and of uncertain continuance, with difficulty acquired and with eaſe forgotten—that it is always at-

tended with ſome weakneſs or other, and accompanied with pain equal to the pleaſure: conſidering farther that pride is deſtructive of that learning and knowlege, upon which the proud man values himſelf—is hateful in the ſight of good angels and good men—and involving us in the guilt, it may be feared will involve us likewiſe in the puniſhment of the devil and his angels. And if pride and knowlege ſo ill conſiſt together, how much more inconſiſtent muſt be pride and ignorance? If vanity be ſo ſurfeiting and nauſeous in men of parts, a blockhead and vain muſt be quite intolerable. But if knowlege cannot juſtify our aſpiring pretenſions, certainly nothing elſe can; for nothing is ſo valuable as knowlege, nothing is ſo properly our own, or ſo immediately belongs to us, as our ſenſe and underſtanding. In reality there is nothing, there can be nothing worth being proud of in the narrow circle of human life and human affairs. Examin ſeverally all the goods of mind, body, and eſtate, and you will ſoon be convinced that there is no foundation for ſolid glory, but the knowlege of God, ſuch a knowlege as is not barren and reſteth not in ſpeculation, but exerteth itſelf in action, and bringeth forth good works. This is the wiſdom that will make us wiſe unto ſalvation through faith which is in Chriſt Jeſus. This and this only will adminiſter true ſatisfaction to us here, and crown us with everlaſting happineſs hereafter. "Thus ſaith the Lord, Let not the wiſe man glory in his "wiſdom, neither let the mighty man glory in his might, let not "the rich man glory in his riches: But let him that glorieth glory "in this, that he underſtandeth and knoweth me, that I am the "Lord, which exerciſe loving kindneſs, judgment and righteouſneſs "in the earth; for in theſe things I delight ſaith the Lord."

DIS-

DISSERTATION XXX.

On the philoſophy of ſcripture.

WE live in an age that affects to be thought a learned and philoſophic age; and it muſt be acknowleged indeed that it is more ſo than ſeveral which have preceded it. There was a time when a mathematician was looked upon with horror as a magician. It was hereſy to affirm that there were Antipodes: and a (1) famous aſtronomer only for aſſerting the motion of the earth was committed to the priſon of the inquiſition. But God be thanked we live now in days of greater freedom of thought and greater inlargement of knowlege; and ſome of our moſt eminent divines have alſo been ſome of the moſt eminent philoſophers and mathematicians. The venerable names of Wilkins, Barrow, Clarke, and many others will readily occur upon this occaſion, who have excelled in philoſophical as well as in theological learning; ſo far is the one from claſhing and interfering with the other. The frequenting of lectures of natural and experimental philoſophy is become almoſt a faſhion among the polite of both ſexes. And certainly no ſtudies are more entertaining as well as more uſeful, and are ſo far from being any diſſervice to the cauſe of religion, as was imagined in times of ignorance and ſuperſtition, that I am perſuaded nothing will more effectually promote it. All truths muſt be conſiſtent, and one can never contradict another. True philoſophy is the handmaid to true religion; and the knowlege of the works of nature will lead one to the knowlege of the God of nature, "the inviſible things of him (Rom. I. 20.) being clearly ſeen by the "things which are made, even his eternal power and godhead."

But

(1) Galileo.

(2) Hymn.

But as all things are liable to be abuſed, and the beſt perhaps are capable of the greateſt abuſe; ſo theſe ſtudies are apt above all others to puff up little minds, and to fill them with ſingular conceits and opinions. The half-phyſicians and half-philoſophers are the ſceptics and deiſts of the age. The half-thinkers are the men who ſet up for free-thinkers. Such wiſe and underſtanding perſons as they eſteem themſelves, who look upon nature with other eyes than the reſt of mankind, muſt not follow in the beaten track, nor think and argue like common men. They will be ſatisfied with nothing leſs than demonſtration, and for their parts cannot receive any book as a divine revelation, that is in the leaſt contradictory to natural philoſophy and natural reaſon. The ſcriptures, they imagin, are in many inſtances, eſpecially in the Old Teſtament, contradictory to natural philoſophy and natural reaſon; and therefore uſe their utmoſt endevors to ridicule and explode them; and thus profeſſing themſelves philoſophers they become infidels, or rather as St. Paul hath expreſſed it (Rom. I. 22.) "profeſſing themſelves wiſe they become fools." It may be as proper therefore to give the caution now as it was in the days of the apoſtles, (Col. II. 8.) "Beware leſt any man ſpoil you through phi-"loſophy and vain deceit after the tradition of men, after the rudi-"ments of the world, and not after Chriſt." And to vindicate our religion in this reſpect, it may be proper to conſider the philoſophy of ſcripture. In doing which I believe it will appear that the true religion teacheth nothing contrary to the true philoſophy, and thoſe paſſages, which ſeem the moſt liable to exception, may admit of a favorable interpretation. Nay farther I believe it will appear that the ſcriptures not only contain nothing contrary to the true philoſophy, but mutually confirm it and are confirmed by it in ſeveral inſtances, and ſome of thoſe diſcoveries, which are ſo much boaſted of by the moderns, were not wholly unknown to the ancients.

I. I believe it will appear that the true religion teacheth nothing contrary to the true philoſophy, and thoſe paſſages, which ſeem the moſt liable to exception, may admit of a favorable interpretation. It is a juſt objection to the Mohammedan religion, that it teacheth ſuch

abſurd things about the frame and ſtructure of the world: and if the Chriſtian religion did the like, the like objection would lie againſt it; for revealed truths can never ſo groſsly and notoriouſly contradict natural truths. But ſuch contradictions we deny there are any in ſcripture, and may ſafely challenge our adverſaries to produce a ſingle inſtance, where the one is not eaſily reconcileable with the other. Rather than admit of any ſuch difference or contradiction between them, a modeſt man would ſuſpect, either that his philoſophy was erroneous, or he was miſtaken in the ſenſe of ſcripture. For certainly God is a God of truth, and can never be the author of contradictions; his word and his works can never be repugnant the one to the other; all that proceeds from him muſt be beauty and harmony; ſcripture and nature, revelation and reaſon, divinity and philoſophy muſt all agree together. We muſt conſider indeed that the ſcriptures were not deſigned to teach us philoſophy but religion, were not given to improve us in mathematical knowlege but in moral, were not written to make us better philoſophers and naturaliſts but better men and chriſtians: And therefore ſo little is ſaid of philoſophy from the beginning to the end; and whenever any thing of this kind is mentioned, it is mentioned only occaſionally, rather in ſhort hints and alluſions, as a thing known already, and according to the current language of the times, as the greateſt philoſophers ſpeak now-a-days, though perhaps that language be not exactly conformable to the truth of things. It is good advice to think with the wiſe, and ſpeak with the vulgar; and accordingly the inſpired writers (Rom. VI. 19. Gal. III. 15.) often "ſpeak after the manner of men" in condeſcenſion to their prejudices and infirmities.

"Sun, ſtand thou ſtill," ſaid Joſhua, (X. 12.) and the expreſſion hath been greatly cavilled at, as implying the motion of the ſun inſtead of the earth. But the word in the original ſignifies "Be ſilent," and thus it is tranſlated in the margin of our bibles: and who would ſtrictly canvaſs and examin a metaphor? But if the words are underſtood as they are tranſlated, and the motion of the ſun is implied in them; yet why might not Joſhua ſpeak according to the philoſophy

of

of his own times? or if he had ſpoken otherwiſe, and had ſaid "Earth ſtand thou ſtill," where would have been the miracle, or how could he have been underſtood, when the earth was ſuppoſed always to ſtand ſtill? Nay even though the motion of the earth had been demonſtrated then as plainly as it is now, yet ſurely Joſhua might be allowed to make uſe of a popular expreſſion implying the motion of the ſun, as well as the greateſt philoſophers ſpeak now of the ſun's *riſing* and *ſetting* without the leaſt ſcruple or heſitation, though every one be now perfectly convinced, that the viciſſitudes of day and night are owing to the revolution of the earth round its axis, and not of the ſun round the earth. This expreſſion therefore of Joſhua may meet with the ſame favorable allowance and indulgence: and you will betray as much diſingenuity and pedantry in cavilling at the one as at the other.

As to the thing itſelf, it is not a poetical flight like that of (2) Callimachus, of the ſun's ſtopping his chariot to behold the dances of Diana's nymphs, and lengthening the days. It is not a fabulous tale like that of the ſun's turning back with horror at the bloody banquet prepared by Atreus. What the Heathens imagined, might be derived from ſome imperfect traditions of this event, which was a real and a moſt extraordinary miracle, wrought by God at the prayer of Joſhua, the production of a ſupernatural light, the marvelous prolongation of the day, till the Iſraelites had obtained a complete victory over their enemies: and it had altogether the ſame appearance and the ſame effect, as if the ſun and moon had ſtopt in their courſes; and at the ſame time was a proper exertion and diſplay of the divine power over thoſe heavenly luminaries in the preſence of their worſhippers. Something of the ſame kind was done, (2 Kings XX. Iſa. XXXVIII.) when in the caſe of Hezekiah, at the prayer of Iſaiah, "the ſun returned "ten degrees on the ſun-dial of Ahaz." As they were both divine miracles, it is no wonder that human philoſophy cannot ſufficiently explain how they were effected.

The

(2) Hymn. in Dianam. 180, &c.

(3) Facile

The Moſaical hiſtory of the creation hath been made the ground and occaſion of ſeveral objections; but moſt of theſe objections ariſe only from ignorance of the original language; and the more the original hiſtory is underſtood and examined, the more juſt and authentic will it appear, and more agreeable to the genuin principles of ſound theiſm and philoſophy. To give two or three principal inſtances, for it might be thought too long and tedious to enter into all the particulars.

Some perſons make a difficulty of underſtanding what is meant by "the firmament (Gen. I. 6.) in the midſt of the waters to divide the "waters from the waters." But is not the word *firmament* the principal occaſion of the difficulty? In the margin it is rendered *expanſion*, and ſignifies the circumambient air or atmoſphere, wherein we breathe and live. And doth not this divide the waters from the waters, the waters in the ſea from the waters which flote above us in clouds and vapors? For as it is expreſſed in Jeremiah, (X. 13.) "there is a mul-"titude of waters in the heavens, and he cauſeth the vapors to aſcend "from the ends of the earth."

It is ſaid that "God made two great lights, (Gen. I. 16.) the "greater light to rule the day, and the leſſer light to rule the night;" and it is objected that this account is very unphiloſophical, for the moon is not a *light* ſpeaking phyſically and ſpeaking properly no more than the earth itſelf. But this is criticiſing only upon words; for the moon, though not a light in itſelf, is yet a light in its effects, as it reflects the light of the ſun to us. And they are both called *great*, not as being greater than all other ſtars and planets, but as appearing greater to us, and being of greater uſe and conſequence to this world.

Some look upon it as abſurd and impoſſible, that the light ſhould be produced on the *firſt* day, and yet the ſun and moon not be formed till the *fourth* day. "In the beginning God created the heavens and "the earth;" ſo that the bodies of the ſun and moon were created at firſt as well as the body of the earth: and the light that was produced on the firſt day was either that of the ſun, or different from it. If it was the light of the ſun, we may ſuppoſe this light to appear imperfectly

imperfectly at firſt, and not to ſhine out in its full luſtre till the fourth day, the air perhaps or atmoſphere not being ſufficiently cleared for the transfuſion of its rays before that time. But if it was different from the ſun, where is the impoſſibility in nature, or the contradiction to reaſon, that God ſhould form a light or fire to warm and impregnate the new creation? Which light or fire might either ſpend and conſume itſelf, or be tranſplanted into the orbs of the ſun and ſtars, which though created on the firſt day, yet might not for the reaſons aſſigned become thoſe viſible glorious luminaries till the fourth day of the creation.

Theſe are the moſt material objections: and in the general the account ſeemeth ſtrange of a creation in *ſix days:* and it is certain an almighty being might have created the univerſe with a word in an inſtant or any portion of time as well as in ſix days. But as Moſes, by far the oldeſt hiſtorian in the world, ſays it was effected in ſix days, why not in ſix days as well as in any other period of time? Perhaps it was ordered ſo in condeſcenſion to the capacities of angels, who were ſpectators of the works of creation, when according to what is ſaid in the book of Job, (XXXVIII. 7.) "the morning ſtars ſang to-"gether, and the ſons of God ſhouted for joy." Perhaps it was ordered to mark out more ſtrongly to us the obſervation of the ſabbath, or the dedication of one day in ſeven to the worſhip of the great creator of us and all things. Perhaps it was deſigned to be typical and ſignificative of the duration of the world, that as the world was created in ſix days, ſo according to ancient tradition it may endure ſix thouſand years, "one day being with the Lord as a thouſand years, "(2 Pet. III. 8.) and a thouſand years as one day."

In Samuel (1 Sam. II. 8.) mention is made of "the pillars of the "earth," and in the book of Job (XXXVII. 18.) the ſky is compared to "a molten looking-glaſs:" but who would interpret ſimiles, metaphors, and ſuch like figures of ſpeech according to the ſtrictneſs of the letter? It is eaſy, ſaid (3) one of the greateſt writers and philoſophers

(3) Facile eſt verbum aliquod ardens (ut ita dicam) notare, idque reſtinctis jam animorum incendiis irridere. Cicer. Orator. Sect. 27.

(4) Princeps

loſophers among the ancients, to criticiſe upon a bold glowing expreſſion, and to ridicule in cold blood what is ſpoken in heat of rapture and warmth of imagination: and if this excuſe may be pleaded for other authors, much more may it be admitted in the oriental ſtile and manner of writing.

It is a mark of good judgment as well as of a happy temper, rather to be candid than ſevere critics, rather to commend than to find fault with any author. At leaſt do not cenſure and find fault, till you are fully aſſured that you are in the right, and they are in the wrong. This is a juſtice that we owe to the writings of men, who are liable to be miſtaken and deceived; and greater reverence ſurely is due to what is otherwiſe proved to be the infallible word of God. But judge only of the inſpired writers, as you would of other ancient authors, making all fair and reaſonable allowances for their age and country, their manners and cuſtoms, their ſtile and language, ſo different from our own; and the more you conſider and underſtand them, the more you will be convinced of their truth and excellence, and be ready in this ſenſe alſo to ſay with the apoſtle (Rom. III. 4.) "Yea, "let God be true, but every man a lier; as it is written, That thou "mighteſt be juſtified in thy ſayings, and mighteſt overcome when "thou art judged."

If there are any other objections their edge is blunted by what hath been ſaid already; but we conceive that we have ſingled out the principal paſſages, which have uſually been objected, or indeed can be objected, againſt the philoſophy of ſcripture. And thus far I hope it hath appeared that the true religion teacheth nothing contrary to the true philoſophy, and thoſe paſſages which ſeem the moſt liable to exception may admit of a favorable interpretation. Nay farther

II. I believe it will appear that the ſcriptures not only contain nothing contrary to the true philoſophy, but mutually confirm it and are confirmed by it in ſeveral inſtances, and ſome of thoſe diſcoveries which are ſo much boaſted of by the moderns, were not wholly unknown to the ancients.

What heathen author hath given us near ſo probable, ſo rational an account of the creation and beginning of things as Moſes? He is certainly as philoſophical, as he is religious, in aſcribing all to the divine command and operation. The creation and deluge are no more to be accounted for mechanically than miracles; they are themſelves the greateſt of miracles; and the *theories* which have been framed to ſolve theſe appearances have really merited no better title than that of *philoſophical romances*. All ſuch pretenders to comprehend and adjuſt the works of God with the underſtandings of men are beſt anſwered with the queſtions which God put to Job; (XXXVIII. 2, 4.) "Who is this that darkeneth counſel by words without knowlege? "Where waſt thou when I laid the foundations of the earth? de- "clare if thou haſt underſtanding."

Moſes repreſents the earth at firſt as in a ſtate of fluidity; "the "Spirit of God," ſays he, (Gen. I. 2.) "moved upon the face of "the waters." St. Peter too (2 Pet. III. 5.) ſpeaketh of the earth as being formed out of a fluid; "the earth ſtanding out of the water "and in the midſt of water;" or as it may better be tranſlated, the earth *conſiſting* (ζυνεςωσα) of water and in the midſt of water. The ſame tradition reached alſo ſome of the heathen philoſophers; and Thales particularly, one of the ſeven wiſe men, and the wiſeſt of them all, as (4) Cicero informs us, ſaid that all things were made out of water. Others after him taught the ſame doctrin. And do our modern diſcoveries in the leaſt contradict or diſprove it? or rather do they not more and more illuſtrate and confirm it? It hath been proved that the earth is not a ſphere exactly but a ſpheroid, whoſe equatorial diameter is ſomewhat longer than the polar. If the earth was ever in a ſtate of fluidity, its revolution round its axis muſt neceſſarily induce ſuch a figure, becauſe near the equatorial parts muſt needs be the greateſt centrifugal force, and conſequently there the fluid muſt riſe and ſwell moſt. And thus ſcripture and philoſophy agree together, and confirm each other; ſcripture aſſerts that the earth was in a ſtate of

(4) Princeps Thales, unus è ſeptem, cui ſex reliquos conceſſiſſe primas ferunt, ex aqua dixit conſtare omnia. Cicero. Acad. II. 37.

(5) Harris's

of fluidity, and philoſophy evinces that it muſt have been in ſuch a ſtate from its very figure.

It hath been by ſome ſuppoſed that Moſes was alſo the author of the book of Job: but whoever was the author of it, he was without doubt a man of moſt ſurpriſing knowlege, and ſuch as may be admired even at this diſtance. The principle of gravitation, that pervades and ſupports the material world, is accounted a modern diſcovery; but muſt not this author have had a notion of ſomething like it, when he ſaid of God (XXVI. 7.) "He ſtretcheth out the north "over the empty place, and hangeth the earth upon nothing?" For how can the earth be conſidered as "hanging upon nothing," without ſome imperfect idea at leaſt of gravitation?

It is needleſs to remark how beautiful are the feathers of the peacock and oſtrich. The latter of theſe birds, the oſtrich, is obſerved by naturaliſts to bury her eggs in the ſand, and to leave them there to be hatched by the kindly warmth and influence of the ſun. How handſomely is this expreſſed by the author of the book of Job? (XXXIX. 13, &c.) "Gaveſt thou the goodly wings unto the pea-"cocks, or wings and feathers unto the oſtrich? which leaveth her "eggs in the earth, and warmeth them in the duſt; And forgetteth "that the foot may cruſh them, or that the wild beaſt may break "them; She is hardened againſt her young ones, as though they were "not hers; God hath deprived her of wiſdom, neither hath he im-"parted to her underſtanding:" and ſhe is obſerved to be ſo deſtitute of underſtanding, that when ſhe is hunted, ſhe commonly taketh refuge behind a tree, and becauſe ſhe cannot ſee her purſuers, imagins that neither can they ſee her, and by theſe means is uſually taken; or otherwiſe her ſpeed and her ſtrength are ſuch as might eaſily preſerve her; "What time ſhe lifteth up herſelf on high, ſhe ſcorneth the "horſe and his rider."

Could any natural hiſtorian deſcribe the nature and properties of the eagle better than the ſame author hath done? (ver. 27, &c.) "Doth "the eagle mount up at thy command, and make her neſt on high? "She dwelleth and abideth on the rock, upon the crag of the rock,

" and the ſtrong place: From thence ſhe ſeeketh the prey, and her " eyes behold afar off: Her young ones alſo ſuck up blood, and where " the ſlain are, there is ſhe." So likewiſe in the reſt of his deſcriptions there is a happy mixture of the ſpirit and imagination of poetry with the truth and exactneſs of philoſophy.

We find Moſes alſo alluding to a very remarkable property of eagles. (5) " They fly round their neſt, and vary their flights for the inſtruc- " tion of their young; and afterwards taking them on their backs, " they ſoar with them aloft in order to try their ſtrength, ſhaking " them off into the air; and if they perceive them too weak to ſuſ- " tain themſelves, they with ſurpriſing dexterity fly under them again, " and receive them on their wings to prevent their fall. The eagle " is ſuppoſed to be the only ſort of bird indued with this kind of " inſtinct, and this ſerves to explain one of the boldeſt and moſt beau- " tiful ſimiles in the ſacred writings. This occurs in the ſong of " Moſes, where he thus deſcribes the march of the children of Iſrael " through the wilderneſs (Deut. XXXII. 11, 12.) *As the eagle ſtir-* " *reth up her neſt, fluttereth over her young, ſpreadeth abroad her* " *wings, taketh them and beareth them on her wings: So the Lord* " *alone did lead him, and there was no ſtrange God with him.*" We are farther informed by ſome writers, " that the eagle at certain pe- " riods ſoars very high, and drops at once into the ſea, after which " all his feathers fall off by degrees, and others ſucceed them. This " is thought to be alluded to Pſal. CIII. 5. *Who ſatisfieth thy mouth* " *with good things, ſo that thy youth is renewed like the eagles.*"

It is ſaid of Solomon (1 Kings IV. 33.) that " he ſpake of trees " from the cedar-tree that is in Lebanon even unto the hyſſop that " ſpringeth out of the wall; he ſpake alſo of beaſts, and of fowl, " and of creeping things, and of fiſhes." But to our regret there are no remains of theſe diſcourſes; or otherwiſe they might have done as much honor to his name as his proverbs and other writings, and he might then have appeared as excellent a *natural* as he doth now a *moral* philoſopher.

Solomon's

(5) Harris's Voyages, B. I. Ch. 2. Sect. 14.

(6) Boyle's

Solomon's ſkill in natural philoſophy is diſcovered in a ſingular inſtance obſerved by Mr. Boyle. In the XXVth chapter of the Proverbs, ver. 20. Solomon is ſpeaking of things very incongruous one to another. "As he that taketh away a garment in cold weather, and as "vinegar upon nitre; ſo is he that ſingeth ſongs to an heavy heart." But there is no ſuch antipathy between vinegar and common nitre; it is true only of Egyptian nitre, which being a natural alkali will cauſe an ebullition when joined with any acid ſalt. "Wherefore," ſaith (6) Mr. Boyle, "ſtrongly preſuming, that Solomon, who reigned in "Judea a country near to Egypt, and had much commerce with the "Egyptians, whoſe king's daughter he had married, made uſe of "Egyptian nitre as the beſt known, if not the only in his time and "country, I quickly poured upon it ſome ſtrong vinegar, and found "as I expected, that there preſently enſued a manifeſt conflict, with "noiſe and ſtore of bubbles; with which experiment I afterwards ac-"quainted ſome critics, and other learned men who were not ill "pleaſed with it." So ſtrictly philoſophical is holy writ even in thoſe paſſages which ſeem liable to exception.

The migration of birds from one climate to another at the proper ſeaſons is a wonderful inſtinct of nature; and how elegantly is it applied by the prophet Jeremiah; (VIII. 7.) "Yea, the ſtork in the "heaven knoweth her appointed times, and the turtle, and the crane, "and the ſwallow, obſerve the time of their coming; but my peo-"ple know not the judgment of the Lord!"

A great noiſe ſomething like a violent exploſion in the air is the uſual concomitant of an earthquake. It may well be remembered in the late earthquakes, which alarmed the inhabitants of the metropolis; and you ſcarce ever read a deſcription of an earthquake any where without particular notice of it. It was obſerved ſo long ago as in Iſaiah's time, for he mentions the great noiſe as well as the earthquake. (XXIX. 6.) "Thou ſhalt be viſited of the Lord of hoſts with thun-"der,

(6) Boyle's Producibleneſs of Chymical Principles, Fol. Edit. Vol. I. p. 381. Wotton of Learning, p. 191.

(7) Dr.

" der, and with earthquake, and great noiſe, with ſtorm and tem-
" peſt, and the flame of devouring fire."

One of the nobleſt diſcoveries of the modern philoſophy is the plurality of worlds; ſo that no perſon who hath in the leaſt conſidered theſe matters, queſtions now but the planets are all inhabited, and every fixed ſtar is a ſun with other planets moving round it, as the planets of this our ſyſtem move about the ſun. And nothing raiſes in us higher ideas, ſublimer ſentiments of the works of God, nothing more opens and inlarges the hearts and capacities of men. But what now if you ſhould find a hint of this in ſcripture? I cannot well ſee how the paſſage can be underſtood without ſuppoſing it; at leaſt it cannot with ſo much truth and propriety. (Pſal. VIII. 3, 4.) " When
" I conſider thy heavens, the work of thy fingers, the moon and the
" ſtars which thou haſt ordained; What is man that thou art mind-
" ful of him, and the ſon of man that thou viſiteſt him?" " What
" is man?" why certainly man is more worth than all the ſtars and heavens, if they are without intelligent beings to inhabit them. One living, rational, immortal ſoul is of infinitely greater value than millions of worlds of inanimate, ſenſeleſs, dead matter, nay than all the matter of the univerſe. Where then is the juſtneſs or reaſon of the pſalmiſt's admiration, unleſs he ſuppoſed there were other rational creatures beſides man, who might claim the regard of providence as well or better than he? Where is the wonder that *man* ſhould be viſited, if there were not other intelligent beings beſides man; or why ſhould the moon and the ſtars, which without animate creatures to inhabit them are no more than ſyſtems of dead matter, be thought more conſiderable than he?

Other texts there are which contain the greateſt truths in nature as well as in religion. Such as this, (Acts XVII. 28.) " In God we
" live, and move, and have our being;" and this, (Matt. X. 29, 30.)
" Not a ſparrow falleth on the ground without our Father; Yea the
" very hairs of our head are all numbred:" and a philoſophical diſcourſe might be written upon each of them, to demonſtrate the truth and

neceſſity of a continual univerſal providence, extending to the leaſt things as well as the greateſt.

As the ſcriptures give us the moſt probable account of the *creation* and *beginning* of things, ſo they do likewiſe of their *conſummation*; and aſſure us that as the earth was formed out of *water*, ſo will it be deſtroyed by *fire*. It is not only aſſerted by St. Peter (2 Pet. III. 7, &c.) " The heavens and the earth which are now are reſerved unto " fire againſt the day of judgment, in the which the heavens ſhall " paſs away with a great noiſe, and the elements ſhall melt with fer- " vent heat, the earth alſo and the works that are therein ſhall be " burned up:" but the notion alſo prevailed among the Heathens, as we may learn from Ovid, without citing other teſtimonies;

Eſſe quoque in fatis reminiſcitur affore tempus,
Quo mare, quo tellus, correptaque regia cœli
Ardeat, et mundi moles operoſa laboret. Met. I. 256.

Remembring, in the fates, a time, when fire
Shou'd to the battlements of heav'n aſpire,
And all his blazing worlds above ſhould burn,
And all the inferior globe to cinders turn. Dryden.

After which general conflagration there will be " new heavens and a " new earth wherein dwelleth righteouſneſs." And philoſophers are ſo far from denying or queſtioning theſe truths, that (7) ſome have even attempted to ſhow how all theſe changes may be effected. We cannot indeed pretend to ſay, that the rudiments of all ſcience are compriſed in the ſcriptures. They were plainly written with another end and deſign, for our inſtruction in moral and divine matters, and not for the improvement of arts and ſciences. It is enough that they teach nothing contrary to the true philoſophy; and not only teach nothing contrary to the true philoſophy, but mutually confirm it and are confirmed by it in ſeveral inſtances, and ſome of thoſe diſcoveries which

(7) Dr. Burnet, Whiſton, &c.

(8) Lord

which are ſo much boaſted of by the moderns were not wholly unknown to the ancients.

" Beware" therefore " leſt any man ſpoil you through philoſophy " and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of " the world, and not after Chriſt." They are only *minute* philoſophers who are ſceptics and infidels. The greateſt philoſophers have ever been friends to religion: And indeed a little wit and malice will ſuffice to raiſe objections; it is a mark of ſuperior knowlege and underſtanding to be able to lay them. Conſider who have been the moſt eminent philoſophers, and ſee whether they have not alſo been believers and defenders of revelation, ſtudyers of ſcripture as well as of nature, followers of God in his word as well as in his works. There are *four* particularly whom I chooſe to inſtance in, not only on account of their eminency, but alſo becauſe the ſceptic cannot here object prieſtcraft, or pretend that religion was their trade and profeſſion.

The *firſt* was (8) the moſt univerſal genius, that perhaps ever appeared in this country or in any other. He made the laws of his country his particular ſtudy, and was promoted by his ſuperior merit in his profeſſion to the higheſt civil employment in the ſtate; but his active comprehenſive ſoul was not confined and limited there; he ranged through all arts and ſciences, ſhowed wherein they were defective, chalked out the method how they might be improved, and *the advancement of learning* that hath been made ſince his days, hath been made chiefly in purſuance of his ſchemes, by treading in his footſteps, and tracing and deducing the rivers whereof he diſcovered the ſprings and ſources. His writings, the principal of them being written in the learned language, have done infinite honor to the nation: and in all of them, even thoſe which are not profeſſedly written upon divine ſubjects, there is yet a great ſpirit of piety and religion, and we plainly ſee his reverence for the ſcriptures by his frequent alluſions to them and citations from them. His noted axiom was that " a

(8) Lord Bacon.

(9) Mr.

" a little philoſophy inclineth man's mind to atheiſm, but depth in " philoſophy bringeth mens minds about to religion :" and he placeth theology at the head of all learning as the higheſt attainment and perfection of human nature.

The *ſecond* was (9) of a noble family, and applied himſelf chiefly to experimental philoſophy: and what was the conſequence of his ſearches into nature, but having a more profound reverence for the God of nature? It is related of him, that he never mentioned the name of God without a ſolemn pauſe in his diſcourſe; ſo far was he from treating it lightly and irreverently; ſo full was his mind of pious awe and veneration. Amidſt his numerous philoſophical writings he found time alſo to write upon religious ſubjects. He wrote a treatiſe particularly of *the excellency of theology compared with natural philoſophy*, and another *of the ſtile of the ſcriptures* with admiration and rapture. He was at the expenſe of large impreſſions of the bible and tranſlations into ſeveral languages for the uſe of the poor both at home and abroad. Having employed his whole life in doing good, he extended his benevolence and charities to mankind after his death, and founded an annual lecture with a handſom ſalary for the proof of natural and revealed religion againſt atheiſts, deiſts, and all other infidels whomſoever.

The *third* was (1) a moſt excellent metaphyſician, and inquired particularly into the powers and limits of the *human underſtanding*, an author happy in a wonderfully clear vein of thinking and reaſoning, drew his materials not ſo much from books as from his own thoughts and reflections, and knew how to dreſs thoſe thoughts and reflections in eaſy agreeable language; a friend to liberty both civil and religious, but an advocate for revelation, wrote largely of *the reaſonableneſs of Chriſtianity*, made a moſt excellent *paraphraſe* and *annotations* on the principal of St. *Paul*'s epiſtles, wherein he hath done more towards clearing and explaining their ſenſe and meaning than any commentator, I had almoſt ſaid than all the commentators before him: and

(9) Mr. Boyle. (1) Mr. Locke.

and doubtleſs would have obliged us with more ſuch writings if he had lived longer, having dedicated the remainder of his days wholely and ſolely to theſe ſtudies.

The *fourth* was (2) a prodigy indeed of mathematical knowlege. "There was none like him before him," and it may be queſtioned whether after him there will any "ariſe like unto him." It is ſaid by Dr. Keill that if all philoſophy and mathematics were conſidered as conſiſting of ten parts, nine of them are entirely of his diſcovery and invention. And his modeſty, humility, and other virtues were as great and conſpicuous as his learning and knowlege. He ſpoke always of the Supreme Being in a manner becoming a philoſopher, attempted to ſettle *the chronology* of ancient kingdoms conformable to ſcripture, and wrote *obſervations* on ſome of the moſt difficult parts of holy writ, *the prophecies of Daniel and St. John's Revelation*, making thus the word of God the port and haven of all his labors, and doing as every wiſe man ſhould, beginning with philoſophy and ending in religion.

Some of theſe great men might perhaps entertain ſome ſingular opinions; (as indeed what great geniuſes are without ſome ſingular opinions?) but in the general they were hearty friends to religion, firm believers of the Chriſtian revelation, and recommended it by their lives as well as by their writings. And are not ſuch inſtances ſufficient to overwhelm all infidelity with ſhame and confuſion? How can men pretend philoſophy as the ground of their unbelief, when the greateſt philoſophers, for that very reaſon becauſe they were the greateſt philoſophers, were ſuch learned advocates for religion? No true philoſopher can be an infidel; no infidel can be a true philoſopher. Wherefore to conclude as St. Paul concludes his firſt Epiſtle to Timothy, "O Timothy, keep that which is committed to thy truſt, avoiding "profane and vain babblings and oppoſitions of ſcience falſely ſo called, "which ſome profeſſing have erred concerning the faith. Grace be "with you. Amen."

(2) Sir Iſaac Newton.

OCCA-

OCCASIONAL SERMONS.

I.

On FORMS of PRAYER, and particularly thoſe of the CHURCH of ENGLAND:

A

SERMON

Preached in the

Pariſh Church of St. MARY-LE-BOW,

According to the laſt Will of Mr. JOHN HUTCHINS,
Citizen and Goldſmith,

On St. MARK's-DAY, 1745.

When there was a Collection for the Charity Children.

TO

Mr. SAMUEL SANDEFORTH, TREASURER,

Mr. Thomas Leach,
Mr. Thomas Paris,
Mr. John Drinkwater,
Mr. Thomas Brunſkell,
Mr. John Whiting,
Mr. Henry Clarke,
Mr. Soper Hayter,
Mr. Leonard Pead,
Mr. William Caldwall,
Mr. James Dobſon,
Mr. Henry Oldham,
Mr. Thomas Cheſſon,
Mr. Gabriel Sleath,
Mr. John Blackall,
Mr. Michael Martindale,

CITIZENS and TRUSTEES of Mr. HUTCHINS's CHARITY.

GENTLEMEN,

WHEN I had preached this ſermon at Your deſire, You were very importunate with me to publiſh it. I deferred it, in hopes that You would think better of it; but upon Your continued application it is given up to You; and I wiſh only, that it may prove as ſatisfactory to the Readers, as You ſaid it was to You, and the reſt of the Hearers.

Let me now in my turn requeſt of You, to ſhow Your zeal and affection for the church of England, now eſpecially in theſe times of danger and trouble, by a conſtant and devout attendence upon its worſhip and ſervice. Other means are to be employed in our defenſe beſides religion, but without religion all other means will be ineffectual. They, who beſt diſcharge their duty to God, will beſt fulfil their other obligations of loyalty to their King, and love to their Country. And in this confidence of You I am,

GENTLEMEN,

Your moſt faithful and obedient Servant,

Thomas Newton.

SERMON I.

LUKE XI. 1.

——Lord teach us to pray, as John alſo taught his diſciples.

PRAYER is a duty neceſſarily ariſing from the relation of man to God; and public prayer is as much our duty, as we are members of ſociety, as private prayer is our duty, as we are individual and ſingle perſons. That we ſhould therefore pray unto God, all who have any ſenſe of religion are agreed; but they differ greatly as to the matter and manner of their petitions. There is an excellent dialogue in (1) Plato between Socrates and Alcibiades, wherein is ſhown the great difficulty of framing our petitions ſo, as they may prove acceptable to God and beneficial to ourſelves; and Socrates, ſenſible of the defects of natural reaſon, infers from thence the neceſſity of divine revelation, and expreſſes his hopes and expectations, that ſome divine perſon would be ſent from heaven to teach and inſtruct us as in other parts of our duty, ſo particularly in the exerciſe of our devotions. The diſciples of our Lord were conſcious of the ſame wants and infirmities; and therefore they apply themſelves to him, that he would "teach "them to pray as John alſo taught his diſciples." Our Saviour teaches them accordingly; and in them hath taught us not only the true object of worſhip but alſo the beſt method of worſhipping him, not only what petitions we are to offer at the throne of grace, but alſo the form and manner wherein we are to offer them. And yet there are men, who pretend to be ſo much wiſer than the reſt of mankind,

(1) Alcibiades ſecundus ſive De precatione.

mankind, as to want none of theſe aſſiſtances and inſtructions; they are for pouring out their ſpirit in extemporary prayer, and utterly condemn all ſet forms: And even of thoſe, who may approve ſet forms of prayer, ſome may yet diſapprove the forms preſcribed in our liturgy, and imagin that others more convenient and proper may be ſubſtituted in their place. For our own vindication and ſatisfaction therefore in points of ſuch importance we will firſt attempt to prove *the lawfulneſs and expediency of ſet forms of prayer in general*, and ſecondly endevor to ſhow *the excellency of our own form in particular*; if not to convince our adverſaries, yet at leaſt to juſtify ourſelves in the uſe of it.

Firſt we are to prove *the lawfulneſs and expediency of ſet forms of prayer in general*. And for the ſake of brevity as much as of order, our proofs ſhall be reduced to two kinds, and ſhall be drawn partly from the *authority* of *ſcripture*, and partly from the *reaſon* of the *thing*.

1. We have the *authority* of *ſcripture* plainly on our ſide, and what better authority can we deſire? Are any of our modern ſectaries wiſer than Solomon? but he in his directions for our behaviour in the houſe of God, forbids all long extemporary prayers; (Eccleſ. V. 2.) "Be "not raſh with thy mouth, and let not thy heart be haſty to utter "any thing before God, for God is in heaven, and thou upon earth; "therefore let thy words be few." And much to the ſame purpoſe the ſon of Sirach exhorts us; (Ecclus XVIII. 23.) "Before thou "prayeſt, prepare thyſelf, and be not as one that tempteth the Lord." In the law of Moſes the form is preſcribed, wherein the prieſts ſhould bleſs the people. As the people ſtood in need always of the ſame bleſſing, ſo was it to be implored always in the ſame words; (Numb. VI. 24, &c.) "The Lord bleſs thee and keep thee; the Lord make "his face ſhine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee, the Lord lift "up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace;" which very form of bleſſing we ſtill retain in the Commination-office, and in the order for the Viſitation of the ſick. In like manner the form of bleſſing at the removing and reſting of the ark, (Numb. X. 35, 36.) the form of prayer for the expiation of an uncertain murder, (Deut.

XXI.

XXI. 7, 8, 9.) the form of confeſſion and prayer of him who offereth the baſket of firſt-fruits and of him who giveth his third year's tithes (Deut. XXVI. 3, &c.) are all preſcribed and appointed in the law; and would ſuch forms have been appointed, if all forms were unlawful? But we need not inſiſt upon ſingle proofs, when we can produce a whole book together. For was not the book of pſalms compoſed for the ſervice of the temple? And is not this evident from the titles and inſcriptions of moſt of the pſalms themſelves? And can you ſuppoſe that the "man after God's own heart" was ignorant of the true manner of worſhipping him? Nay not only that David, but the whole Jewiſh church were in an error from the beginning to the end?

But you may conceive that this imperfect way of worſhip was proper only for that imperfect diſpenſation of the Jews; you may imagin that it ſavors altogether of their "beggarly elements," and there ſhould be no ſuch reſtraint and impoſition upon the ſpirit of Chriſtians. But how then cometh it to paſs, that John the Baptiſt delivers a form of prayer to his diſciples, as the Jewiſh maſters and doctors had alſo done before him to their diſciples? And why is our Saviour ſo far from reprehending, that he follows his example? Would our Saviour have given a ſet form of prayer to his diſciples, if a ſet form had been any ſtinting of devotion? Or rather would he have done it, unleſs it had been an help to devotion? And much more would he have repeated and recommended the ſame form *twice*, at different times and upon different occaſions? As Joſeph ſaid unto Pharaoh, (Gen. XLI. 32.) "The dream was doubled becauſe the thing is eſtabliſhed by "God;" ſo may it be ſaid in this caſe, the prayer was doubled, was repeated twice, that it might be eſtabliſhed, and together with it the lawfulneſs and expediency of ſet forms of prayers might be evinced and eſtabliſhed beyond all reaſonable doubt and contradiction. Nor were there ever any chriſtians, who queſtioned and oppoſed the uſe of ſet forms of prayer, till a century or two ago. The univerſal practice of the church from the earlieſt ages, which is the beſt interpreter of ſcripture, hath conſtantly favored it.

Nor

Nor ſecondly let it be pretended, that though ſcripture be for us yet reaſon is againſt us; for we have the *reaſon* of the *thing* on our ſide as plainly as the authority of ſcripture. A preſcribed form of worſhip is not ſubject to the ſame inconveniences with extemporary effuſions. The great danger of unpremeditated prayer is, leſt it ſhould degenerate into a rhapſody of abſurdities and enthuſiaſm; and he muſt be an uncommon and powerful maſter indeed of thought and expreſſion, who is able to ſpeak on a ſudden and yet ſpeak nothing improper in an addreſs to the majeſty of heaven. A man ſhould be aſhamed of appearing with ſuch indigeſted crudities before his earthly ſovran, or indeed before any perſon of underſtanding. But if there ſhould be nothing abſurd and unbecoming, yet the audience muſt firſt endevor to underſtand the words; and then they muſt weigh and conſider the ſenſe and meaning; and then they muſt deliberate whether ſuch requeſts are proper for perſons in their condition, before they can lawfully join in them; and by that time the miniſter is paſſed on to ſome other ſubject, which requires the like attention and conſideration; and ſo their curioſity may be raiſed, and they may exerciſe their judgment, but there can be ſcarce any room left for devotion.

As a precompoſed form of prayer is not ſubject to the ſame inconveniences with extemporary effuſions, ſo neither is it liable itſelf to any juſt objections. It is ſo far from obſtructing or quenching our devotion as is pretended, that it rather aſſiſts and inflames it; the matter and the words are both prepared to our hands, we know before what is to follow that we may lawfully join in it, and no other attention is required but to raiſe our affections. And let me aſk, is not the ſpirit of the congregation equally ſtinted whether the miniſter pray in an extemporary or in a compoſed regular form? And which is more fit and proper for the people to receive a form of prayer from the wiſdom and authority of the whole church, or to depend upon the diſcretion of every ſingle miniſter?

But a precompoſed form of prayer is not only liable to no juſt objection; but hath beſides ſeveral advantages to recommend it. It is more for the honor of almighty God, expreſſes more reverence and de-

votion, preſerves greater propriety and decency of language, and in ſhort ſurpaſſes extemporary prayer, as much as ſound piety and religion exceed the freaks and rants of fanaticiſm and enthuſiaſm. It is likewiſe more for the edification of men as well as for the honor of God; for who can queſtion, which is likely to be moſt inſtructive and edifying, haſty conceptions, or ſtudied compoſitions; the thoughts of one, perhaps illiterate, man thrown out without premeditation, or the wiſdom of the church prepared and digeſted into form and order? It is better not only for the people, but for the miniſters too; for as it prevents any vain oſtentation of their talents in the more learned, ſo it ſupplies the more ignorant with what perhaps they could ill compoſe of themſelves; for in every profeſſion there are always ſome of inferior genius and capacity, and it is good for theſe to have ſuch a proviſion made for them. Moreover it better eſtabliſhes and ſecures the unity of faith and worſhip; hinders the heterodox from infuſing their particular notions in their prayers, which is perhaps the moſt artful and plauſible way of infuſing them; reduces all the churches to an uniformity, prevents any diſagreement or contradiction in their petitions, and inſtructs them, as they worſhip the ſame God, to worſhip him with the ſame mind and voice. Finally it is ſhowing to all the world the terms of our communion, and giving them a fair opportunity to examin them before they join in it; whereas if there be no ſtated regular forms, we muſt have a ſort of implicit faith in every miniſter, aſſent we know not why and pray for we know not what, juſt as his temper or intereſt or caprice or paſſions ſhall prompt and incite him. And this you may abſurdly call praying by the ſpirit if you pleaſe, but every wiſe man will ſay with the Apoſtle, (1 Cor. XIV. 15.) "I will pray with the ſpirit, and I will pray with the under-"ſtanding alſo."

It is eaſy to ſay more, but we hope that enough hath been ſaid, to prove *the lawfulneſs and expediency of ſet forms of prayer in general*, and we ſhall now, as it was propoſed in the ſecond place, endevor to ſhow *the excellency of our own form in particular*. Not that a particular examination of all the beauties in our liturgy, or a particular an-

ſwer to all the objections which have been made againſt it, can be propoſed or expected in one of theſe diſcourſes. Theſe things have been done to ſatisfaction again and again by ſeveral learned men, and the books are in every one's hands. Our time will allow us only to make ſome general reflections.

1. It will very much recommend our liturgy to conſider *how* and by *whom* it was compoſed, that it was not the production of this or that man, but the reſult of the wiſdom of our governors both in church and ſtate. The compilers of it were not only the beſt and wiſeſt men of that age in this nation, but they conſulted likewiſe the moſt eminent of the divines abroad, and had their approbation of it, and approved it yet farther themſelves by dying in its defenſe. And ſince that time it hath received ſome corrections and improvements; and though no work of man can pretend to perfection, yet it hath perhaps as few imperfections as any whatever. In theory poſſibly it may ſeem eaſy to correct and amend it, but it hath been found and will be found extremely difficult in practice. None of thoſe who have attempted it, have ſucceeded in their attempts.

2. It is another recommendation of our liturgy, that it is drawn up in *our own mother-tongue*; ſo that we may all underſtand it with eaſe and attend to it with pleaſure. In this reſpect as well as in others our church is truly primitive and apoſtolical; for when were prayers in an unknown tongue firſt introduced into the church, and what was the occaſion of introducing them? Was it not becauſe the Romans ſtill retained their Latin ſervice, after the Latin language was loſt among them by the courſe of time and inundation of barbarous nations? It is true indeed that God underſtands our petitions in any language; and he underſtands as well the breathings of our hearts, if we pray in no language at all. The deſign of our prayers is not to inform Omniſcience, but to acknowlege our own dependence; but how can they properly be ſaid to be *our prayers*, if we do not join in them? And how can we be ſaid to join in them, if we neither underſtand the ſenſe nor the words? (1 Cor. XIV. 11.) "If I know not the meaning of the voice I ſhall be unto him that ſpeaketh a barbarian, and

" he that ſpeaketh ſhall be a barbarian unto me." It is a happineſs therefore that our ſervice is ſuch as all may join in it, becauſe all underſtand it; and herein we particularly follow the precept of the Apoſtle, (1 Cor. XIV. 26.) " Let all things be done to edifying."

3. It recommendeth our liturgy yet more, that it was compoſed principally out of *ſcripture* or out of *ancient liturgies* and *fathers*. There are not only ſeveral parts and paſſages borrowed entire, as particularly the Lord's prayer, and the pſalms and leſſons in their monthly and yearly courſe, and St. Ambroſe's hymn called Te Deum and the prayer of St. Chryſoſtom, and the like: But even where entire parts and paſſages are not borrowed, and the very words of ſcripture or of fathers are not taken and applied, yet their ſpirit and manner, their ſtile and character are ſtill preſerved; and perhaps there is ſcarce any collect in our liturgy, ſcarce any ſentiment or expreſſion that may not be juſtified by the authority of one or other of them. And what a comfort and ſatisfaction ſhould it be to us, that we are ſuch a ſound part of the holy catholic church, that we thus maintain the communion of ſaints, that we worſhip God in the ſame manner as the martyrs and confeſſors and beſt of chriſtians did in the pureſt ages; and the ſpirit of their liturgies, like Elijah's upon Eliſha, (2 Kings II. 9.) hath deſcended in " a double portion" upon Ours.

4. It is a farther recommendation of it, that our prayers are addreſſed to the *proper object* through the *proper mediator*, to the one God through (1 Tim. II. 5.) the " one mediator between God and " men the man Chriſt Jeſus." Each collect begins with a ſolemn invocation of the one, and concludes with the prevailing merits and interceſſion of the other. In this inſtance again our church is truly primitive and apoſtolical, and hath purged away the dregs of later times. For look into the Roman miſſals and manuals of devotion, and you will find as many prayers directed to the Virgin Mary as to God himſelf, as many offered through the mediation of ſaints and angels, as of the Son of God himſelf. And yet it is certain, that nothing can be more contrary to the doctrin of ſcripture, or a greater deviation from the practice of the catholic church for more than three

centuries at leaſt after Chriſt. Let us congratulate ourſelves therefore, that our worſhip is reſtored to its genuin ſimplicity and purity. Rome Chriſtian as well as Rome Pagan may have (1 Cor. VIII. 6.) " Gods " many and Lords many, but to us there is but one God the father " of whom are all things and we in him; and one Lord Jeſus Chriſt " by whom are all things, and we by him."

5. It is beſides a great excellence of our ſervice to have ſo *many ſhort diſtinct* petitions, and renders them more fit and eaſy to be remembered and repeated. Our liturgy in this reſpect may be compared to a ſtring of pearls, every one valuable but altogether almoſt ineſtimable. If the whole was diſpoſed in one continued prayer, though it ſhould not be tedious, yet it would keep our minds upon the ſtretch too long together; whereas theſe breaks and pauſes give relief, our ſouls recover breath as it were, and we return to worſhip again with new ſpirit and vigor. Brevity is a beauty in all ſorts of compoſition, and eſpecially when man is addreſſing himſelf to God. Long prayers are too much like *preaching* to God Almighty. Sure we are that the Lord's prayer, which was deſigned to be a ſtandard and model for all others, is ſhort as it is comprehenſive; and you know not whether to admire it more for its fulneſs or its brevity.

6. The *variety* of our ſervice is another excellence in the compoſition of it, and contributes much to the keeping up of our attention and devotion. A ſameneſs in any thing ſoon ſatiates and wearies us; and it is as difficult to keep the mind as it is the body, long in one poſture. But by the beautiful intermixture of prayer and praiſe, of ſupplication and thankſgiving, of confeſſion and abſolution, of hymns and creeds, of pſalms and leſſons, our wearineſs is relieved, our attention is renewed, and we are led on agreeably from one ſubject to another, and by means of the variety are ſcarcely ſenſible of the length of our ſervice. The frame of our liturgy is ſomewhat like the frame of the world; it is order in variety, and though all the parts are different, yet the whole is conſiſtent and regular.

7. What renders it yet more excellent is its *comprehenſiveneſs*, including all that we can want or deſire. The exhortation of the Apoſtle

is religiouſly obſerved; (1 Tim. II. 1, 2.) and "ſupplications, prayers, "interceſſions and giving of thanks are made for all men, for kings "and for all that are in authority." Indeed there is nothing that relates either to ourſelves or others, nothing that concerns us either as men or members of ſociety, nothing that conduces to our happineſs in this world or the world to come, but is comprehended in ſome or other of the petitions. A form of prayer for general uſe could not well be made more particular; and it is eaſy, while the miniſter is reading it, with a ſudden glance of thought to appropriate and apply any paſſages to ourſelves and our own caſe. A great deal is expreſſed, but more is implied; and our devotions in our cloſets and in our families we cannot perhaps better expreſs than in the words of our liturgy, it is ſo ſuited to all ranks and conditions, and adapted to all wants and occaſions.

8. The congregation have particular reaſon to be pleaſed, as they have a *larger ſhare* in our ſervice than in any other whatever: and the miniſter and people mutually raiſe and inflame each other's devotion. In the church of Rome the congregation are ſo far from having any ſhare in the ſervice, that they do not ſo much as underſtand it; but the prieſt mutters over his Latin prayers to himſelf, and the people every one their particular prayers to themſelves; and ſo they depart ſome ſooner and ſome later, juſt as they happen to have finiſhed their devotions. And among our proteſtant diſſenters there is commonly one long-winded tedious extemporary prayer; the people are only hearers, and they muſt hear before they can underſtand, and they muſt underſtand before they can approve, and they muſt approve before they can join in any petition, all which is impoſſible to be done in an inſtant while one is ſpeaking. It is a ſingular privilege therefore, that our people enjoy, of bearing ſo large a part in our ſervice; and it is this that properly denominates ours, what really none elſe is, a book of *Common Prayer*.

In a word our liturgy is in every reſpect excellently contrived and fitted to promote true devotion. The language is ſo plain as to be level to the capacities of the meaneſt, and yet the ſenſe ſo noble as

to raiſe the conceptions of the greateſt. The *manner* too, in which our ſervice is performed, is worthy of the *matter*; our churches plain and ſolemn, neither painted and adorned like a theatre on the one hand, nor yet entirely unadorned like a common room on the other; our veſtments ſuitable and becoming, and the very emblem of holineſs, for as St. John ſaith, (Rev. XIX. 8.) "the fine linen clean and "white is the righteouſneſs of ſaints;" our ceremonies neither too many nor too few, ſuch as may excite and cheriſh and not ſuch as may diſtract and diſſipate our devotion. All things are done, as the Apoſtle would have them done, (1 Cor. XIV. 40.) "decently and in or-"der;" and if our piety is not eminent and conſpicuous in proportion to our advantages, it is becauſe we are wanting to ourſelves, not becauſe our church hath been wanting in making proper proviſion for us.

As we have therefore ſuch an excellent form of prayer, let us reverence it accordingly; reſort to it frequently; attend to it devoutly; accompany it not only with our lips but with our hearts; repeat what we are to repeat, and anſwer where we are to anſwer, but never incroach upon another's office, never repeat the abſolution after the miniſter, never ſay our prayers aloud to diſturb the reſt of the congregation; join in every prayer with our mind, and in every amen with our voice, and in all reſpects behave like thoſe who are in the more immediate preſence of God; and then will (Pſal. XIX. 14.) "the words of our "mouths and the meditations of our hearts be acceptable in thy ſight, "O Lord our ſtrength and our redeemer." And to this duty methinks we ſhould need no other exhortation than that of the Pſalmiſt; and if we will not do it for love let us do it for fear; (Pſal. XCVI. 9.) "O worſhip the Lord in the beauty of holineſs, fear before him "all the earth."

But love is a more generous principle than fear: and how thankful ought we to be to our heavenly Father for having brought us up in the boſom of the beſt and pureſt church upon earth? and how can we be duly ſenſible of our own happineſs without being deſirous to communicate it to others? and what a pious and charitable work

therefore

therefore is this of Yours in educating ſo many young children in the principles of the church of England, who might otherwiſe be made a prey to a falſe religion, or abandoned to no religion? Go on then in the beneficent deſign that You have undertaken; it is a ſort of god-like office, "out of the mouths of babes and ſucklings to ordain "ſtrength, and perfect praiſe:" And (2 Cor. IX. 7.) "every man "according as he purpoſeth in his heart, ſo let him give, not grudg-"ingly or of neceſſity; for God loveth a cheerful giver." What chriſtian can have the heart to refuſe, when he remembers thoſe memorable words of our bleſſed Saviour? (Matt. XVIII. 5.) "Whoſo "ſhall receive one ſuch little child in my name, receiveth me." And again, (Matt. XXV. 40.) "Verily I ſay unto You, In as much as "ye have done it unto one of the leaſt of theſe my brethren, ye "have done it unto me."

SERMON II.

PHARISAISM and POPERY paralleled:

Preached in the Pariſh Church of St. MARY-LE-BOW, and GROSVENOR Chapel, on occaſion of the preſent Rebellion, October 1745. Publiſhed at the particular Requeſt of ſeveral of the Audience.

MATT. XXIII. 13.

Woe unto you Scribes and Phariſees, hypocrites.

ABUNDANCE of exhortations and reproofs there are in ſcripture, which though directed to particular perſons, are yet of general uſe and importance. Even thoſe paſſages, which ſeem to be more peculiarly

peculiarly adapted to certain perſons and certain times, may yet afford inſtruction to all perſons and all times. And of this kind particularly is our Saviour's diſcourſe in the XXIIId chapter of St. Matthew, which though pointed directly at the Scribes and Phariſees, may yet ſerve for a perpetual warning againſt the vices of all thoſe who ſhall tread in their ſteps. The Scribes were the great doctors and expounders of the Jewiſh law; and becauſe they were uſually of the ſect of the Phariſees, therefore the Scribes and Phariſees are ſo frequently joined together in ſcripture: And becauſe they did (ver. 5.) "all their works to be ſeen "of men," becauſe they (Matt. XV. 8.) "honored God with their "lips" while "their hearts were far from him," therefore our Saviour calleth them *hypocrites*. "Woe unto you Scribes and Phari-"ſees, hypocrites." He obſerves that they (ver. 2, 3.) "ſit in Mo-"ſes ſeat," but then "they ſay and do not:" As perſons in authority they might be obeyed, but as examples they were by no means to be followed. He denounces eight ſevere woes againſt them; and I wiſh among Chriſtians there may not be ſome ſitting *in cathedra* too, to whom theſe woes as properly appertain, as ever they did to the Scribes and Phariſees themſelves. Let us take a view of them in the order, wherein they lie in the chapter, and ſee whether the vices of thoſe times are not to be paralleled now. At leaſt it will be of ſome uſe and ſervice to point out the rocks and ſhelves upon which the Scribes and Phariſees (1 Tim. I. 19.) "made ſhipwrack of faith and a good "conſcience," that ſo we may the more cautiouſly avoid them. For theſe things were written not for their ſakes, but (1 Cor. X. 11.) "but "for our admonition upon whom the ends of the world are come."

1. The firſt woe denounced againſt them is for their (ver. 13.) "ſhutting up the kingdom of heaven againſt men, neither going in "themſelves, nor ſuffering them that were entering to go in." They "ſhut up the kingdom of heaven againſt men," they did all they could to debar men from the true religion, neither embracing it themſelves, nor ſuffering others, who would have embraced it, to embrace it. St. Luke expreſſeth it more particularly by their (Luke XI. 52.) "taking away the key of knowlege: they entered not in themſelves,

"and

" and them that were entering in they hindered." We muſt underſtand, that at the admiſſion of a Jewiſh doctor a book and a key were given him, importing that he ſhould unlock and open, that he ſhould interpret and explain the law of God to the people. It is in alluſion to this ceremony, that our Saviour ſaith, that the Scribes and Phariſees had " taken away the key of knowlege," that they had not duly opened and explained the law of God to the people, particularly with relation to the Meſſiah. They had corrupted the true and genuin ſenſe of things by their falſe gloſſes and interpretations; and in numberleſs inſtances had (Mark VII. 13.) " made the word of God of " none effect by their traditions." And now if there be any called Chriſtians, who thus " take away the key of knowlege," and " ſhut " up the kingdom of heaven againſt men," neither holding the truth themſelves, nor permitting others, who would examin things, to examin them, who would profeſs the truth, to profeſs it; will not this woe as properly belong to them, as ever it did to the Scribes and Phariſees? Every body, who heareth me, muſt immediately reflect upon the biſhops and clergy of the church of Rome, whoſe practice this is, of not permitting their members, who would examin things, to examin them; a practice notorious to all, and denied by none. They not only perform their public prayers and the ſervice of God in an unknown tongue; but will not even allow the people ſo much as to read the ſcripture without a licenſe from their ſuperiors, the biſhops or inquiſitors. This licenſe they grant as a particular favor, and never but at the recommendation of the prieſt or confeſſor, and when they are pretty ſecure of the perſon to whom they grant it. And then, when they allow the ſcripture to be read, they will allow it to be read only in their own tranſlations, and guarded and fenced with their own annotations. Here in England perhaps they may be a little more indulgent, where they are only upon ſufferance, and have not their people in ſuch ſubjection: But where their's is the eſtabliſhed religion, and they have the power in their hands, there whoſoever preſumes to read the ſcripture without leave is denied abſolution, and in ſome countries it is well if he be not thrown into the priſon of the Inquiſition.

It would make the people ſome amends for ſuch a manifeſt abuſe, if they inſtructed them in their duty by other means; but they have nothing of the body and ſubſtance of morality or divinity in their ſermons and diſcourſes: They "build" them (if I may thus apply a metaphor from St. Paul) (1 Cor. III. 12.) with the "hay" and "ſtubble" of their legends and ſchoolmen, and not with the "ſilver" and "gold" of Moſes and the Prophets or of Chriſt and his Apoſtles. They eclipſe and extinguiſh as much as they can the light of ſcripture, and ſet up the *ignis fatuus* of tradition in its ſtead. There is no need of arguments to expoſe ſuch a practice. It is ſo contrary to all the principles of reaſon, ſo repugnant to the natural rights of mankind, ſo deſtructive of the very end and deſign for which the ſcripture was given, that the abſurdity, the tyranny, the irreligion of it ſufficiently expoſe themſelves: And really one knoweth not which to wonder at moſt, the cruelty and arrogance of their clergy for acting in this manner, or the tameneſs and ſtupidity of their laity in ſuffering it.

2. The next woe denounced againſt the Scribes and Phariſees is for (ver. 14.) "devouring widows houſes" and at the ſame time "for a "pretence making long prayers." They were very ſanctified in appearance, but in reality they oppreſſed the widows and fatherleſs. They made their prayers of an intolerable length, and by theſe means impoſed upon the credulity and ſuperſtition of (2 Tim. III. 6.) "ſilly "women." A learned commentator (Whitby) ſays that they continued their prayers ſometimes for three hours, and perhaps ſold them as the Roman prieſts do their maſſes. Now it is certain the Roman prieſts are not only ſeemingly very religious and really very extortionate, but are extortionate by the means of religion, and make their prayers and maſſes the grand pretence for their exactions. One of the greateſt funds of the church is the money they draw from diſconſolate widows to pray the ſouls of their huſbands and children out of purgatory. So litterally true it is, that "they devour widows houſes "and for a pretence make long prayers; therefore they ſhall receive "the greater damnation."

3. The

3. The third woe denounced againſt the Scribes and Phariſees is for (ver. 15.) "compaſſing ſea and land to make one proſelyte, and when "he is made making him two-fold more the child of hell than them-"ſelves." To illuſtrate this text commentators cite a paſſage out of (1) Juſtin Martyr, wherein he ſays, that the proſelytes do not only not believe, but even two-fold more than you (ſpeaking to the Jews) blaſpheme the name of Jeſus. And generally we may obſerve that the converts to any religion are greater zealots for it than thoſe who were born and bred up in it, I ſuppoſe the better to ſhow the ſincerity of their converſion, and to recommend themſelves the more effectually to their new maſters and companions. Now the diligence of the Roman prieſts and miſſionaries in compaſſing ſea and land to make proſelytes is not at all inferior to that of the Scribes and Phariſees. It is really a diſtinguiſhing part of their character, and I wiſh the preſent times did not afford ſuch melancholy proofs of it. But this we may ſay, it is owing to our weakneſs and not to their own ſtrength, that they prevail. While we are aſleep, they ſow their tares. If we would but awake, we ſhould find their beſt arguments no ſtronger than the green withs upon Sampſon's hands; but while we lie ſleeping in the lap of Delilah, (Judg. XVI.) in luxury and pleaſure, they cut off our hair and deprive us of our ſtrength. It is indeed among the poorer ſort chiefly that they prevail by bribes, which they call charities. They do not ſo properly make converts, as purchaſe them: and as (Acts VIII. 20.) "Simon Magus thought that the gift of God "might be purchaſed with money;" ſo they make merchandiſe and ſimony of ſouls, and buy them into their communion. It is true this method doth little honor to them, but it is the more dangerous to us, as it is in a manner *inliſting* men into their ſervice; for every convert they make is not only the loſs of a member to the church, but of a ſubject to the king, the new converts, as we obſerved, being commonly greater bigots, and "two-fold more the children of hell" than thoſe who convert them.

(1) Ὁι δε προσηλυτοι ου μονον ου πιστευουσι αλλα διπλοτερον ὑμων (Judæos alloquitur) βλασφημουσιν εις το ονομα αυτου Chriſti ſcilicet. Juſtin apud Grotius. See Whitby too.

4. The fourth woe denounced againſt the Scribes and Phariſees is for their vain diſtinctions of *oaths* (ver. 16, &c.) what were binding and what were not, when they were all alike obligatory. And will not this again put us in mind of the ſchoolmen and caſuiſts of the church of Rome, ſo remarkable for ſplitting of hairs, and making of diſtinctions where there is no difference? They know how to diſpenſe with the neceſſity of keeping faith with hereticks. They can inſtruct people how to take an oath without any intention of fulfilling it, or after they have taken it can invent ſubterfuges and evaſions, looſen the moſt ſolemn tyes and engagements, diſcharge kings from their duty to their ſubjects, and abſolve ſubjects from their allegiance to their king and country. They are the maſters of the whole art of equivocations and mental reſervations; and can exactly define and diſtinguiſh how a man may falſify without lying, and forſwear himſelf without perjury. The "Scribes and Phariſees hypocrites" were nothing to them in theſe reſpects. The copy here infinitely ſurpaſſes the original.

5. The fifth woe denounced againſt the Scribes and Phariſees (ver. 23.) is for "paying tithe of mint and aniſe and cummin," for being ſuperſtitious and preciſe in the little rituals and ceremonials of religion, and at the ſame time "omitting the weighter matters of the law, "judgment" or juſtice, "mercy" or charity, "and faith" or truſt "in" God, (Micah VI. 8.) "walking humbly with God," as it is in the prophet Micah, (Luke XI. 42.) "the love of God" as it is in the parallel place of St. Luke. And will not this denunciation affect all ſuch chriſtians, as are ſcrupulouſly obſervant of poſitive inſtitutions, and at the ſame time negligent of moral duties? And will it not more particularly affect thoſe chriſtians, who are wonderfully exact in counting their beads and muttering over ſo many Ave Mary's; but make no ſcruple of fomenting rebellions, blowing up parlaments, overturning kingdoms, and maſſacring a whole people? who would not for ever ſo much violate a vow of chaſtity by marriage, but are not ſo nice and tender in violating the ſame by fornication or adultery? who are very circumſtantial in their forms and ceremonies, their croſſings and geſticu ations at the altar; but eſteem it no manner of ſacrilege to

take away " the cup of bleſſing," and " the communion of the blood " of Chriſt" from the people? who will hardly and not without impoſing ſevere penances abſolve a man from the leaſt offenſe committed againſt their holy mother the church; but in other caſes are as looſe confeſſors, as in theſe they are ſtrict and rigid, and provided a man be but a zealot for their religion and rich withal and bountiful to churches and monaſteries, they have ſtore of pardons and indulgences for him, and though he hath lived ever ſo profligate he may die in peace? Surely it may be ſaid to ſuch men with the greateſt truth and juſtice, (ver. 24.) " Ye blind guides, who ſtrain at a gnat, but ſwal- " low a camel."

6. The ſixth woe denounced againſt the Scribes and Phariſees is for their (ver. 25.) " making clean the outſide of the cup and of the plat- " ter, but being within full of extortion and exceſs, full of raven- " ing and wickedneſs," as St. Luke expreſſeth it (XI. 39.) The Phariſees were very ſuperſtitious and exact in their waſhings and purifications; the " Phariſees waſh oft," ſays St. Mark (VII. 3, 4.) " holding the tradition of the elders; and many other things there " be which they have received to hold as the waſhing of cups and " pots, brazen veſſels and of tables." And are not the papiſts likewiſe very ſuperſtitious and exact in their waſhing and ſprinkling of themſelves and the things which belong to them with their holy water? It would be ridiculous even to recite the wonderful virtues, which they attribute to this holy water, and the many ſuperſtitious uſes to which they apply it. They hardly ever go into or out of a church, but they are ſprinkled with ſome of it. On ſolemn days the prieſt attends to perform that office, and at other times they ſerve themſelves with it from a font placed near the church-door for that purpoſe, like one of our fonts for baptiſm. Thus do they like the Phariſees " make clean " the outſide of the cup and of the platter;" and whether they are not " within" too, like the Phariſees, " full of extortion and exceſs, " of ravening and wickedneſs," let their whole religion declare, which ſeemeth calculated for nothing elſe but to oppreſs the liberty and uſurp the property of mankind. Well therefore might our Saviour ſay, and well

well may we ſay, (ver. 26.) " Thou blind Phariſee," Thou blind Papiſt, " cleanſe firſt that which is within the cup and platter, that the " outſide of them may be clean alſo;" ſprinkle thy heart with holy water; and let the thoughts of that be good, and the works of thy hands will be good alſo.

7. The ſeventh woe denounced againſt the Scribes and Phariſees is for being (ver. 27.) " like unto whited ſepulchres, which indeed ap- " pear beautiful outward, but are within full of dead men's bones " and of all uncleanneſs. Even ſo ye alſo," ſays our Saviour, " out- " wardly appear righteous unto men, but within are full of hypocriſy " and iniquity." In ſhort they (2 Tim. III. 5.) " had a form of " godlineſs, but denied the power thereof;" and ſuch there are among Chriſtians as well as among the Jews. Particular men it is hard to judge; but it is certain no ſect have more of the form and ſhow and pageantry of religion than the Romaniſts; and it is to be feared none have leſs of the power of it, as where there are moſt leaves, there commonly is leaſt fruit. I wiſh it is not even litterally true of their religious houſes, conſidering the magnificence of the buildings, and what things are tranſacted within them; I ſay I wiſh it is not even litterally true, that " they appear indeed beautiful out- " ward, but are within full of all uncleanneſs." It is the prerogative of God alone to know the hearts of men: but ſurely ſo many forms and ceremonies are enough to eat out the very life and ſubſtance of religion; and if all was pure and genuin, what need of ſo much paint and varniſh? A plain neatneſs and ſimplicity in dreſs and behaviour is the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic of the " beauty of holi- " neſs" as well as of other beauty. Its greateſt ornament is to want none.

8. The laſt woe denounced againſt the Scribes and Phariſees is for their " honoring" of " dead ſaints," at the ſame time when they " perſecuted" the " living." They (ver. 29, &c.) " built the " tombs of the prophets, and garniſhed the ſepulchres of the righ- " teous," and at the ſame time " filled up the meaſure of their " fathers, killing and crucifying ſome prophets and wiſe men, ſcourg- " ing

" ing and perſecuting others from city to city." But the papiſts far exceed them; for they not only " build the tombs of the prophets, " and garniſh the ſepulchres of the righteous," but honor them with coſtly ſhrines and rich offerings, and make as many prayers and vows to them as to God, or the Son of God bleſſed for ever. Nor are they leſs uncharitable and cruel in perſecuting the living, than they are fond and ſuperſtitious in honoring the dead. We need not look abroad for inſtances; our own annals will furniſh us with pages enow written, as I may ſay, in characters of blood. We need not go ſo far as the perſecutions in Germany, or the maſſacre in France; the butcheries in the reign of Queen Mary, the powder-plot in the reign of King James the firſt, and the maſſacre of ſo many thouſand proteſtants in Ireland in the reign of his ſon, will ſtand as monuments of their cruelty, as long as ever the nation or hiſtory of England ſhall laſt. And if we ſhould ſtill connive at the growth of popery, and ſuffer their numbers to increaſe as they have done of late years, who can be our ſecurity, that the like bloody tragedies may not, and will not be acted again? They cannot indeed do what the Scribes and Phariſees did, " crucify the Lord of glory;" but they do as much like it as they poſſibly can, they perſecute him in his diſciples and followers, thoſe who adhere to his doctrin, thoſe who tread in his ſteps. And we know very well, that the injuries done to his diſciples our Saviour reſents as done to himſelf. (Acts IX. 5.) " I am Jeſus whom " thou perſecuteſt," ſaid he to Paul when he perſecuted the poor chriſtians; and in another place (whether of acts of mercy or acts of cruelty it is the ſame) (Matt. XXV. 40, 45.) " Inaſmuch as ye have " done it unto the leaſt of theſe my brethren ye have done it unto " me."

Thus, I think, it appears, that every woe denounced againſt the Scribes and Phariſees is at leaſt equally applicable, if not more applicable, to the prieſts and votaries of the church of Rome. Indeed it is almoſt impoſſible to read this account of the former, without thinking at the ſame time of the latter. The likeneſs is ſo very great, the reſemblance is ſo very ſtrong, that it ſtriketh one immediately. Nor

are

are theſe the only features, wherein they reſemble one another. The Phariſees (Matt. IX. 14.) "fasted oft" according to St. Matthew; and do not the papiſts likewiſe keep frequent faſts and vigils? The Phariſees, as St. Luke and St. John inform us, (Acts XXIV. 14. John VII. 49.) counted thoſe who differed from them, "heretics" and "accurſed:" and do not the papiſts likewiſe call all thoſe *heretics* who are of a different perſuaſion, and exclude all proteſtants from all hopes of ſalvation? The Phariſees were ſtrenuous aſſertors of the privileges and immunities of the people of God; they were always for leſſening the authority of the civil magiſtrate, and advancing their own; they even doubted whether it was (Matt. XXII. 17.) "lawful "to pay tribute unto Cæſar or not:" and do not the popiſh clergy likewiſe plead their particular privileges and exemptions? have they not in all times endevored to raiſe the power eccleſiaſtical upon the ruins of the civil power? Hiſtory abounds with examples in this kind: but fix upon the reign of our brave Henry the ſecond, and ſee whether their renowned Thomas Becket be not a ſaint and a martyr for the very ſame reaſons, for which we ſhould reckon him, and juſtly reckon him, a rebel to his king and a traytor to his country. The Phariſees ſuffered that part of the temple, which was (Mark XI. 17.) "the houſe "of prayer for all nations," to be made "a den of thieves:" and is it not notorious, that the papiſts make their churches their ſanctuaries, and ſanctuaries for the vileſt of robbers and murderers? We have traced the compariſon no farther than we have the authority of ſcripture; farther we might trace it: but for my part I take no great pleaſure in drawing the parallel; I am more ſorry that they give the occaſion.

The true uſe and deſign of this diſcourſe is not merely to expoſe their faults, but to expoſe them ſo as that we may avoid them; and that ſince the Papiſts and Phariſees are ſo like one another, we may take effectual care to be like neither. Our Saviour ſaid to his diſciples, (Matt. V. 20.) "Except your righteouſneſs ſhall exceed the "righteouſneſs of the Scribes and Phariſees, ye ſhall in no caſe enter "into the kingdom of heaven:" And what then will He ſay to thoſe Chriſtians,

Chriſtians, who are ſo far from "exceeding the righteouſneſs of the "Scribes and Phariſees," that they even adopt their greateſt vices and improve them?

What a horrid and impious attempt then is this to impoſe popery upon us with a popiſh pretender, for a popiſh prince would ſoon make way for the popiſh religion, and the popiſh religion is attended with all theſe evils which you have heard, and many more! The proteſtant religion can be ſupported only by ſupporting the proteſtant ſucceſſion; and if it ſhould pleaſe God for our ſins to puniſh us with a change—But do not Thou, O gracious Lord God, for the many and crying ſins of this nation, deliver us over into the hands of our enemies, nor puniſh us according to our iniquities, but protect and proſper us after thy great mercy and goodneſs.—But if it ſhould pleaſe God for our ſins to puniſh us with a change, what a change would it be! a change from liberty to ſlavery, from the pureſt religion to the groſſeſt idolatry and ſuperſtition, from a mighty kingdom to a province of France, from a floriſhing church to a ſervile dependence upon the ſee of Rome, from the legal and mild government of a proteſtant king to the arbitrary exactions and heavy oppreſſions of a popiſh tyrant!

Nor let any be deluded with a vain notion, that he would be contented with the enjoyment of his religion, and leave us freely to exerciſe our own, even though he ſhould make ſuch a promiſe and declaration. They muſt be very willing to be deceived indeed, who can be deceived by ſuch empty pretences. For it is the nature of that religion not to tolerate any other, but to endevor to build and eſtabliſh itſelf upon the ruins of all: and they will ſtop at nothing right or wrong for this purpoſe, the goodneſs of the end, as they think, will ſanctify the moſt unrighteous means: and in fact there never was a popiſh prince, but he attempted to make his own the religion of his country, and has too often ſucceeded in the attempt, as Saxony, the Palatinate, and other countries once proteſtant, now oppreſſed with popery, can teſtify. And for any promiſes and proteſtations which ſuch a prince may be induced to make, we know very well that he may be diſpenſed with to make them, and diſpenſed with from keeping

them; it is the profeſſed doctrin of that church, that they are no obliged to keep faith with heretics, and eſpecially when the good of their church requires otherwiſe, which is ſuperior to all other obligations.

If we have not yet learned this from their doctrins, we may learn it from their practices, and the experience of former ages. When Queen Mary was firſt proclaimed, ſhe engaged to the men of Suffolk who had been the principal inſtruments of her advancement to the throne, that "ſhe would make no change or alteration in the ſtate of "religion," and declared in council that "ſhe would uſe no force "in matters of religion, but leave every one to enjoy liberty of con- "ſcience;" and yet every child knoweth what cruelties were afterwards committed in her reign, how many excellent biſhops and martyrs were burnt at the ſtake, how many others were impriſoned, fined, and tortured, or fled their country, and this floriſhing iland became a ſcene of deſolation and a field of blood! In like manner King James the ſecond upon his acceſſion declared in council (which declaration was printed and diſperſed amongſt the people) that "he would pre- "ſerve the government in church and ſtate as it was eſtabliſhed by "law;" nay "he would always take care to defend and ſupport the "church of England." What he ſaid to his council, he repeated again in his ſpeech to the parlament, and in the very ſame words, "the better to evidence to you," ſays he, "that I ſpoke them not "by chance, and conſequently that you may firmly rely upon a pro- "miſe ſo ſolemnly made." And yet how this promiſe ſo ſolemnly made and his coronation oath were obſerved by him, no body need be told; all the world ſufficiently knows and remembers.

Now can any of his *pretended deſcendents* give us ſtronger aſſurances than theſe? or are they more to be depended upon, and better to be truſted? they who have been bred up in the very boſom of Rome, and conſequently are more bigotted and devoted to it, and under ſtronger obligations to promote its intereſts: they who can never ſucceed here without the ſupport and aſſiſtance of our inveterate and implacable enemies, and conſequently if they ſucceed muſt eſtabliſh the

arbitrary

arbitrary government of France or Spain, as well as the corrupt and cruel religion of Rome!

We may frame ſome judgment of their intentions and purpoſes by their adherents, who are nothing but a wicked crew of robbers and plunderers, or if of any religion Scotch and Iriſh papiſts. Every Engliſhman and Proteſtant muſt abhor ſuch an unnatural conſpiracy and rebellion; the wiſeſt and moſt moderate of the Papiſts themſelves cannot approve it; it can be favored only by the moſt deſperate bigots of that religion among ourſelves, and foreign popiſh ſervants and others, of whom it is matter of loud and general complaint that there is ſo great a number in the nation, and thoſe chiefly in the beſt and greateſt families. God give us grace and wiſdom that we may "ſee "the things which belong unto our peace before they are hid from "our eyes!" And ſurely you will not need any other admonition; it will be ſufficient to admoniſh you in the words of St. Peter: (2 Pet. III. 17, 18.) "Ye therefore, beloved, ſeeing ye know theſe things be- "fore, beware leſt ye alſo being led away with the error of the "wicked, fall from your own ſtedfaſtneſs; but grow in grace and "in the knowlege of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt; to Him be "glory both now and for ever." Amen.

SERMON III.

Preached before the Honourable HOUSE of COMMONS, at St. MARGARET'S WESTMINSTER, on Wedneſday, December 18, 1745. Being the day appointed by his Majeſty's royal Proclamation for a General Faſt.

Mercurii, 18° Die Decembris, 1745.

Ordered,

THAT the Thanks of this Houſe be given to the Reverend Dr. Newton, for the Sermon by him this day preached before this Houſe, at St. Margaret's Weſtminſter; and that he be deſired to print the ſame; and that Lord Carpenter and Mr. Frankland do acquaint him therewith.

N. HARDINGE, Cl. Dom' Com'

REV. II. 5.

Remember therefore from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the firſt works; or elſe I will come unto thee quickly, and will remove thy candleſtick out of his place, except thou repent.

IN the leſſer Aſia there were formerly ſeven famous and floriſhing churches; but they began very early to degenerate, and ſeveral corruptions were grown up among them even in the days of the Apoſtles. St. John is therefore commanded to write unto them, and accordingly addreſſes the Revelation to them all in general, and a ſeparate epiſtle to each in particular, and firſt to the church of Epheſus, as that was the principal, and the metropolis of the Leſſer Aſia. It is no ordinary meſſage that he delivers, but he writes by the authority and in the name of Jeſus, " Remember therefore from whence thou art

" fallen,

" fallen, and repent, and do the firſt works; or elſe I will come " unto thee quickly," will viſit thee ſpeedily in judgment, " and will " remove thy candleſtick out of his place," will take away from thee the light of the goſpel which thou haſt hitherto enjoyed, " except " thou repent." It may reaſonably be preſumed, that theſe admonitions had for ſome time at leaſt the intended effect, in reforming the manners of men, and conſequently in retarding the judgments of God; but after five or ſix centuries, when the Chriſtians of the Eaſt walked no longer worthy of their holy profeſſion, and inſtead of growing at all better waxed daily worſe and worſe, it pleaſed God to deliver them into the hands of their enemies, the Saracens firſt and the Turks afterwards, who turned their churches into moſques, their worſhip into horrid ſuperſtition, and inſtead of the pure religion of Jeſus which they had thus abuſed, forced Mohammediſm upon them by arms and violence; and in this miſerable condition they have continued ever ſince, ſad monuments of God's juſtice, and terrible examples to all ſucceeding generations!

Such was the fate of the moſt glorious churches in the Eaſt, and let us beware leſt ſuch alſo be not the fate of the beſt and pureſt churches in the Weſt. For theſe admonitions of the Apoſtle were intended for us as well as for them, and he repeats it again and again, " He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit ſaith unto the " churches;" and leaves it to us to make the proper application to ourſelves. Now certainly we have enjoyed the light of the goſpel as well as they, in its trueſt ſplendor and purity; and like them have fallen from our former piety and virtue. Like them too we are threatened with the heavieſt of God's judgments, the loſs of our pure religion and liberty, and this ſpeedily too, unleſs we take the ſame courſe that was preſcribed to them, to prevent it. " Remember " therefore from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the firſt " works; or elſe I will come unto thee quickly, and will remove thy " candleſtick out of his place, except thou repent." Here are then two things propoſed to our conſideration, firſt the evils with which we are threatened, " I will come unto thee quickly, and will remove

" thy

" thy candleſtick out of his place;" and ſecondly the moſt effectual method to prevent theſe evils, namely to " remember from whence " we are fallen, and repent, and do the firſt works."

I. Firſt, the evils with which we threatened are no leſs than the loſs of all that is dear and valuable to us, both as Men and Engliſhmen, as Chriſtians and Proteſtants. For we are now engaged in war with two of the moſt powerful princes in Europe, and it is not a fair and generous war that they carry on againſt us, but they have fomented a moſt unnatural rebellion among us, in order to impoſe a popiſh and abjured Pretender upon the throne of theſe kingdoms. And if Providence for the puniſhment of our ſins ſhould ſuffer our enemies to prevail over us, one of the firſt things that we muſt expect is to be deprived of the free exerciſe of our holy religion, and to be compelled into the Romiſh communion. " Our candleſtick will" then indeed " be removed out of his place;" we ſhall no longer be bleſſed with the pure light of the goſpel, but ſhall be condemned to the darkneſs of ſuperſtition; our bibles we muſt exchange for vain legends and traditions, our excellent liturgy for prayers in an unknown tongue; and inſtead of worſhipping God in ſpirit and in truth, we muſt bow down to images, and worſhip departed ſaints and angels. All freedom of debate and controverſy will then be taken away. Examin and prove and profeſs the truth you muſt not; that church requires implicit obedience, and allows of no toleration; and you muſt either conform, or ſubmit to go to the ſtake, or to the galleys, or to priſon, or be forced to fly your native country. But it may be thought that the milder kind of popery may be eſtabliſhed here as in France; but popery in any ſhape is terrible, and bad is the beſt, as appears by the cruelties exerciſed towards the Proteſtants of that kingdom in the laſt reign, and very lately in the preſent. Aſk any of our French proteſtants or their children, and they will tell you the bleſſings of French popery as well as of French government. But is it not much more probable, that a native of Italy, a pupil and penſioner of the Pope, from principle, from gratitude, from intereſt devoted to the court of Rome, will endevor to fix and eſtabliſh popery among us in the ful-

neſs of its authority? It is ſometimes indeed ſuggeſted in his commendation (and ſtrange kind of commendation it is) that he is a perſon of no religion; but he is the fitter therefore to be made a bigot and the tool of bigots; and none ſo likely to perſecute, plunder, and murder the profeſſors of the true religion, as an infidel or an atheiſt. England has been long conſidered as a ſheep gone aſtray, and muſt by all means be fetched back to the fold, and be well fleeced to make amends for ſo many years as ſhe hath been loſt. They therefore who have any religion, muſt pray againſt this monſtrous rebellion, as they would preſerve their religion in any purity; and they who have no religion, muſt yet wiſh againſt it, as they would not be ridden by prieſts, nor be liable to eccleſiaſtical cenſures. They are too apt to ſay, that all religions are the ſame; but they would ſoon find and feel a very ſenſible difference. They would not then be ſuffered to neglect the ſervice of a falſe church, as they do now of the true; but muſt be obliged to go frequently to maſs and to confeſſion. They murmur that the revenues of the church are ſo large; and what then will they ſay to the immenſe wealth of the Romiſh clergy, and their impoſitions and exactions for private maſſes, for prayers for the dead, for pardons and indulgences, for offerings to the ſaints, and numberleſs other inventions? They cannot bear even the moderate powers and privileges of the biſhops and clergy of the church of England; and how then will they ſubmit to the tyranny and dominion of the Romiſh hierarchy, the church's infallibility, the Pope's ſupremacy, penances, eccleſiaſtical commiſſions, and perhaps an office of Inquiſition? They may then complain of Prieſtcraft indeed, and will feel (1 Kings XII. 10.) "the little finger" of popery to be heavier than "the loins" of the church of England.

But if we were more indifferent than I hope we are about religion, yet what is to become of our *property*? which is a conſideration that may affect thoſe, whom perhaps the other would not. All the lands belonging to churches and abbeys will in all probability be reſumed: all public ſecurities too will be cancelled, as being given by a government that will then be deemed a lawleſs uſurpation: they likewiſe

who

who have obtained any royal grants, or purchaſed any of the forfeited eſtates will be forced to reſtore them to the former proprietors: all which things will beget infinite diſorder and confuſion; and as they will be a great blow to ſome even of the nobleſt families, ſo they muſt entirely ruin thouſands of others who have no other means of ſubſiſtence. All who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the ſervice of their country and by their attachment to the preſent royal family will be ſure to pay dearly for it, and will not be permitted to buy their peace but at an extravagant price. Nay the whole nation will lie at the mercy of the conqueror, and may be conſidered as a nation of rebels, and be drained and exhauſted accordingly. And indeed otherwiſe how can he be able to recompenſe that ſtarving and hungry crew, the followers of his fortunes? As their merits will be great if they ſucceed in placing him upon the throne of theſe kingdoms, ſo their rewards muſt be great in proportion; nor indeed is it a little thing that will ſatisfy the cravings of indigence and ambition, but like Pharaoh's lean kine they will eat up all the plump and well-favored ones. Immenſe debts will likewiſe be owing to foreign courts for ſo many years ſubſiſtence, and for the wars which they will charge as entered into upon his account, and for the aids and aſſiſtances which they have afforded him in this preſent expedition, ſo that we muſt not only endure the curſe of being inſlaved, but muſt alſo be obliged to pay them for inſlaving us.

Our *trade* and *commerce* will alſo be in as precarious and wretched a condition as our property. For as our king will be the creature of France and Spain, and owe both his crown and the continuance of it to their aid and aſſiſtance, he muſt make ample conceſſions to them in return, and either out of gratitude or out of neceſſity ſacrifice every thing to them that they ſhall require. And conſequently thoſe moſt valuable acquiſitions, which we have made in this and former wars, will be tamely given up into their hands; the ſovranty of the ſeas will be loſt; our commerce will be limited and reſtrained, theirs will be inlarged and indulged; and as faſt as foreign commodities flow in, the little wealth remaining in the nation will be drawn out, till in time

we

we ſhall become like (Ezek. XXVI. 17.) " Tyre, the renowned city " which was ſtrong in the ſea, ſhe and her inhabitants, which cauſed " their terror to be on all that haunt it," but at laſt was made (ver. 14.) " like the top of a rock, a place to ſpread nets upon," the habitation only of poor fiſhermen.

To the loſs of our pure religion, the loſs of our property, the loſs of our trade, will yet be added, to complete our miſery, the loſs of our *excellent conſtitution* and *Engliſh liberty*. For the Pretender to his Majeſty's crown can never ſucceed here but by conqueſt, or under the notion of divine hereditary indefeaſible right. We ſuppoſe that he would chooſe the latter, but divine hereditary indefeaſible right infers the moſt abſolute uncontrollable dominion in the prince, and the moſt unconditional paſſive obedience in the people. For if he has an unalienable and indefeaſible right to govern, his right will be ſtill the ſame, whether he govern like a king or like a tyrant; and what reaſon have we to think that he will not govern like a tyrant, and the worſt of tyrants? We might as well ſet a wolf to guard the fold, as an Italian papiſt to protect the liberties of Engliſh proteſtants. The princes, from whom he pretends to derive his claim, were no ſuch friends to liberty, as to make us fond of ſeeing their race upon the throne again; they were bred up with high notions of their divine right, and during their reigns there was a continual ſtruggle between the prerogatives of the crown and the privileges of the people: and can this man have learned juſter notions of government in Italy? or is religion to be fetched from Rome, or liberty from France or Spain? It muſt be by war and violence, and with much effuſion of blood, that he muſt aſcend the throne, for God forbid that we ſhould ever ſubmit tamely to his government: and as he muſt attain to power by force, ſo by force he muſt ſupport himſelf in it, and conſequently ſtrengthen himſelf with foreign aids, maintain large ſtanding armies, and eſtabliſh a military government. This would infallibly be the caſe; and our chains would ſit heavier, and we ſhould be more deeply afflicted with our ſlavery, for the full and perfect enjoyment that we have had of liberty. For it is certain that England never enjoyed ſo

many years together of eaſe and liberty as ſince the happy Revolution. I do not except even the glorious days of queen Elizabeth, of which perhaps it may truly be ſaid, that it is better to read of them than to have lived in them. We have enjoyed our liberties to ſuch a degree, that we have abuſed them even to licentiouſneſs. And the worſt enemy of the preſent government cannot charge his Majeſty with attempting to infringe them in any ſingle inſtance. The law hath been the conſtant and invariable rule of his Majeſty's government, and if it had been as much the meaſure of his people's obedience, we ſhould ſtill have continued the happieſt nation upon earth. No government indeed can ever be adminiſtered entirely to every body's ſatisfaction. Some perſons are never to be ſatisfied; and there will always be defects and failings in the beſt of governments, as well as in the beſt of men: but as he is the beſt man who hath the feweſt vices, ſo that is the happieſt government, which is attended with the feweſt evils and inconveniences. But what good have we to hope, or rather what evil have we not to fear in a change of government? A man muſt be deſtitute of common underſtanding, who is capable of believing that a proteſtant church can floriſh in the reign of a bigotted papiſt, or if you will of a profeſſed infidel; or that civil liberty can be ſecure under the government of one trained up in the maxims and politics of the moſt arbitrary courts in Europe. All the benefits and advantages obtained by the Revolution will be forfeited and loſt by another revolution. And then, when true religion and liberty are extinct in Britain, where ſhall we find them or ſeek them upon earth? and who would not therefore periſh rather in their defenſe, than ſurvive their fall? who would not rather die a proteſtant and a free man, than live an idolater and a ſlave?

II. Theſe are the evils with which we are threatened, and we are to conſider in the next place the moſt effectual method to prevent them. We have as high an opinion as any man can entertain, of his Majeſty's heroic ſpirit and reſolution, of the wiſdom and integrity of his councils, and particularly of the great council before whom I ſtand, of the courage and conduct of his generals, and of the ſtrength and bra-

very

very of his troops inſpired with the activity and ardor of their young and darling royal leader: but yet human means alone will not be ſufficient, we muſt likewiſe implore the divine bleſſing upon them, and purſue the method recommended by the Apoſtle, namely, to "re-"member from whence we are fallen, and repent and do the firſt "works."

When any calamity befalls a nation, we ſhould look farther than the immediate cauſes, and conſider it as proceeding originally from the hand of God. (Amos III. 6.) "Shall there be evil in a city, and "the Lord hath not done it?" It is the gracious intent and purpoſe of Almighty God, not willingly to grieve and afflict the children of men, but by his judgments to awaken them to a ſenſe of their guilt and of their duty, and ſo bring them to repentance before the meaſure of their iniquities be full. And when national calamities produce national repentance, and a people turn away from the evil of their doings, the Lord will turn away from his fierce anger, and will abundantly pardon, and inſtead of deſtroying reſettle them in peace and tranquillity. There are frequent declarations to this purpoſe in ſcripture, and we ſee them moſt remarkably exemplified in the caſe of the Ninevites. The prophet Jonah was ſent unto them with this meſſage from God, (Jonah III. 4, &c.) "Yet forty days and Nineveh ſhall be "overthrown," and it had the proper effect upon them. "So the "people of Nineveh believed God, and proclaimed a faſt, and put on "ſackcloth; from the greateſt of them even to the leaſt of them. "And God ſaw their works, that they turned from their evil way, "and God repented of the evil that he had ſaid that he would do "unto them, and he did it not." Oh! let us then "remember from "whence we are fallen," how much we are degenerated from our former piety and virtue, "and repent and do the firſt works," and thereby retrieve the ancient honor and dignity of the nation. The wiſdom of the government and legiſlature may certainly contribute moſt to a national reformation by enforcing old laws, by enacting new ones, and ſettling things upon a right and ſolid foundation; and they no doubt will act in a manner worthy of themſelves and of their high ſtation at

this dangerous conjuncture: but ſtill every body may contribute ſomething, every body may reform ſome, may reform one at leaſt, and not add to the ſinfulneſs of his ſins by bringing diſtreſs and ruin upon his country. This is not a time (Iſa. XXX. 10.) to "ſpeak ſmooth "things;" it behoves us to deal freely with ourſelves, and to conſider ſeriouſly and impartially what are thoſe national vices, which may have been the principal occaſions of the preſent national calamities, and of which the reformation therefore ought to be more ſpeedy, as it is more neceſſary.

One of the moſt melancholy ſymptoms in our caſe is the *great decay* of *public virtue* and *love of our country*. Self-love is now the prevailing paſſion, and every thing almoſt is turned to private emolument and advantage. Public ſpirit is become ridiculous; it hath been ſo often pretended, where it was not, that it would ſcarcely be credited, where it really was: and love of our country at beſt is only a popular topic of diſcourſe; it is like muſic upon the tongue, but ſeldom ſinketh deep into the heart. If we had any true love and affection for our country, ſhould we be ſo fond of every thing foreign, and encourage French manufactures and French commodities to the prejudice of our own, and thereby contribute to the furniſhing of our worſt enemies with the ſinews of war againſt ourſelves? or would ſo many act in open defiance of all law and juſtice, and defraud the public revenue for the ſake of their own private gain, carry on an illicit trade, and not only convey our treaſure, but (what is even worſe) intelligence to our enemies? or would ſo many of our fellow-ſubjects have taken part in this unnatural rebellion, and have joined in league with our moſt cruel and inveterate enemies to transfer the ſeat of war into our own iland? It was not this ſpirit that inſpired our anceſtors in the fields of Creſſy and Agincourt, and enabled our two glorious queens to humble the pride of Spain and France in two of their greateſt kings. It was not this ſpirit that animated the old Romans, and raiſed their country to the highth of glory and of empire. And to the commendation of our enemies the French be it ſpoken, that they are actuated by a different ſpirit; they love and honor their king and country; prefer

every

every thing of their own, and deſpiſe every thing foreign in compariſon: and as we are fond of imitating their manners and faſhions, it would be well if we would imitate them in the moſt laudable part of their character. This would be gaining a complete victory indeed over our enemies, and would be a more fatal blow to them, and a greater check to their conqueſts than the moſt fortunate campaign. Love of our country is our duty, not only as Engliſhmen but as Chriſtians. Our Saviour himſelf (Luke XIX. 41.) "wept" over his country at a diſtant view of the calamities which were to befall it. And St. Paul expreſſes ſuch ardent affection for his countrymen, (Rom. IX. 3.) that he could even "wiſh that himſelf were accurſed from Chriſt, for his "brethren, his kinſmen according to the fleſh." O "pray" then "for the peace of" our "Jeruſalem; (Pſal. CXXII. 6, &c.) they ſhall "proſper that love thee. Peace be within thy walls, and proſperity "within thy palaces. For my brethren and companions ſakes I will "now ſay Peace be with thee;" Yea for the ſake of true religion, "becauſe of the houſe of the Lord our God, I will ſeek thy good."

Another thing that requires immediate repentance and reformation is the *luxury* and *diſſoluteneſs* of the age. The old Engliſh plainneſs and integrity are in a manner loſt among us; the prodigality and love of pleaſure, which reigned in high life, have now deſcended into low life, and infected all ranks and degrees of men; and hence ſo much idleneſs and drunkenneſs in our ſtreets, and ſuch univerſal corruption of manners, and violation of all order and government. And what can be the neceſſary conſequences of theſe things, but ruin and devaſtation? The Aſſyrian and Perſian empires; the Carthaginian and Grecian commonwealths; and Rome herſelf, the nurſe of heroes, and empreſs of the world; all fell by the luxury of their own ſubjects more than by the arms of foreign nations; they could not have been ſo eaſily conquered and led captive by their enemies, if they had not been firſt ſubdued and inſlaved by their vices. And will not the ſame cauſes naturally produce the ſame effects? Such vices are ruinous at all times, but are more particularly deſtructive in times of war, when eſpecially the advice of Moſes to the Iſraelites ought to be religiouſly

obſerved

obſerved by every nation, (Deut. XXIII. 9.) " When the hoſt goeth " forth againſt thine enemies, then keep thee from every wicked " thing."

It is high time too to repent of our *factions* and *diviſions*, and unite all as one man againſt the common enemy. Our ſituation as an iland is ſuch, and our country withal ſo well-peopled, that if we were firmly united among ourſelves, we ſhould have little to fear from any power, or indeed all the powers in Europe: but of late we have been rent and torn into ſo many parties and factions, as no doubt have given great encouragement to our enemies, and made them imagin that we were more divided than in truth we are, or than the event hath proved. For England never teſtified greater loyalty and unanimity, and we hope that neither will her ſiſter Scotland be wanting in gratitude, and obedience, and zeal to chaſtiſe her impious rebel ſons. Our common danger ought to unite us, if nothing elſe can: and without doubt ſeveral who might otherwiſe be deſperate enough to be in the intereſt of the Pretender, yet as Britons cannot be for the Pretender brought in by France, who can never intend to give us a king, but to reduce us to a province, and conſtitute a viceroy over us; and others who before were wavering in their inclinations, I make no queſtion this rebellion hath fixed in loyalty, when they ſee by what horrid means and inſtruments a change muſt be accompliſhed, and that inſtead of being governed as they have been by (Eſth. IV. 11.) " a golden ſcepter," they muſt be (Pſal. II. 9. Rev. II. 27.) " ruled with a rod of iron, and broken in " pieces like a potter's veſſel." The members of the church of England and proteſtant diſſenters now plainly perceive, that they have one common intereſt, as they have one common danger; and we truſt will unite as brethren not only upon the preſent, but upon all future occaſions for the public good, and watch and guard againſt popery, which would equally deſtroy them both. All will unite and co-operate with us, but the worſt of papiſts, and foreign papiſts, who are like ſo many vipers in our boſom, and give ſecret intelligence to our enemies, and upon any favorable opportunity would throw off the maſk, and declare againſt us. Our country hath been called the country of

factions and parties; but now faction be dead, and party revive no more; and (as the voice of authority once ſaid) "let there be no other "diſtinction heard of among us for the future, but of thoſe who are "for the proteſtant religion and the preſent eſtabliſhment, and of "thoſe who mean a popiſh prince and a French government."

Above all we ſhould lament and bewail our many hainous *offenſes towards God*, which have brought down theſe heavy judgments upon us, and will bring ſtill heavier, except we repent. Seriouſneſs and zeal in religion uſed formerly to be one of the diſtinguiſhing characters of the Engliſh nation, but now we are as remarkable for an affected levity and indifference. How has perjury of late years multiplied and increaſed among us! what dreadful oaths and curſes are daily heard in our ſtreets! what hereſies and blaſphemies have been vented from the preſs! what a ſpirit of infidelity hath prevailed and been propagated in the nation! what open ridicule of the moſt ſolemn offices in the liturgy, and of the word of God itſelf! what profanation of the ſabbath! what diſregard of the ſacraments! what utter neglect of private and family prayer, and indeed of all public worſhip and religion! Hath any nation, even of the corrupt and idolatrous church of Rome, uſed (Jer. II. 11.) "their Gods" ſo, "who yet are no gods?" We are, too many of us, like them in our manner of celebrating the latter part of the Lord's day, but we do not like them religiouſly obſerve the former part, that is we have all their vices, but none of their devotion. And was there ever an inſtance of a nation deſpiſing God and religion, who were not deſpiſed in their turn, and trampled under foot of their enemies? And would it not be a juſt judgment of God, ſince we have made ourſelves ſo very unworthy of the proteſtant religion, to deprive us of it, (2 Theſſ. II. 11, 12.) "that we ſhould "believe a lie, who believed not the truth, but had pleaſure in un-"righteouſneſs?" Oh! let us then humble ourſelves under the mighty hand of God, repent truly of our ſins, and return unto the Lord in righteouſneſs, and he will return unto us in mercy, and ſave us from all our enemies. When the power of Spain was in its meridian glory, and our enemies ready to devour us were hovering about our coaſts,

with

with a fleet that was called *invincible*, how did we then cry unto the Lord, and make our humble ſupplications unto our God, and he heard our prayer, and blew with his wind, and diſperſed or deſtroyed them all? And when we were again in danger of ſinking under the weight of popery and arbitrary power, what zeal did we then teſtify for our holy religion! how were our churches crowded! how were prayers and ſermons attended! how religiouſly did we obſerve our ſolemn faſts! how frequently and devoutly did we receive the bleſſed ſacrament! and the Lord raiſed up for us a glorious deliverer, and after him a ſucceſſion of proteſtant princes, who have been the felicity of our times, and may their poſterity be ſo to lateſt generations! And (Pſal. LXXVII. 9.) " hath God" now " forgotten to be gra-
" cious?" or rather have not we forgotten to make our prayers unto him? We have certainly more to fear from our own impiety and irreligion, than from the arms of all our enemies. Let us make our peace with God, and he will be our ſhield and our ſalvation. Very applicable to the preſent occaſion are the words of the prophet Joel, and with them I will conclude. (Joel II. 15, &c.) " Blow the trumpet
" in Zion, ſanctify a faſt, call a ſolemn aſſembly; Let the prieſts,
" the miniſters of the Lord, ſay, Spare thy people, O Lord, and give
" not thine heritage to reproach, that the heathen ſhould rule over
" them. Then will the Lord be jealous for his land and pity his peo-
" ple; Yea, the Lord will anſwer and ſay unto his people, Behold,
" I will no more make you a reproach among the heathen; but I will
" remove far off from you the northern army, and will drive him
" into a land barren and deſolate; and ye ſhall eat in plenty and be
" ſatisfied, and praiſe the name of the Lord your God, who hath dealt
" wondrouſly with you."

SER-

SERMON IV.

On our SAVIOUR's CHOICE of his APOSTLES:

Preached in LAMBETH Chapel, at the CONSECRATION of the Right Reverend WILLIAM WARBURTON, D. D. Lord Biſhop of GLOUCESTER, on Sunday, January 20, 1760. Publiſhed by Order of his Grace the Lord Archbiſhop of CANTERBURY.

MARK III. 14.

He ordained twelve, that they ſhould be with him, and that he might ſend them forth to preach.

OUR bleſſed Saviour had not entered long upon his public miniſtry, before he ſelected twelve of his diſciples, more particularly to attend his perſon and hear his doctrin, to be witneſſes of the actions of his life, and to propagate the goſpel after his death. Theſe twelve he named *Apoſtles*, a name not unuſual at that time, and ſignifying no more than a meſſenger, or one ſent upon a ſpecial errand, but applied by way of eminence and diſtinction to them, who were the firſt meſſengers of Chriſt, and were ſent to publiſh the glad tidings of peace and ſalvation. (1 Tim. V. 22.) "Lay hands ſuddenly on no man" is an apoſtolic injunction; and without doubt Chriſt himſelf would be cautious in the choice of his apoſtles; in building his church he would take care at leaſt to lay a good foundation. Accordingly we may obſerve, that he offered up his earneſt prayers to God, before he ordained his apoſtles. "He went out into a mountain to pray," as St. Luke expreſſeth it, (VI. 12, 13.) "and continued all night in prayer to "God; And when it was day, he called unto him his diſciples, and

" of them he choſe twelve, whom alſo he named apoſtles:" leaving herein an example to the biſhops and governors of the church, before they admit any perſon to (1) " the work and miniſtry of a biſhop," to pray unto God to " repleniſh him ſo with truth of doctrin, and " adorn him with innocency of life, that he may duly execute the " office whereunto he is called." Now the perſons, whom our bleſſed Saviour choſe for his apoſtles, were twelve, honeſt, poor, illitterate men, of no power, influence, or authority, of no learning, eloquence, or addreſs, called up from low trades to be miniſters of the goſpel, from humble fiſhers to be (Matt. IV. 19.) " fiſhers of " men." And what could be the reaſons for our Saviour's making in all appearance ſo ſtrange a choice? The beſt might have been expected from him, who " knew all men," as St. John (II. 25.) ſpeaketh, " and needed not that any ſhould teſtify of man, for he knew " what was in man."

1. The apoſtles were *twelve* in number. Our Saviour was willing to have a ſufficient number of witneſſes to the principal actions and paſſages of his life, that ſuch important facts might not reſt upon the credit of one or two only. A colluſion might ſooner be ſuſpected among a few than among ſo many. But why he pitched upon the number *twelve* particularly, the fathers have offered ſeveral conjectures, and ſuppoſe ſome alluſion to the twelve ſtones upon Aaron's breaſt-plate, or the twelve ſtones which Joſhua took out of Jordan, or the twelve ſpies ſent into Canaan; and there is ſcarce any number *twelve* mentioned in the Old Teſtament, which ſome or other of the fathers have not applied to this purpoſe. But the moſt probable opinion is; that as in the general the children of Iſrael were a type of the ſpiritual Iſrael the church of Chriſt, and Chriſt was deſirous to conform the polity of his church as near as the difference of inſtitutions would admit to the polity of the Jews; ſo in particular he choſe twelve apoſtles anſwering to the twelve tribes or twelve heads of the tribes of Iſrael. And this opinion is authorized by thoſe words of our Saviour

(1) Form of Conſecration.

(2) δεκαδυο, εις μαρτυριον των φυλων, ὁτι δεκαδυο αἱ φυλαι τω Ισραηλ. duodecim, in tribuum teſtimonium,

Saviour to his apoſtles; (Matt. XIX. 28.) "Ye ſhall ſit upon twelve "thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Iſrael;" that is, ye ſhall have a power and dignity in my church reſembling and anſwering to that of the twelve heads of the tribes over the twelve tribes of Iſrael. St. Barnabas, the companion of St. Paul, of whom ſo much is related in the Acts of the Apoſtles, (2) ſays expreſly in his Catholic Epiſtle, that 'the apoſtles were *twelve* for a witneſs of the tribes, becauſe the 'tribes of Iſrael were twelve.' Indeed when the harveſt was increaſed, and more laborers were wanting in the harveſt, (Luke X. 1.) "the "Lord appointed other ſeventy alſo." As he choſe twelve apoſtles anſwering to the twelve heads of the tribes, ſo he appointed other ſeventy according to the number of the Sanhedrim. But theſe ſeventy were by no means of equal authority with the twelve apoſtles; as appears among many inſtances from this particularly, that upon the fall of Judas, Matthias was choſen out of the ſeventy to be one of the twelve apoſtles. The apoſtles upon a vacancy in their order were careful to fill up the number, not that I conceive there was any great myſtery, or more than ordinary virtue in the number *twelve*, nor was our Saviour himſelf at all exact and ſcrupulous in adhering to it, for we know that he afterwards called St. Paul to be a *thirteenth* apoſtle.

2. The apoſtles were *honeſt* and *good* men, except Judas, whoſe caſe deſerves particular conſideration. Him, I ſay, excepted, all the reſt were honeſt and good men, as is evident from all that they ſaid and did and ſuffered, from their doctrin and lives and deaths; ſo that the bittereſt enemies of chriſtianity were never able to fix a brand upon their character. (1 Cor. IV. 1, 2.) "It is required in ſtewards "that a man be found faithful;" and more eſpecially ſhould "the "miniſters of Chriſt, and ſtewards of the myſteries of God" be faithful. I know nothing that could poſſibly have done ſo much diſſervice to the chriſtian cauſe, as the wicked morals of its firſt advocates, the apoſtles. If there was none other exception to the Mohammedan religion, yet the ſcandalous life of its founder Mohammed is a

monium, quia apud Iſraelitas duodecim erant tribus. S. Barnab. Epiſt. Cap. 8. p. 25. Edit. Cotelerii et Clerici.

ſufficient prejudice againſt it. A monſter of luſt, rapin, and cruelty, to ſet up for a teacher immediately from God, and a reformer of religion and manners, is the groſſeſt of contradictions. A good life is the beſt and moſt convincing ſermon. The moſt excellent preaching without a ſuitable behaviour is no better than (1 Cor. XIII. 1.) "ſounding braſs or a tinkling cymbal."

3. The apoſtles were *poor* men, of *no power*, *influence*, or *authority*; and ſuch a choice ſeemeth to be quite contrary to all the rules of human policy and prudence. Certainly the moſt likely way to form a party, and make it ſucceed and proſper in the world, is to engage the men of intereſt and authority on our ſide, that ſo the reſt of mankind may either be won or awed into a compliance. This is the way that cunning impoſtors have uſually taken, and ſcarce hath any impoſture been eſtabliſhed in the world but by authority. It was authority that eſtabliſhed the Pagan religion, and introduced a plurality of Gods in oppoſition to the worſhip of the one true God of the univerſe. It was authority that bound upon the ſhoulders of the Jews thoſe heavy burdens of Phariſaical rites and ceremonies, and made the commandments of God of none effect by the vain traditions of men. It was authority that ſupported the pretenſions of Mohammed; he prevailed not by the power of the ſpirit, but by the power of the ſword, and the ſucceſs of his arms was the ſucceſs of his religion. It was authority that crammed as it were down mens throats thoſe hard things which they would never otherwiſe have digeſted or taken, tranſubſtantiation, purgatory, prayers in an unknown tongue, prayers to angels, prayers to the dead, the worſhip of images, and the like: It was authority that obtruded them upon the church at firſt, authority that hath ſupported and guarded them ever ſince by ſecular arms as well as by ſpiritual, by interdicts and excommunications, by dragoons and inquiſitions. But the apoſtles of Jeſus Chriſt were not ſent as wolves into the midſt of ſheep, but (Matt. X. 16.) "as ſheep into the midſt of wolves." They were none of them members of the great Sanhedrim, none of them deſcendents of illuſtrious families and rulers of the Jews; but were moſt of

them poor fiſhermen, all of them men of obſcure parentage and of the loweſt rank among the people. They were ſo far from being countenanced by any of the powers of this world, that they had all the men of power and authority violent againſt them; by none aſſiſted, perſecuted by almoſt all. This defect might in ſome meaſure have been ſupplied, if the apoſtles had been men of art and addreſs; but

4. As they were *poor*, ſo they were likewiſe *illitterate*; as they were men of *no power*, *influence*, or *authority*, ſo they were likewiſe men of *no learning*, *eloquence*, or *addreſs*; called up from low trades to be miniſters of the goſpel, from humble fiſhers to be "fiſhers of "men." And what unlikely perſons were theſe to convert the world to a new religion, without authority to compel, and without art to perſuade! The Magi in the eaſt, and the Druids here in the weſt, and in general all the heathen prieſts, would never have gained ſuch an aſcendent over the people, if they had not been the moſt learned men of their times. The Phariſees were the moſt learned ſect among the Jews as well as the moſt powerful; they ſat in Moſes's chair both as judges and as doctors; and therefore their perſons were ſo greatly reverenced, and their traditions were ſo implicitly received in the Jewiſh church. When the church of Rome was in the meridian of its glory, the little learning that was then in the world was almoſt all in the hands of the clergy. The laity was ignorant and purpoſely kept in ignorance, the eccleſiaſtics were the only ſcholars: and indeed they were a ſet of men truly wiſe in their generation; what at any time they wanted in power, they amply ſupplied with artifice and addreſs; and perhaps all hiſtory cannot furniſh us with a parallel inſtance of dull credulity on one ſide, and of complete prieſtcraft on the other. But the apoſtles of Jeſus Chriſt inſtead of being learned themſelves in an ignorant age, were in a learned age themſelves illitterate. Learning might have made ſome amends for their want of authority, or authority might have made ſome amends for their want of learning; but poor and illitterate too they were ſo far from being aſſiſted by either, that they were vehemently oppoſed by both. And what could be the reaſons which determined our Saviour to make ſuch a choice?

One

One reaſon perhaps was, becauſe the rich and learned of the world were not at firſt diſpoſed to receive and embrace the goſpel. We have the emblem of the rich in the ſtory of the rich young man related by the evangeliſts, (Matt. XIX. Mark X. Luke XVIII.) upon which our Saviour maketh this reflection, "How hardly ſhall they that have "riches enter into the kingdom of God!" Though they might not be guilty of any notorious ſin, yet they could not ſubmit to "for-"ſake all," and "follow Chriſt." It is alſo well known, that the preaching of the goſpel was at firſt to the Greeks and to the learned of the world (1 Cor. I. 23.) "fooliſhneſs." Neither philoſophers, nor rabbi's of great note made public profeſſion of the faith till ſeveral years after Chriſt. Nicodemus indeed (John III. 1, &c.) "a ruler "of the Jews" came to Jeſus, but he came privately and "by "night:" and St. John (XII. 42.) expreſly informs us, that "among "the chief rulers many believed on him, but becauſe of the Phariſees "they did not confeſs him, leſt they ſhould be put out of the "ſynagogue."

Another reaſon of our Saviour's making choice of ſuch men for his apoſtles might be for fear that others, the rich and the learned, ſhould enervate the force, and corrupt the purity of the goſpel; the former by the ſoftneſs of proſperity and luxury, the latter by the mixture of the doctrins of their particular ſchools with the doctrin of Chriſt, as they both actually did not long after their admiſſion into the church: but a corruption at firſt would have been of more fatal conſequence than one afterwards. It is certain that plain ſimple men were the fitteſt to publiſh the goſpel in its original plainneſs and ſimplicity; and being poor and perſecuted, they were the propereſt apoſtles of a crucified Saviour, the propereſt promulgers of the doctrin of the croſs, confirming it by their example as well as by their profeſſion, by what they did and ſuffered as well as by what they taught and writ. Many can preach up patience in another's caſe, but few can practiſe it in their own.

But doubtleſs the principal reaſon of our Saviour's chooſing ſuch perſons for his apoſtles, was the more fully to manifeſt the truth and

divinity

divinity of the chriſtian religion. For how improbable was it, that ſuch plain ſimple men ſhould conſpire in a fraud of this kind; or if they had conſpired in it, how impoſſible was it for them to ſucceed? It is no unuſual thing for the powerful and learned to impoſe on the weak and illitterate, but that the weak and illitterate ſhould impoſe on the powerful and learned ſeemeth utterly impracticable. Nothing but truth, nothing but divine truth, and ſupported by a divine power, could have ſo prevailed in the world under ſuch diſadvantages, not only without learning but againſt learning, not only without authority but againſt authority. "Where is the wiſe? where is the ſcribe? "where is the diſputer of this world? hath not God made fooliſh "the wiſdom of this world?" as (1 Cor. I. 20.) St. Paul putteth the queſtion. Where is the malice of the Jewiſh Sanhedrim? where is the ſophiſtry of the Greek philoſophers? where is the power of the Roman legions? all baffled, ſilenced, and ſubdued by a few poor illitterate men! It was propheſied of the kingdom of Chriſt (that ſtone which was to break in pieces all other kingdoms, and become itſelf a great mountain, and fill the whole earth) that it ſhould (Dan. II. 45.) be "cut out of the mountain without hands," ſhould be formed without art or poliſhing, without proportionable human means or inſtruments: and in reality never were ſuch unpromiſing perſons employed, never were ſuch unlikely ways taken, to bring about ſo great, ſo ſudden a revolution: and the thing could not poſſibly have been effectuated, if the ſame divine ſpirit who foretold it at firſt, had not afterwards accompliſhed it. If there was none other argument for the divine origin of the chriſtian religion, yet this is argument ſufficient, and is enough to make all conſidering men cry out (Pſal. CXVIII. 23.) "This is the Lord's doing, it is marvelous in our eyes!" This too is an advantage peculiar to the Chriſtian religion above all the religions of the world. Even the Jewiſh religion had for its founder Moſes, who (Acts VII. 22.) "was learned in all the wiſdom of the Egyp-"tians, and was mighty in words and in deeds;" and among the prophets and inſpired writers, ſome as Iſaiah and Daniel were courtiers, ſome as David and Solomon were kings. But in the chriſtian

tian religion the caſe was very different. Chriſt himſelf had (John VII. 15.) " never learned letters." His birth was firſt made known to a few poor ſhepherds, and his goſpel was firſt preached by a few poor fiſhermen. (1 Cor. I. 26.) " Not many wiſe, not many " mighty, not many noble were called; But God hath choſen the " fooliſh things of the world, to confound the wiſe; and God hath " choſen the weak things of the world, to confound the things which " are mighty; And baſe things of the world, and things which are " deſpiſed, hath God choſen, yea, and things which are not, to " bring to nought things that are:" and then follows the reaſon of all, " That no fleſh ſhould glory in his preſence," that as the whole work was manifeſtly his, ſo his might be all the glory. And certainly the meaner the inſtruments employed in ſo wonderful a work, the more conſummate the ſkill of the workman: the leſs is owing to the efficacy of ſecond cauſes, the more muſt be aſcribed to the influence of the firſt cauſe: the leſs the apoſtles natural abilities, the greater (1 Cor. II. 4.) " the demonſtration of the ſpirit and of power:" the leſs their learning and lower their education, the more miraculous their having (Luke XXI. 15.) " a mouth and wiſdom, which all " their adverſaries were not able to gainſay or reſiſt:" in a word, the leſs (2 Cor. III. 5.) " ſufficient they were of themſelves" to do theſe things " as of themſelves," the more evidently it appeared that their " ſufficiency was of God." (Luke X. 21.) " I thank thee, O Fa- " ther, Lord of heaven and earth; that thou haſt hid theſe things " from the wiſe and prudent, and haſt revealed them unto babes; even " ſo, Father, for ſo it ſeemed good in thy ſight"—was our Saviour's thankſgiving upon this occaſion; and we ought in like manner to bleſs almighty God for giving ſo wonderful a confirmation to our faith, and learn not to think too highly of human power and human policy, but at all times be ready humbly to acknowlege, that (1 Cor. I. 25.) " the " fooliſhneſs of God is wiſer than men, and the weakneſs of God is " ſtronger than men."

It was thus that the chriſtian church was at firſt eſtabliſhed by miracle, but it is to be preſerved among us by natural means, and the ordinary

ordinary courſe of providence. A *learned* education is now neceſſary for the miniſters of the goſpel, to enable them to confirm believers, and to convince gainſayers. Even at the firſt it pleaſed almighty God to call St. Paul in an extraordinary manner; as he was to be the apoſtle of the Gentiles, ſo he was maſter of all the learning of the Gentiles; and in that polite and knowing age we ſhall find none that exceeded him, if there were any that equalled him, among the fineſt writers and orators of Greece and Rome. St. Luke was bred to letters, being bred a phyſician; and his ſtile is therefore obſerved to be more correct and elegant than that of the other evangeliſts. Though the apoſtles were ordered by our Saviour himſelf to (Matt. X. 19. Mark XIII. 11. Luke XII. 11, 12.) " take no thought beforehand " what they ſhould ſpeak, for it ſhould be given them in that ſame " hour what they ſhould ſpeak;" yet they themſelves give different directions to others, and (1 Tim. IV. 13, 15.) St. Paul exhorts the biſhop of the Epheſians " to give attendence to reading, to exhorta- " tion, to doctrin; Meditate upon theſe things, give thyſelf wholly " to them, that thy profiting may appear to all." And when divines eminent for litterature, induſtrious in their profeſſion, conſpicuous as preachers, illuſtrious as authors, are advanced to the firſt ſtations in the church, it is not only a ſecurity to religion, but an encouragement to learning, and a ſtrong incitement to others to proſecute the ſame ſtudies, and excel in the ſame uſeful arts.

Though the apoſtles for wiſe reaſons, as we have ſeen, were choſen from among men of low birth and parentage; yet times and circumſtances are ſo changed, that perſons of *noble* extraction by coming into the church may add ſtrength and ornament to it; eſpecially as long as we can boaſt of *ſome*, who are honorable in themſelves, as well as in their families; and whoſe perſonal merits and virtues, if they had not been nobly deſcended, would yet have intitled them juſtly to the rank and præeminence that they enjoy. God forbid, that the church of England ſhould ever be reduced to the ſtate and condition of the Gallican church, incumbered with the weight of prelates of quality without learning or virtue!

Virtue indeed at all times, in theſe laſt ages as well as the firſt, is eſſential to the character of a chriſtian, and much more of a chriſtian biſhop. The miraculous powers of the apoſtles, heavenly viſions and divine revelations, none can pretend to but impoſtors or enthuſiaſts: but their *moral and chriſtian virtues* all are obliged to copy; and (Mark IX. 35.) "if any man deſire to be firſt, the ſame ſhall be laſt "of all, and ſervant of all;" the higher his ſtation, the greater his obligations to miniſter to the church of Chriſt. In ſcripture language the higheſt titles beſtowed upon the governors of the church ſtill imply their greater uſe and ſervice. They are called even "ſtars" and "angels," but angels are (Heb. I. 14.) "all miniſtering ſpirits," and what are ſtars, unleſs they (Philip. II. 15.) "ſhine as lights in "the world?" Dignities conferred on the undeſerving ceaſe to be *dignities*. The worthy alone can, like good Onias, (Ecclus L. 2.) "make the garment of holineſs honorable." What the duties and qualifications of a good biſhop are, St. Paul hath deſcribed in his Epiſtles to Timothy and Titus, the one biſhop of Epheſus, the other of Crete: and without entering into a detail of the particulars, we may ſee them exemplified in ſome *living inſtances*, ſuch excellent proviſion hath divine providence made for the preſervation of religion, and ſo fully and effectually hath his Majeſty proved himſelf to be the (Iſa. XLIX. 23.) "nurſing father" of the church, and *defender of the faith*.

At the ſame time that we return our thanks, let us humbly beg of God a continuance of theſe bleſſings: That for the honor and advancement of religion, they who are moſt capable of defending it by their doctrin and adorning it by their lives, the moſt learned and knowing, the moſt wiſe and prudent, the beſt men and the beſt-tempered, may ever be called up to the government of the church: That they may not only excel in all good litterature themſelves, and inſtruct and inlighten the church by their own pious and learned labors; but alſo conſtantly patronize and promote others who do the ſame: That the influence of their good example may deſcend from the higheſt to the loweſt of the clergy, "like (Pſal. CXXXIII. 2.) the precious ointment

"upon

" upon the head, that ran down unto the beard, even Aaron's beard, " and went down to the ſkirts of his cloathing:" That we of the inferior clergy may (Heb. XIII. 17. 1 Theſſ. V. 12, 13.) " obey them " who have the rule over us, and admoniſh us, and eſteem them very " highly in love for their works ſake:" That (1 Tim. V. 17.) " they " who rule well may be counted worthy of double honor, eſpecially " they who labor in the word and doctrin:" Finally that all the clergy may faithfully diſcharge their duties in their ſeveral ſtations, to the honor of God, and to the edifying of his church, that ſo (Col. III. 4.) " when Chriſt who is our life ſhall appear, we may alſo appear " with him in glory." Amen.

SERMON V.

GOD and the KING:

Preached before the KING, on the Day of his ACCESSION, 1761.

1 PET. II. 17.

Fear God, Honor the King.

IT hath been obſerved, and a very juſt obſervation it is, that there is a concatenation of the virtues as well as of the vices; that they are linked as it were together, and one draweth on and inferreth another. Our Saviour himſelf hath in effect aſſerted the ſame thing, in ſaying (Matt. XXII. 40.) that " on the two great commandments," the love of God and the love of our neighbour, " hang all the law " and the prophets." But ſome virtues have a nearer relation and connexion than others, are more cloſely and intimately united, and

one floweth naturally and almoſt neceſſarily from another. Of this kind are the two precepts which St. Peter hath joined together, "Fear "God, Honor the King."

Religion and government are the two main pillars which ſupport the world. Without them there would be nothing but anarchy, and confuſion, and every evil work. Take down the one and you weaken the other; they muſt both ſtand or fall together. For which reaſon St. Peter hath fitly joined together the two precepts of "fearing God "and honoring the King." They are great and important duties, when conſidered ſeparately; they are of greater force and efficacy, when taken conjointly; and the former is the proper foundation and ſupport of the latter. For it will ever be found true, that they who have the juſteſt ſenſe of their duty to God, are moſt loyal and obedient to the King. The beſt men and chriſtians always make the beſt citizens and ſubjects.

When St. Peter united the two precepts of "fearing God and ho- "noring the King," as he could mean to repreſent only the true God, not any idols or falſe gods, as the proper object of our *fear*; ſo he deſigned to recommend only a juſt and lawful prince, not a lawleſs tyrant, as a character deſerving of our *honor*. "An idol," as St. Paul ſaith, (1 Cor. VII. 4.) "is nothing in the world," and inſtead of being made an object of worſhip, ought rather to be treated with contempt. A tyrant is worſe than nothing, and ſo far from deſerving honor, that he is more juſtly intitled to hatred and abhorrence. As it is only the true God that we are to *fear* and *worſhip*; ſo it is only a juſt and lawful prince that we are to *honor* and *obey*: and theſe, if conſidered ſeparately, are great and important duties in themſelves.

The "fear of God" is not a ſuperſtitious horror, but a religious veneration of his divine majeſty, to live always as in his preſence, to reverence his holy name and his word, to ſtand in awe and ſin not, to regard nothing ſo much as his favor, to dread nothing ſo much as his diſpleaſure: and who can reflect upon the greatneſs of God and the littleneſs of man, and not tremble before him? Every attribute almoſt

of

of the deity may properly excite and work upon our fear. We are naturally under ſome awe and apprehenſion, when we come before our earthly ſuperiors; but we are at all times in the more immediate preſence of the great God of heaven and earth. No man can conſider and compare together his omnipotence with our imbecillity and weakneſs, his omniſcience with our frailty and ignorance, his purity and perfection with our ſins and wickedneſs; and not be ready to profeſs with holy Job (XXIII. 15.) " Therefore am I troubled at his preſence; " when I conſider, I am afraid of him." The very goodneſs of God will make all ingenuous natures fearful of offending him, according to that of the pſalmiſt, (Pſal. CXXX. 4.) " There is forgiveneſs with thee " that thou mayeſt be feared." Not one adequate object of our fear can be found, if not the righteous governor of the world, our inſpector here, and our judge hereafter. (Luke XII. 4, 5.) " Be not afraid of " them that kill the body, and after that, have no more that they " can do: But I will forewarn you whom you ſhall fear," ſaith our Saviour; " fear him, which after he hath killed, hath power to caſt " into hell; yea I ſay unto you, Fear him."

As " the fear of God" includeth ſeveral duties, ſo likewiſe doth " the honor of the king," and extendeth to all civil magiſtrates, not only " unto the king as ſupreme," (1 Pet. II. 13, 14.) but likewiſe " unto governors, as unto them that are ſent by him for the puniſh- " ment of evil doers, and for the praiſe of them that do well." Society cannot ſubſiſt without regularity and order, without ſome to govern and ſome to obey. A fit diſpoſition and ſubordination of the parts is as neceſſary in the body politic as in the natural body; and the hand and the foot can ill perform their functions, without the head to direct and the eye to overſee. Not only the peace and harmony of ſociety will be ſpoiled for want of ſubordination, but diſcord and confuſion and miſery will enſue. For his own private intereſt therefore, as well as for the public emolument, a man ſhould pay all due honor to the higher powers; and commonly they who are the firſt to violate order, are the firſt to ſuffer for it. Every ſociety hath armed the magiſtrate with force ſufficient to chaſtiſe ſuch inſolent offenders,

and

and not only they, but often their friends and families are involved in the fatal conſequences of their diſobedience. Honor is due to all inferior magiſtrates, and much more to the ſuperior, for the benefits which redound from good government. Gratitude as well as duty requires it at our hands; and he muſt be not only a bad citizen, but a bad man, who can refuſe it.

So great, important, and neceſſary are theſe duties, when conſidered ſeparately; but they are of much greater force and efficacy, when taken conjointly, and reciprocally confirm and ſtrengthen each other. Religion and loyalty go beſt hand in hand together. The fear of God enforceth obedience to the laws, and obedience to the laws promoteth the fear of God. True religion is the beſt ſupport of good government, and good government maintains and encourages true religion. So that it is no viſionary ſcheme, but there is a real foundation in the nature of things for the alliance and union between Church and State; and what God and the conſtitution of things have thus joined together, let not men impiouſly pretend to put aſunder.

If we would attain any juſt conception of the ways and means whereby civil policy contributes to the promotion of true religion, we cannot form our notions upon any conſtitution better than our own, eſpecially as we ſee it happily adminiſtered at preſent. The king, or to ſpeak more generally, the civil magiſtrate protects and defends the church from injury and violence, of profeſſed enemies without, and of falſe brethren within. He not only protects and defends the church from danger, but alſo provides for her ſupport and maintenance by a public endowment for her miniſters; ſo that according to the prediction of the evangelical prophet, (Iſa. XLIX. 23.) " kings are" properly " her nurſing-fathers, and queens her nurſing-mothers." He allows to the heads and governors of the church a ſeat in the court of legiſlature and ſupreme judicature of the kingdom, to ſit there as watchmen and guardians, to ſee that nothing be enacted or adjudged contrary to the intereſts of the church and religion. He permits the exerciſe of eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction with coercive powers for the reformation of manners, to ſupply the deficiencies of civil judicatures, and

ratifies and enforces ſpiritual cenſures by temporal penalties. He farther promotes the fear of God and a ſenſe of religion by puniſhing impiety and profaneneſs, vice and immorality, more eſpecially ſuch as is oppoſite to or deſtructive of good government; (Rom. XIII. 4.) " for he beareth not the ſword in vain, and is a revenger to execute " wrath upon him that doeth evil." He not only diſcountenances and puniſhes the bad, but alſo rewards and encourages the good, and manifeſts himſelf to be " ſent" (1 Pet. II. 14) as for the puniſhment of " evil doers," ſo likewiſe " for the praiſe of them that do well." But a good magiſtrate, a good king no way promotes religion and virtue more effectually than by his own example. They who reſiſt all other motives, will yet have ſome regard to royal example. It is of greater force than the dead letter of ſtatutes. It is a living law to the whole nation. Happy are the people, who can look up to the throne for a pattern of goodneſs, and experimentally find and feel the firſt in rank to be the firſt alſo in virtue.

Such influence hath the ſtate upon religion, but religion operates more ſtrongly upon the ſtate, and " the fear of God" is the beſt foundation and ſupport of " the honor of the king." Religion would be required of us, even if we lived without government or ſociety; but no government or ſociety can tolerably ſubſiſt without religion. A nation of atheiſts would be worſe than a nation of Hottentots. " The " fear of God" is the baſis, as of all the ſocial duties, ſo particularly of obedience to the civil powers. The one comprehends and includes the other, as the greater the leſs. From the one the other follows by natural conſequence; and nothing can be of higher obligation than the will of God. If the authority of God cannot conſtrain and oblige us, it muſt be expected that the authority of man will have but little laſting effect upon us. Looſe principles of religion muſt neceſſarily introduce looſe principles of government, and diſturb the peace and order and happineſs of ſociety. If men are under no fear or reſtraint of God, there can be no dependence upon the moſt ſolemn oaths and engagements, which are the greateſt ſecurities of government.

Shake

Shake off this principle, and you unhinge the world; there is no bond to hold ſociety together.

Religion is neceſſary for the ſupport of government, as nothing elſe can ſupply the defects of human laws and conſtitutions. For human laws reſpect only overt acts, and bind the outward man; but the fear of God controlls the mind and conſcience, directs the intentions as well as regulates the actions. A man may be guilty of many breaches of the law in private, and yet eſcape public juſtice; but he will do nothing amiſs in private any more than in public, who ſetteth God always before him, and acteth always as in his preſence. A man may be very wicked and profligate, offend againſt the ſpirit of the law, and yet keep within the letter of it; but religion influenceth the whole man, and will make us (Rom. XIII. 5.) "ſubject not only for wrath but "alſo for conſcience ſake." Human laws cannot reſtrain and prohibit ſome irregularities without the danger of introducing others as pernicious and deſtructive; but (Pſal. XIX. 7.) "the law of the Lord "is perfect, converting the ſoul," and equally an enemy to every evil work. Human laws principally injoin ſuch duties as more immediately affect the being and ſafety of ſociety, but others there are no leſs conducive to the public welfare and happineſs, ſuch as humanity, hoſpitality, charity, gratitude, love of our country, and the like, which human laws cannot reach. Here therefore religion is wanted to lend an helping hand, to complete the obligation, and enforce it by divine authority. Human laws are framed rather to puniſh and diſcountenance the bad, than to reward and encourage the good; ſo that in this ſenſe we may ſay truly with the apoſtle (1 Tim. V. 9.) that "the law is not made for a righteous man, but for the lawleſs and "diſobedient, for the ungodly and for ſinners." Princes and governors cannot always diſtinguiſh the proper objects of their favor. This privilege belongs to him alone, who trieth the hearts and the reins. But if they were able to diſtinguiſh them, yet human means can never find a fund ſufficient to reward them. The ſanction of rewards therefore muſt be derived from religion. God, and God alone, can (Matt. XVI. 27.) "reward every man according to his works."

Religion

Religion not only ſupplies the defects of human laws, but farther improves and advances our civil duties to the higheſt perfection. The church wiſely conſults and promotes the honor of the king by acknowleging her own dependency and his ſupremacy in all cauſes as well eccleſiaſtical as civil. This power was for many ages uſurped by a foreign biſhop, but by being reſtored to its rightful and lawful proprietor, all the abſurdities are avoided, all the inconveniences are prevented of an empire within an empire. We are now taught (1 Pet. II. 13.) to "ſubmit ourſelves to the king as ſupreme for the Lord's ſake:" and none other principle of duty can be ſo ſteddy and permanent as this, or ſo to be depended upon at all times and upon all occaſions. Convenience, intereſt, the fear of puniſhment, the hope of preferment may avail much in engaging ſome men's obedience; but if theſe circumſtances ſhould happen to change, their diſpoſitions and affections may change too, unleſs actuated by the ſuperior motives of religion and the fear of God. Religion and the fear of God ſhould be the rule and meaſure of our obedience to the civil powers. We ſhould obey in every thing that is right, and in nothing that is wrong. A good prince *would not*, and a bad one *ought not* to be farther obeyed. Religion and the fear of God will not only influence our external obedience, but alſo command the heart and affections; ſo that we ſhall pay our duty for duty's ſake, and without any ſubterfuge or evaſion (Rom. XIII. 7.) "render to all their dues, tribute to whom tribute "is due, cuſtom to whom cuſtom, fear to whom fear, honor to whom "honor." Religion and the fear of God will not only produce the moſt ready and chearful ſubmiſſion, the moſt faithful and hearty ſervice, but will likewiſe engage our devotions; and beſides paying the tribute of our obedience, we ſhall offer up (1 Tim. II. 1, &c.) our moſt earneſt "ſupplications and prayers for kings, and for all that are "in authority, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all "godlineſs and honeſty. This," ſaith the apoſtle, "is good and "acceptable in the ſight of God our Saviour:" and if our Saviour hath promiſed to hear the petitions of "two or three" aſſembled together in his name, how prevalent muſt be the united prayers of a

whole church and kingdom! Beſides " ſupplications, prayers," and " interceſſions," the apoſtle mentions alſo " giving of thanks;" and ſurely we never can have greater reaſon to be thankful, than for the bleſſings of good government, for the happineſs that we enjoy and have long enjoyed, and for the hope and proſpect that we have of its being continued to the lateſt generations. If we are not in all reſpects the happieſt people upon earth, it muſt be only our own perverſeneſs and diſſentions that will diſturb our happineſs.

Since then the Church and State have ſo much influence upon each other, let thoſe who govern, cheriſh and promote religion, as they would render their government eaſy and happy. Let thoſe alſo who would be thought religious, approve their religion by their loyalty; and thoſe who would be thought faithful ſubjects, approve their loyalty by their religion. The caſe of God and a good King is the direct reverſe to that of God and Mammon. The duties are inſeparable. We cannot duly ſerve the one without ſerving the other. We cannot " fear God," we cannot be good chriſtians, and not " honor the " King." We cannot " honor the King," we cannot be good ſubjects, and not " fear God." Wherefore (James II. 12.) " ſo ſpeak " ye, and ſo do, as they that ſhall be judged by the law of liberty." " Render therefore unto Cæſar the things which are Cæſar's, and un- " to God the things which are God's. Happy are the people that " are in ſuch a caſe, yea bleſſed are the people who have the Lord " for their God!"

SERMON VI.

The GOOD SAMARITAN:

Preached at BRISTOL, for the Benefit of the INFIRMARY.

LUKE X. 37.

Go, and do thou likewiſe.

AT the firſt hearing of theſe words you will recollect them to be the concluſion and application of the parable or ſtory of the traveler "that fell among thieves, who ſtripped him of his raiment, and "wounded him, and departed, leaving him half dead:" a parable ſo well known, that I preſume there is not any occaſion to refreſh your memory with a detail of the circumſtances of it. It is related in ſuch a natural and lively manner, that many have been inclined to think it a real ſtory rather than a parable: but whether it be the one or the other, it is ſo very ſtriking and affecting, that it cannot fail of leaving the ſtrongeſt impreſſion upon every breaſt that hath the leaſt tincture of humanity. Inſtead therefore of entering into the particulars of the ſtory, it will be ſufficient to conſider the example of the good Samaritan, which our Saviour here propoſeth for our imitation, and to ſhow how proper and applicable it is to the deſign of this preſent aſſembly, the ſupport and encouragement of a hoſpital for the relief of the ſick and the diſeaſed, the maimed and the wounded, that we may not like the Prieſt and Levite "paſs by on the other ſide," but like the good Samaritan "have compaſſion on them," and as our Saviour exhorts us, "go and do likewiſe."

I. The firſt particular, that will naturally engage our attention, is the perſon here propoſed for a pattern of goodneſs, a Samaritan, a

ſtranger and alien from the commonwealth of Iſrael: by which trait our Saviour plainly deſigned, not only to leſſen the prejudices of his countrymen againſt the people of Samaria, but withal to ſignify what is of much greater uſe and importance, that there may be good men of all religions and countries, that acts of mercy and kindneſs are the principal acts of religion, that a man's practice is to be regarded more than his profeſſion, and let his profeſſion be what it will, his humanity and charity will be ſtill a powerful recommendation of him, and an example worthy of imitation.

It muſt be confeſſed that the Samaritans were no better than a mungrel race, deſcended from idolatrous Heathens and apoſtate Jews. They were really heretics and ſchiſmatics from the true church of God; and inſtead of making, as they ought to have made, Jeruſalem their place of worſhip, they ſet up temple againſt temple and altar againſt altar on mount Gerizim. By theſe means ſo great enmity was kindled between the two nations, and their religious differences were inflamed to ſuch an highth, that they had no civil intercourſe or correſpondence the one with the other; for as St. John obſerves, (John IV. 9.) "the Jews have no dealings with the Samaritans." Our Saviour, who was himſelf univerſal love and benevolence, took every proper occaſion of reproving theſe narrow prejudices in others, and of opening and inlarging their minds to more noble and generous ſentiments. Several inſtances might be given particularly with regard to the Samaritans; and here in the ſtory before us we ſee him recommending a compaſſionate Samaritan to our imitation in preference to two venerable characters of his own nation, a Prieſt and a Levite.

Humanity and compaſſion are the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics of men as men. Religion may improve them. Religion can never extinguiſh them. It is only a falſe religion that can ever ſuppreſs or extinguiſh them. The true religion will always cheriſh and improve them: and "by this," ſaith our Saviour, (John XIII. 35.) "ſhall all "men know that ye are my diſciples, if ye have love one to another." This is the teſt and criterion of true religion. (James I. 27.) "Pure "religion, and undefiled before God and the Father, is this, to viſit

"the fatherleſs and widows in their affliction, and to keep himſelf "unſpotted from the world." Without this all other marks of religion are vain and to no purpoſe. (1 Cor. XIII. 2, 3.) "Though we "have all faith ſo that we could remove mountains, though we give "our bodies to be burned" and die martyrs for our religion, "yet if "we have not charity, it profiteth us nothing." It is not ſo much what we have believed as what we have practiſed, that will avail to our eternal ſalvation.

As good works are the grace and ornament of the beſt religion, ſo they are ſome palliation and excuſe even for the worſt. If we meaſure by our Saviour's rule, we ſhall think a charitable Samaritan, a heretic, a ſchiſmatic more deſerving than a proud Prieſt and Levite, than two uncharitable orthodox believers, more valuable in himſelf, more imitable to men, more acceptable to God. For (Acts X. 34, 35.) "God is no reſpecter of perſons: but in every nation he that "feareth him, and worketh righteouſneſs, is accepted with him."

About modes of faith there will always be diſputes and differences, but in acts of mercy and kindneſs all mankind may agree, and ſhould agree. A hoſpital for the ſick and maimed is of no ſect or party; but Jews and Samaritans, believers and infidels, papiſts and proteſtants, churchmen and diſſenters, how much ſoever they may differ in other matters, yet here may all unite and act in friendly conſort together. Whatever be our profeſſions and denominations, yet here we may ſhow ourſelves *men*, and I had almoſt ſaid *chriſtians*. We cannot perhaps pretend to vindicate the faith and religion of all who ſubſcribe and contribute to theſe uſeful inſtitutions, but we may however commend their benevolent beneficent temper. If their morals are leſs pure and perfect in other reſpects, yet thus far at leaſt they merit commendation; and that they may not riſe up in judgment againſt us, we ſhould avoid their faults, but approve their virtues, and "go and do "likewiſe."

II. Next after the principal actor in this ſcene, the perſon who had compaſſion, we ſhall naturally turn our thoughts to the poor ſufferer whom he had compaſſion upon; and as the one was a Samaritan, this

other

other appears to have been a Jew. (ver. 30.) "A certain man "went down from Jeruſalem to Jericho, and fell among thieves." The honeſt Samaritan would have deſerved highly to be commended for his humane and generous behaviour, whoever had been the object of his compaſſion; and I think little doubt can be made that he would have ſhown the ſame compaſſion to any man in the ſame circumſtances of diſtreſs. But he certainly merits ſtill higher commendation for overcoming the prejudices of education, for breaking through the reſtraints of his religion and country, for ſacrificing the reſentments of a Samaritan to the feelings of a man, and treating an adverſary with humanity and kindneſs more like a friend and neighbour.

Great as his generoſity was in itſelf, it appears to yet greater advantage by being contraſted with the cool and indifferent behaviour (to ſay no worſe) of the Prieſt and the Levite. He performs more good offices, and manifeſts greater regard for a ſtranger of a different perſuaſion, than they do for one of their own country and of the ſame religion with themſelves. Whoever hath the heart and bowels of a man, muſt be ſenſibly affected, and as much pleaſed with the generoſity of the one, as offended with the indifference of the others. A man "ſtripped, and wounded, and half dead," one would think, was a ſight that would move any man's pity; and he hardly deſerves the name of *man*, who can "come, and look on, and paſs by on the "other ſide."

Such a lamentable object, lying in the ſtreet or in the high-way, you would make no ſcruple of admitting into your hoſpital without any other recommendation than his own wretchedneſs and miſery; and the greater the miſery, the ſtronger the recommendation. Human nature in diſtreſs is ſurely of itſelf an object worthy of pity, without taking into conſideration any other circumſtances of trade or profeſſion, ſect or party, religion or country. Theſe conſiderations may increaſe the obligation; they can never take it away. As perſons of all ſects and parties ſhould join in acts of mercy and charity, ſo perſons of all ſects and parties too ſhould be allowed to partake of the benefit. You ſhould follow the apoſtle's exhortation, and endevor (Gal. VI. 10.)

10.) " as you have opportunity, to do good unto all men, eſpecially " unto them who are of the houſhold of faith," to relieve as much as you can all objects, eſpecially the moſt proper and deſerving.

III. We ſhould alſo remark the manner and circumſtances of the Samaritan's behaviour, that we may be the better enabled to follow his example, and " go and do likewiſe :" and particularly his readineſs to relieve and aſſiſt a poor deſtitute helpleſs fellow-creature, his care and tenderneſs in conducting him to a houſe of good reception, and his generoſity in maintaining him there, and defraying his expenſes till he was recovered and made able again to purſue his journey.

His readineſs to relieve and aſſiſt a poor deſtitute helpleſs fellow-creature is very conſpicuous. For he was ſtruck the moment he beheld the traveler lying on the ground, " ſtripped," and " wounded," and " half-dead." (ver. 33.) " When he ſaw him, he had compaſ- " ſion on him ;" and human nature, unleſs ſtrangely hardened and depraved indeed, is naturally moved to pity at the firſt ſight of ſo wretched an object. It is a kind of ſecret inſtinct that riſeth in us, almoſt whether we will or not, before there is time for reaſon or reflection. But this is merely paſſive virtue, and humanity as well as religion requires that it ſhould alſo be active. It is but reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the Prieſt and the Levite would feel, and could not but feel, ſome emotions of pity at the ſight of their wounded and dying countryman. But they excuſed themſelves to themſelves ; they were going upon urgent buſineſs ; their journey required haſte ; they were obliged to attend the offices of religion ; they had no ſkill in ſurgery, and could not be of any real ſervice to the wounded perſon ; it might be dangerous for them to remain longer in that place ; the ſame robbers might fall upon them too ; charity begins at home, and it was more prudent for them to conſult their own ſafety than the preſervation of a dying man. But the Samaritan was above ſuch ſelfiſh conſiderations, he acted upon nobler motives. He not only " had " compaſſion" on the wounded traveler, but alſo gave effectual proofs of it ; (ver. 34.) " went to him, and bound up his wounds." His buſineſs might be urgent, but the neceſſity of the poor miſerable traveler

veler was ſtill more urgent; any delay might be inconvenient to him, but to the other it would prove fatal; the trouble to himſelf would be more than compenſated by the benefit to the other; he preferred "mercy" before "ſacrifice;" he thought that the beſt religion, the greateſt duty was to do good; he could not adminiſter all the relief that he would, but however he would adminiſter all that he could; he was not to be terrified by an uncertain danger from doing a certain duty; the hazard to himſelf was nothing when compared to ſaving the life of a man, who muſt periſh very ſoon, if not immediately aſſiſted. Such alſo is the caſe of many perſons, who are admitted into your hoſpital, and if not ſpeedily ſuccurred, would ſoon be paſt all remedy. The readineſs of the relief and aſſiſtance is one principal recommendation of theſe inſtitutions; and it is certainly much for the eaſe and benefit of the mind as well as of the body to know where to apply for help in caſe of need. If the Samaritan had any knowlege of pharmacy, it was happy for the wounded traveler. However we ſee him "bind-"ing up his wounds," and "pouring in oil and wine," which formerly were much uſed in medicines. You perhaps cannot perform any operation of any kind, but you all know where the beſt advice and the beſt medicines may, even in any ſudden emergency, be readily obtained. Your hoſpital is not like the famous pool of "Bethesda," which is ſuppoſed to have had ſalutary effects only at certain ſeaſons; for (John V. 3.) there "lay a great multitude of impotent folk, of "blind, halt, withered, waiting for the moving of the water." This houſe of mercy hath her doors always open to receive and relieve diſtreſſed objects; they are almoſt ſure to find preſent aſſiſtance either as in or as out-patients; they have no occaſion to "wait for the moving "of the water;" and contrary to the caſe of the poor impotent man in the goſpel, who (ver. 5.) "had an infirmity thirty and eight years," the moſt neceſſitous are the firſt to gain admittence. In all ſocieties certain rules and orders for admiſſiion muſt be obſerved; but caſualties and accidents, being ſubject to no rule or order, obtain immediate admittence,

(1) Jerom ſaith, that Fabiola, a wealthy chriſtian widow, of a noble Roman family, who died in his time firſt erected a public infirmary: Prima omnium νοσοκομειον inſtituit, in quo ægrotantes colligeret

admittence, whether recommended or not, at any hour by day or by night. What St. Paul ſaith of the churches of Macedonia is very applicable to this charitable ſociety (2 Cor. VIII. 3.) that "to your "power, yea and beyond your power you are willing" to do good: and you may reſt aſſured of what the apoſtle farther addeth, (ver. 12.) that "if there be firſt a willing mind, it is accepted according to that "a man hath, and not according to that he hath not."

Not contented with having exerted his beſt endevors towards aſſuaging the pains of the wounded traveler, the Samaritan farther manifeſts his care and tenderneſs by conducting him to a houſe of good reception. For (ver. 24.) "he ſet him on his own beaſt, and brought him "to an inn, and took care of him." The word πανδοχειον, which we tranſlate *an inn*, ſignifies in general any houſe of reception for all ſorts of people, and conſequently among its other meanings may include *a hoſpital* for the relief of perſons of different ſexes, ages, and countries. Whether there were any ſuch things as public hoſpitals in thoſe early times, is much to be queſtioned: or rather it may be ſaid, that thoſe early times were ſtrangers to ſuch uſeful inſtitutions; they are improvements owing to the munificence and charity of later ages; and (1) Chriſtianity hath the honor of the firſt inſtitution of the kind. If there had been any hoſpital at that time and in that place, we may be confident that the Samaritan would have conveyed his patient thither, inſtead of conducting him to an inn, or whatever other houſe it was of general reſort and reception. A public hoſpital is more efficacious than any private charity for the ſame reaſon that the joint efforts of many generally prevail over thoſe of a few. As more concur in its ſupport, ſo more may partake of the benefit. You may here procure advice and aſſiſtance for a poor patient, reſtore health to the ſick and limbs to the lame, upon much eaſier terms, than you can by any other method of contribution. What you contribute ſingly and by itſelf can go but a little way towards ſupplying the wants and re-eſtabliſhing the health and ſtrength of one miſerable creature; but when

colligeret de plateis, et conſumpta languoribus atque inedia miſerorum membra foveret. Epiſt. 8. Edit. Bened. See Archbiſhop Secker's Sermon before the Governors of the London Hoſpital.

added to the common ſtock, its good effects may extend to numbers. Here too you are ſecured from fraud and impoſition, and what you beſtow is beſtowed upon real objects of charity. No man knoweth ſo little of the world as to be ignorant, that there are abundance of cheats and impoſtors, who frequent the ſtreets and public ways, and are commonly the moſt ſucceſsful, becauſe the moſt clamorous and importunate beggars. In ſome meaſure they reſemble other counterfeits of old, the idols of the heathens; (Pſal. CXV. 5, 7.) "they have mouths "but they ſpeak not; eyes have they but they ſee not; they have hands, "but they handle not; feet have they but they walk not." Now it is not always eaſy to diſtinguiſh theſe pretended dumb and blind and lame from thoſe who are really ſo; and this very thing is often the ſource of great evil, is a damp and diſcouragement to charity on the one hand, or occaſions a miſapplication and abuſe of it on the other. But in a hoſpital the counterfeit is certain to be detected, the real patient only is admitted. As the former can never have the impudence to apply here for relief, ſo the latter may be aſſured always here to find it. Here alſo the poor may have the benefit of ſuch advice and medicins, as it is out of their power to procure in any other place or by any other means. By theſe means the poor are in ſome degree put upon a level with the rich, and obtain the benefit, which they could not otherwiſe do, of aſſiſtance from the moſt able phyſicians and ſurgeons; and they both are of mutual ſervice and advantage to each other. The former have the better chance of recovering their health by the ſkill and experience of the latter; the latter have opportunities of gaining yet farther ſkill and experience by the various infirmities and diſeaſes of the former.

But the Samaritan's goodneſs to the wounded traveler did not ſtop here. He not only conducted him to a houſe of good reception, but alſo diſplayed his generoſity by maintaining him there, and defraying his expenſes till he was recovered, and made able again to purſue his journey. For (ver. 35.) "on the morrow when he departed, he "took out two pence" (about 15 or 16 pence of our money) "and "gave them to the hoſt, and ſaid unto him, Take care of him; and

" whatſoever thou ſpendeſt more, when I come again, I will repay " thee." What was the real character and proper buſineſs of this *hoſt* as he is called, this πανδοχευς, this receiver and entertainer of all comers, it is not eaſy for us to determin; but the Samaritan, we ſee, had ſo good an opinion of him that he intruſted his wounded patient to his care, advanced money to him for what he might expend in that ſervice, and engaged at his return that way to repay him for what he might expend more. Here you have greatly the advantage over the Samaritan. The very names and characters of the governors of this charity, their care attendence and application, their ability fidelity and œconomy are not only above all ſuſpicion, but give the fulleſt aſſurance of their executing in the beſt manner and to the beſt advantage the great and important truſt repoſed in them: and every year, like faithful ſtewards, they ſubmit the ſtate of their accounts, their receits and payments, and in ſhort their whole proceedings, to the inſpection of the ſubſcribers in particular, and of the public in general; and the more they are examined, the more they are approved. Here alſo you are aſſured, that the beſt care is taken of the health of the poor patients; and they have the opportunities and advantages of ſuch ſkilful advice, ſuch proper medicins, ſuch wholeſome diet, ſuch cleanly lodgings, ſuch careful nurſes, that if they are curable, they cannot well fail of being cured: and the many thouſands of ſick and lame, who have been diſcharged from hence whole and ſound, are ſo many living teſtimonies of the beneficial effects as well as of the benevolent intentions of this inſtitution; and at the ſame time that they ſilence all cenſure, tranſcend all commendation. But your care and attention ſhould not be confined only to the health of their bodies, but ſhould extend likewiſe to the cure of their better parts, their ſouls. But in this reſpect, I am ſorry to ſay, that you are very deficient, and that this is almoſt the only eſtabliſhed hoſpital in the kingdom, where ſome proviſion of this ſort is not made out of the general fund. Here it is owing to the particular bounty of ſome ſubſcribers, and eſpecially the Clergy, and lately of the Corporation and Society of Merchants, that there is a chaplain conſtantly attending upon the poor patients; and

when they are groaning under the diſeaſes which are the conſequences of their vices, they will naturally grow weary of the vices which are the cauſes of their diſeaſes: and chriſtian doctrin, daily prayers, pious inſtructions, good books muſt then, if ever, have their due weight and influence, and work a thorough reformation. So that they have the chance of obtaining a double cure, of recovering their ſtrength and reforming their manners, and going from hence not only ſounder men, but better chriſtians, more uſeful to ſociety, more thankful to their benefactors, and to God the benefactor of all. (2 Cor. IX. 12.) "For "the adminiſtration of this ſervice not only ſupplieth the want of the "ſaints, but is abundant alſo by many thankſgivings unto God."

Such is the character of the good Samaritan, ſo worthy of imitation, and ſo well do you imitate and reſemble him. But you are intitled to yet higher commendation. You follow ſtill a greater and better example than this Samaritan. You imitate, as far as you can, your bleſſed Saviour and Redeemer, (Acts X. 38. Matt. IV. 23.) "who "went about doing good, and healing all manner of ſickneſs, and "all manner of diſeaſe among the people." And to animate and encourage us to perſeverance in theſe good works, he repreſents them as the great and trying articles, upon which chiefly we ſhall be acquitted or condemned at the laſt day; and aſſures us, that what we ſhall do or not do in this kind to the leaſt and loweſt of our brethren, he will accept as done or not done to himſelf, and will reward or puniſh us accordingly. On the one hand he will ſay, (Matt. XXV. 34, &c.) "Come, ye bleſſed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for "you from the foundation of the world: For I was an hungred, and "ye gave me meat; I was thirſty, and ye gave me drink; I was a "ſtranger, and ye took me in; Naked, and ye cloathed me; I was "ſick, and ye viſited me; I was in priſon, and ye came unto me: "For verily I ſay unto you, Inaſmuch as ye have have done it unto "one of the leaſt of theſe my brethren, ye have done it unto me." On the other hand he will ſay, "Depart from me, ye curſed, into "everlaſting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels: For I was "an hungred, and ye gave me no meat; I was thirſty, and ye gave

"me

" me no drink; I was a ſtranger, and ye took me not in; naked, " and ye cloathed me not; ſick, and in priſon, and ye viſited me not. " For verily I ſay unto you, Inaſmuch as ye did it not to one of the " leaſt of theſe, ye did it not to me." Words there cannot be more forcible than theſe to recommend a hoſpital or infirmary for the ſick and diſeaſed; and God give us the grace ſo to ſhow mercy unto others, that we ourſelves may obtain mercy in the great day of the Lord.

SERMON VII.

On MODERATION.

Preached before the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in the Abbey Church of Weſtminſter, on Monday, January 30, 1764; being the Day appointed to be obſerved as the Day of the Martyrdom of King CHARLES I.

Die Martis, 31° Januarii, 1764.

Ordered,

BY the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parlament aſſembled, That the Thanks of this Houſe be and are hereby given to the Lord Biſhop of Briſtol, for the Sermon by him preached before this Houſe yeſterday, in the Abbey Church, Weſtminſter; and he is hereby deſired to cauſe the ſame to be forthwith printed and publiſhed.

ASHLEY COWPER, Cler. Parliamentor.

PHILIP. IV. 5.

Let your moderation be known unto all men.

AMONG the many apoſtolical exhortations to univerſal benevolence and charity, there is none leſs inſiſted upon, and yet none deſerving to be more inſiſted upon from the pulpit, than this remarkable

able one of St. Paul. And this perhaps may be the reaſon why moderation, though it is ſo frequently the ſubject of diſcourſe, yet is ſo ſeldom the object of underſtanding. The name is in familiar uſe, but few appear to have a right comprehenſion of the thing. We not only miſtake it in others, but often in ourſelves. Our lukewarmneſs, indifference, phlegm, dulneſs, frequently paſs with us for moderation; and what is yet ſtranger, many a fiery furious bigot fancies himſelf a cool reaſonable man, as the greateſt perſecutors for religion will ſtill (John XVI. 2.) " think that they are doing God good ſervice."

But if the thing is underſtood by few, it is certainly practiſed by yet fewer. Our debates and controverſies, our diviſions and parties afford but too viſible too flagrant proofs of the want of it. And even religion, which ſhould be the bond and cement to unite us all, is become the greateſt bone of contention; that which ſhould abate and extinguiſh all animoſities, is made itſelf to highten and inflame them moſt. " Think not that I am come to ſend peace on earth," ſaid our bleſſed Saviour; (Matt. X. 34.) " I came not to ſend peace but a " ſword;" not that this was the intent, but only would be the event of his coming; not that he could properly be the cauſe of diviſion, ſuch is the perfection of the chriſtian religion; but ſuch is the perverſeneſs of human nature, he ſhould be made the innocent occaſion. Religion, like oil, is ſmooth and ſoft of itſelf, but thrown into the fire produceth the hotteſt and the fierceſt flame. It is ſo not only in one part but all the world over; chriſtian quarrels with chriſtian as bad as heathen with heathen; not only papiſts with proteſtants, but proteſtants with one another; and it is to be wiſhed, that churchmen themſelves had been entirely free from this leaven. (1) I am ſorry that theſe reproaches can be more eaſily objected to us than refuted.

There being then many who talk and boaſt of moderation yet do not underſtand what it is, and there being many more who whether they underſtand what it is or not yet do not practiſe it, we will for the ſake of the former conſider *what it is*, and *what it is to make it known unto all men*; and for the ſake of the latter we will ſhow *the*

(1) Pudet hæc opprobria nobis &c.

uſeful-

uſefulneſs and expediency of it, in order to explain and enforce the precept of the apoſtle, " Let your moderation be known unto all " men."

I. *What is moderation?* is much ſuch a queſtion as Pilate's (John XVIII. 38.) " What is truth?" Like Pilate too we ſeldom ſtay to give or receive an anſwer. The word in the original (2) is capable of different ſignifications, according to which it is differently tranſlated in ſcripture, ſo that it is not eaſy to ſay what is the preciſe meaning of it in this place. Our tranſlators ſeem to have choſen the beſt word for it, the moſt comprehenſive and expreſſive of its different ſignifications.

Now *moderation* at the firſt hearing of the word conveys the idea of ſomething oppoſit to a blind precipitate furious zeal; and yet on the other hand it is by no means to be confounded, nor indeed hath it the leaſt affinity with a lazy undiſtinguiſhing unthinking indifference. True moderation is equally diſtant from both theſe or any extremes; for one of its principal characteriſtics is to proportion its eſteem of things to their real worth; to be more or leſs concerned for them as they are more or leſs valuable; to yield a weaker or ſtronger aſſent as there is weaker or ſtronger evidence; to be indifferent about indifferent things, and to be zealous about things wherein " it is good," as the apoſtle ſaith, (Gal. IV. 18.) " to be zealouſly affected." But though it be zealous for ſome things, yet it hath no more " zeal" than " knowlege," (Rom. X. 2.) no more warmth than diſcretion; attends not to one ſide of a queſtion only but to both; examins without prejudice; argues without paſſion; differs from others with civility and good manners; though miſtaken is never obſtinate, though ſure is never dogmatical; would rather win by perſuaſion than prevail by compulſion; preſerves a medium and meaſure in things; avoids every ſort of exceſs and extravagance; is not even " righteous overmuch," as Solomon adviſeth, (Eccleſ. VII. 16.) is not " overwiſe;" is more for promoting what is equitable than for adhering to the ſtrictneſs of the law; tempers juſtice with mercy; ſoftens ſeverity with candor; is rigid to crimes, but tender of perſons; puniſhes the offenſe, but

(2) Το επιεικες.

pities

pities the offender; and under the worſt of provocations and ſufferings behaves with meekneſs and patience and gentleneſs towards all men.

Such are the chief properties of moderation in the different ſenſes of the word; but perhaps the thing may be better underſtood by example than by deſcription. An example realiſes the deſcription: and a moſt perfect one we have in our bleſſed Lord as of all virtues in general, ſo of this in particular. For where was he ever for proſecuting private injuries, and puniſhing the offender according to the letter and rigor of the law? If a man would "ſmite him on the right cheek," (Matt. V. 39.) he would rather "turn to him the other alſo." He is once ſaid indeed to have "looked with anger," but then it was not upon his own account, it was for the wickedneſs of men, (Mark III. 5.) "being grieved for the hardneſs of their hearts." Where was he ever indifferent when he ſhould have been zealous, or zealous when he ſhould have been indifferent? Where did he ever neglect (Matt. XXIII. 23.) "the weightier matters" of religion, or lay the principal ſtreſs upon forms and ceremonies? We find him (Matt. XXIII.) with great ſharpneſs reproving "the Scribes and Phariſees hypocrites:" we find him driving the buyers and ſellers out of the temple with ſuch indignation, that his diſciples applied to him the ſaying of the pſalmiſt, (John II. 17.) "The zeal of thine houſe hath eaten me up." And as he could be thus ſtrict and ſevere when it was proper, ſo when it was proper too he could be meek and gentle; (Matt. XII. 19.) "He "did not ſtrive nor cry, neither did any man hear his voice in the "ſtreets;" (1 Pet. II. 23.) "when he was reviled, he reviled not "again, when he ſuffered, he threatened not; but committed him-"ſelf to him that judgeth righteouſly."

II. But the nature of moderation will be farther explained by explaining *what it is to make it known unto all men.* Which may either ſignify, not to diſguiſe our ſentiments in this particular, not to be aſhamed or afraid of acting upon theſe principles, but publicly to profeſs them, and to glory in them: or rather may ſignify, not to confine our benevolence to thoſe alone of our own ſect and party, but to enlarge and extend it to all mankind, to diſtinguiſh our friends only

only by ſuperior kindneſs, to ſhow humanity civility and courteſy to all, (Matt. V. 45.) as "our heavenly Father maketh his ſun to riſe, "and ſendeth rain on the good and evil, on the juſt and unjuſt." It would exceed the limits of one of theſe diſcourſes to conſider men in all their different relations, and to ſpecify how moderation may be made known to them in all. It will be ſufficient to give inſtances in the two main concerns of human life, *religion* and *government*; for under theſe two general heads the leſſer particulars may all be comprehended.

To ſhow moderation to all men in matters of *religion* is not to meaſure God's mercies by our prejudices, not to reckon ourſelves alone the people of God, and exclude all others from the hopes of ſalvation; but to allow that God is the God of all, that Chriſt died for all, and men may be ſaved out of every church out of every nation, if they be careful to frame their lives according to the beſt light which they have or may have. It is not to dragoon, impriſon, torture, or any ways compel men into the faith; but to teach with all gentleneſs, (2 Tim. IV. 2.) to "reprove, rebuke, exhort with all "long-ſuffering and doctrin," (1 Pet. III. 9.) "not rendering evil "for evil, or railing for railing, but contrariwiſe bleſſing." As it is not to force, ſo neither is it to delude men into our communion; to uſe no frauds pious (as they are called) or impious; to defend the truth only by truth, and to do nothing in the cauſe of religion that is not perfectly conſiſtent with religion. It is to keep the medium between thoſe who ſtrain eccleſiaſtical authority too high, and thoſe on the oppoſit ſide who depreſs it too low; neither to infringe chriſtian liberty on the one hand, nor to diſobey the lawful commands of ſuperiors on the other; neither to impoſe ſuperſtitious burdenſome ceremonies with ſome, nor yet to quarrel with decency diſciplin and order with others. It is equally a friend to a teſt for the ſecurity of the national church, and to a toleration for the eaſe of proteſtant diſſenters; would rather conform than make a needleſs ſchiſm or ſeparation, would rather indulge ſcrupulous conſciences than oblige to an hypocritical conformity; would promote, as much as it is poſſible,

unity of opinion, and where that cannot be obtained, at leaſt unity of charity. It is neither to build too much on works without faith, nor on faith without works, but to join both together; neither to cry up moral duties to the leſſening of poſitive, nor to contend for poſitive duties to the prejudice of moral, remembring always (Matt. XXIII. 23.) that "theſe are to be done and the other not to be left "undone." In a word, it is to recommend our holy religion not ſo much by our profeſſion as by our practice; not to ſhow our zeal for the church by drinking to it, but by frequenting it; not to "truſt "in lying words," as the prophet expreſſeth it, (Jer. VII. 4.) "ſay-"ing The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, the temple "of the Lord are theſe." Thoſe are the beſt and trueſt ſons of the church, who are the moſt conſtant to its worſhip, and live moſt agreeably to its doctrin. A man of immoral character, let him boaſt ever ſo much of orthodoxy and high church, is the worſt of heretics and ſchiſmatics.

To ſhow moderation to all men in matters of *government*, is to make religion and law the rule and meaſure of authority as well as of obedience, (Rom. XIII. 4, 5.) that princes may govern as "the mini-"ſters of God for good," and that ſubjects may obey "not only for "wrath but alſo for conſcience ſake." It is to hold the balance even between the prerogative of the crown and the privilege of the ſubject, and to ſuffer neither to weigh down the other; to avoid equally the extremes of anarchy and confuſion on the one hand, of abſolute paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance on the other; that the power of the king and the rights of the people may be preſerved ſafe and inviolate from the encroachments of each other, neither government inſulted, nor liberty oppreſſed. It is not to be led away by names inſtead of things, by party diſtinctions inſtead of realities; but to regard more what is ſaid than who ſaith it, what is done than who doth it, and to meaſure men by their actions rather than the actions by the men; (Rom. XIII. 7.) "to render tribute to whom tribute is due, cuſtom "to whom cuſtom, fear to whom fear, honor to whom honor." It is not to run into the violence and exceſs of any party; not fondly

to

to think thoſe of our own perſuaſion, and none elſe, oracles of wiſdom and ſtandards of honeſty; neither to magnify all nor depreciate all without exception, as if men were either better or worſe than men, or as if there ever were or ever could be any, either ſo good as to do always what is right, or ſo bad as to do always what is wrong: but to judge of men and things with temper and candor; to avoid all falſehood calumny and perſonal altercation; neither to praiſe nor to blame without juſt occaſion; to commend what is right, to condemn what is wrong, from whomſoever it may come; to lament vice though in a friend, to honor virtue though in an enemy, and always to conclude, that a bad man can never be a good patriot, he whoſe private life is infamous, can never adorn a public character. It is to be zealous for the welfare of the nation, jealous of every the leaſt danger to the conſtitution; and yet on the other hand not to be afraid where no fear is, nor to pretend grievances where there really are none; to make allowances for the difficulties of government, and to render it as eaſy as we can to our governors; not only to pray (1 Tim. II. 2.) "for kings and for all that are in authority," but alſo to contribute our utmoſt endevors, "that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life "in all godlineſs and honeſty." It abhors faction as much as it deſires the public good, is as great an enemy to licentiouſneſs as it is a friend to liberty, knowing that liberty will be ruined by nothing ſooner and more effectually than by the abuſe of it; and therefore, (Gal. V. 13.) as "we have been called unto liberty," it is "to uſe not liberty "for an occaſion to the fleſh, but by love to ſerve one another;" (1 Pet. III. 16.) "as free, and not uſing our liberty for a cloke of "maliciouſneſs, but as the ſervants of God." In a word, it is to be of no party any farther than they are for truth and virtue, for law and liberty, for our king and country; and never to carry our differences from politics into other things, but (Rom. XII. 18.) "if it be "poſſible, as much as lieth in us, to live peaceably with all men."

III. If we know the nature of a thing, we cannot be ignorant of its excellencies; and having thus explained *what moderation is*, and *what it is to make it known unto all men*, there is the leſs occaſion to

be particular in ſhowing *the uſefulneſs and expediency of it*, as it was propoſed in the laſt place.

One argument for it may be drawn from the advantages of this temper, from its being the proper diſpoſition of mind to find truth ourſelves, and to recommend it to others. It is almoſt a certainty, that whoever is in a paſſion is in the wrong; at leaſt he is a bad defender of a good cauſe, and maketh the beſt appear like the worſt. An argument managed with temper is like Samſon's riddle, (Judg. XIV.) honey out of the lion, ſtrength and ſweetneſs mixed together.

Another argument for it may be drawn from the diſadvantages of the contrary temper, from the railing and evil ſpeaking, the anger and revenge, the wars and bloodſhed, the perſecutions and maſſacres, which all proceed from the want of moderation. For want of this, in the century before the laſt, were ſo many fires in Smithfield, ſo many executions on Tower-hill; both proteſtants and papiſts ſuffered in their turns, both had their martyrs. For want of this, in the laſt century, a civil war was kindled, a king murdered, and our conſtitution in church and ſtate overturned. If power had been exerciſed with more moderation, if prerogative had never overflowed its banks, the ſtream of government might have run on ſmooth and gentle, and that ſpirit would not have been raiſed in the people, which is ſo much eaſier to be raiſed than to be laid. Or if redreſs of theſe grievances had been ſought with more moderation, and men would have been contented with all the legal ſecurities which our conſtitution affords; if when they had drawn the ſword againſt their ſovran, they had not likewiſe thrown away the ſcabbard; the wounds of the civil war might ſoon have been healed by treaty, the ſcars would not yet have been viſible, and the condeſcenſion of the prince and the temper of the people would have been the theme of future ages. But as Solomon obſerves, (Prov. XVII. 14.) "the beginning of ſtrife is as when one letteth out "water;" you cannot ſtop it again, nor know how far and wide it may flow. For not contented with reducing monarchy within bounds that it might no more indanger liberty, they were for entirely deſtroying it; not contented with pruning excreſcences, and lopping off over-

grown branches in the church, they were for cutting down the tree and all; not contented with leaving their king little more than the name of king, they tried, condemned, and executed him with all the mock ſolemnity and forms of juſtice. They who complained of the "golden ſceptre" of their princes, now ruled with "a rod of iron," erected new forms of government, inſtituted new modes of worſhip, baniſhed the royal family, beheaded the nobles, oppreſſed the commons, and made our land an "Aceldama" or "field of blood." Twenty years the nation was mad, and hardly recovered its ſenſes at laſt, if it hath yet recovered them.

Other arguments may be drawn from the clauſe following the text, "Let your moderation be known unto all men, The Lord is at hand." "—The Lord is at hand; (Matt. XXIV. 44.) for in ſuch an hour "as you think not, the Son of man cometh;" and where will be all our little diſtinctions when we are laid in the grave, or what will the differences of this world avail in the next?—"The Lord is at hand," who was the great preacher of this and its kindred virtues, and requires them as the diſtinguiſhing marks of his diſciples, men being no chriſtians without charity, and there being no charity without moderation.—"The Lord is at hand," who not only taught, but practiſed it, (1 Pet. II. 21.) "leaving us an example that we ſhould follow his "ſteps;" who was a *lamb* himſelf, and will not ſuffer any of his diſciples to be *wolves*, and prey upon one another.—"The Lord is at "hand," who will judge and puniſh us for nothing more ſeverely than for the want of moderation. And ſurely if the want of moderation will be a crime more aggravated more hainous in one people than in another, it will be ſo more eſpecially in us of theſe kingdoms, who have all reaſonable inducements to practiſe it; living under the government of a moſt truly religious and gracious King who hath none other deſign or deſire than to make his ſubjects happy, and enjoying the beſt conſtitution in church and ſtate, of any people this day in the world.

I will cloſe this diſcourſe with ſome paſſages of ſcripture illuſtrating and enforcing the doctrin here advanced; and they are the more memorable,

morable, being taken chiefly from St. Paul, whoſe fervent zeal was exceeded by nothing but his more fervent charity. (Tit. III. 1, 2.) "Put them in mind," ſays he, "to be ſubject to principalities and "powers, to obey magiſtrates, to be ready to every good work, to "ſpeak evil of no man, to be no brawlers, but gentle, ſhowing all "meekneſs unto all men."—(1 Cor. III. 3, 4.) "Whereas there is "among you envying, and ſtrife, and diviſions, are ye not carnal, "and walk as men? For while one ſaith I am of Paul, and another "I am of Apollos, are ye not carnal?"—(Rom. XIV. 7.) "For the "kingdom of God is not meat and drink," is not forms and ceremonies, "but righteouſneſs, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghoſt."—(2 Tim. II. 24, 25.) "And the ſervant of the Lord muſt not ſtrive, "but be gentle unto all men, apt to teach, patient, in meekneſs "inſtructing thoſe that oppoſe themſelves.—(Gal. VI. 1, 2.) "Bre"thren, if a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are ſpiritual, re"ſtore ſuch an one in the ſpirit of meekneſs, conſidering thyſelf leſt "thou alſo be tempted. Bear ye one another's burdens, and ſo fulfil "the law of Chriſt."—(James I. 20.) "For the wrath of man work"eth not the righteouſneſs of God."—(III. 17, 18.) "And the wiſ"dom that is from above is firſt pure, then peaceable, gentle, and "eaſy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without parti"ality, and without hypocriſy: And the fruit of righteouſneſs is "ſown in peace of them that make peace."—(Eph. IV. 31, 32.) "Let all bitterneſs, and wrath, and anger, and clamor, and evil "ſpeaking be put away from you, with all malice; And be ye kind "one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another, even as God "for Chriſt's ſake hath forgiven you."—(Col. III. 12, 13.) "Put "on therefore (as the elect of God, holy and beloved) bowels of mer"cies, kindneſs, humbleneſs of mind, meekneſs, long-ſuffering; for"bearing one another and forgiving one another, if any man have a "quarrel againſt any; even as Chriſt forgave you, ſo alſo do ye."—(2 Cor. XIII. 11.) "Finally, brethren, be of one mind, live in peace; "and the God of love and peace ſhall be with you."

SER-

SERMON VIII.

The GOSPEL preached to the POOR:

Preached in the Pariſh-Church of CHRIST-CHURCH, LONDON, on Thurſday, May 2, 1765; being the Time of the YEARLY MEETING of the CHILDREN educated in the CHARITY-SCHOOLS in and about the Cities of London and Weſtminſter. Publiſhed at the Requeſt of the Gentlemen concerned in the ſaid Charity.

MATT. XI. 5.

The Poor have the Goſpel preached to them.

JOHN the baptiſt being caſt into priſon by order of Herod, and hearing there of the fame and miracles of Jeſus, he ſendeth two of his diſciples to inquire of him, (ver. 3.) "Art thou he that "ſhould come," Art thou the promiſed Meſſiah, "or do we look "for another?" It may reaſonably be ſuppoſed, that the baptiſt ſent his diſciples to make this inquiry not ſo much for his own ſatisfaction as for theirs. For having ſeen the heavens open upon Jeſus at his baptiſm, and the Holy Ghoſt deſcend viſibly upon him; having heard the voice from heaven declaring, (Matt. III. 16, 17.) "This is my "beloved Son, in whom I am well pleaſed;" having himſelf ſeveral times declared of Jeſus, (John I. 29, 36.) "Behold the Lamb of "God which taketh away the ſin of the world;" having aſſerted, (ver. 30.) "This is He of whom I ſaid, After me cometh a man which "is preferred before me, for he was before me;" having ſo often (ver. 34.) "ſeen and borne record that this is the Son of God;" he could not well doubt himſelf whether Jeſus was the Meſſiah, the Son of God. If he had any the leaſt doubt or ſcruple upon this head, it muſt have

proceeded

proceeded from ſome deſpondency and dejection of mind, occaſioned by his lying ſo long in priſon, and Jeſus never exerting his power to deliver him. But by that repeated expreſſion of his, "Behold the "Lamb of God which taketh away the ſin of the world," it ſhould ſeem that the baptiſt had juſter notions of the Meſſiah than to conceive or expect him as a temporal prince and deliverer: and if he had really doubted whether Jeſus was the Meſſiah or not, he would not have deſerved, nor would Jeſus have beſtowed, thoſe high encomiums upon him, immediately after his diſciples were withdrawn, of being (Matt. XI. 9, 10, 11.) "a prophet, and more than a prophet: For this is "He of whom it is written, Behold, I ſend my meſſenger before "thy face, which ſhall prepare thy way before thee: Verily I ſay "unto you, Among them that are born of women, there hath not "riſen a greater than John the baptiſt." It is more rational therefore to conclude that the baptiſt ſent his diſciples to propoſe this queſtion, not for his own ſatisfaction but for theirs; they might poſſibly doubt whether Jeſus was the Meſſiah or not, though the baptiſt could not well entertain any ſuch ſcruple; and he might ſend them to receive ocular conviction, and to prepare their way to another and better maſter, when he ſhould himſelf be taken from them. He had often borne teſtimony to the divine miſſion of Jeſus, and hearing of his manifeſtation of himſelf by miracles, he thought this a proper time to ſend two of his diſciples, that they might be convinced of the truth of what he had aſſerted by their own ſenſes.

Our Saviour doth not return a direct anſwer to their queſtion. He endevors to convince them not by words but by works. He performs ſeveral miraculous cures before them, and leaveth it to them to draw the proper inference. (Matt. XI. 4, 5.) "Go, and ſhow John again "thoſe things which ye do hear and ſee: The blind receive their "ſight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleanſed, and the deaf hear, "the dead are raiſed up, and the poor have the goſpel preached to "them." It is not only a tacit appeal to his miracles for the truth of his divine miſſion, but it is an alluſion alſo to the prophecies of Iſaiah, wherein the ſame things are predicted of the Meſſiah. The

former

former part refers to that noted paſſage, (Iſa. XXXV. 4, 5, 6.) " Be-
" hold, your God will come with vengeance, even God with a re-
" compenſe, he will come and ſave you. Then the eyes of the blind
" ſhall be opened, and the ears of the deaf ſhall be unſtopped. Then
" ſhall the lame man leap as an hart, and the tongue of the dumb
" ſing." The latter part is plainly taken from this other paſſage, (Iſa. LXI. 1.) " The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me; becauſe
" the Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek," or " to preach the goſpel unto the poor," as it is in the Greek tranſlation. Conſequently Jeſus, performing the works of the Meſſiah, appears undeniably to be the Meſſiah, and eſtabliſhes his divine miſſion upon the double proof of miracles and prophecies, of miracles rendered the more illuſtrious by being predicted by the Spirit of prophecy. Nay he performs more than was predicted of the Meſſiah, for " raiſing the
" dead" is a particular not mentioned in theſe prophecies of Iſaiah. He farther addeth, (Matt. XI. 6.) " And bleſſed is he, whoſoever
" ſhall not be offended in me," in reference to the prejudices which they had entertained concerning him, and which he hopeth he had now effectually removed.

Miracles, and eſpecially miracles preſignified by the ſpirit of prophecy, were the ſtrongeſt proofs that Jeſus could have given of a divine commiſſion, and were the more ſtriking to John's diſciples, (John X. 41.) as " John" himſelf " did no miracle." Among theſe miracles, it is remarkable that there is mentioned in the laſt place, as the greateſt effort of divine goodneſs, " the preaching of the goſpel to
" the poor; the dead are raiſed up, and the poor have the goſpel
" preached to them;" as if it was ſomething greater than raiſing the dead to convert a ſoul from the death of ſin to the life of righteouſneſs. But who are the poor to whom the goſpel is preached? Not only the poor in condition, but alſo poor in ſpirit, who are lowly in their mind as well as of low eſtate. " Bleſſed are the poor in ſpirit," is our Saviour's firſt beatitude, (Matt. V. 3.) " for theirs is the king-
" dom of heaven;" they are of all perſons the beſt diſpoſed and qualified to receive and embrace the goſpel, and to become the ſubjects

of Chriſt's kingdom. Whereas the caſe of the rich is very different. (Luke XVIII. 24.) " How hardly ſhall they that have riches enter " into the kingdom of God!" they are of all perſons the leaſt fitted and prepared to ſubmit to the doctrins of mortification and ſelf-denial, to renounce the pleaſures and vanities of the world, to take up their croſs, and follow the captain of their ſalvation through ſufferings. And accordingly we may obſerve that the firſt converts to chriſtianity were men of low birth and parentage, of mean education and condition, chiefly poor fiſhermen, without power or authority to *compel*, without learning or eloquence to *perſuade*, men to the profeſſion of a new religion. (1 Cor. I. 26, &c.) " Not many wiſe men after the fleſh, not " many mighty, not many noble were called: But God hath choſen " the fooliſh things of the world to confound the wiſe, and God hath " choſen the weak things of the world to confound the things which " are mighty: And baſe things of the world, and things which are " deſpiſed, hath God choſen, yea, and things which are not, to " bring to nought things that are:" and then follows the reaſon of all, " that no fleſh ſhould glory in his preſence;" that as the whole work was manifeſtly of *God*, ſo *man* might not aſſume any part of the glory.

A ſtronger proof indeed could not be given of the ſincerity and diſintereſtedneſs of Jeſus, and of the truth of his divine miſſion, than his firſt addreſſing himſelf not to the rich and learned and mighty of this world, but to the poor, illitterate and deſpiſed part of mankind, and enabling them, not only without human means but againſt human means, to propagate and eſtabliſh his religion in the moſt conſiderable parts of the earth. This was never the practice of cunning artful impoſtors. They uſually employ every ſtratagem to draw in ſome names of rank and diſtinction, thereby to recommend themſelves with greater efficacy to others: and indeed no man ever yet formed a ſect or party that became conſiderable in the world without firſt engaging ſome perſons of eminence and authority on his ſide. It was (Acts XIII. 50.) by " ſtirring up the honorable women, and the chief men of the city, " and raiſing a perſecution againſt the apoſtles," that the Jews ſtrove

to

to hinder the progreſs of the goſpel at Antioch in Piſidia. It was by the favor and indulgence of chriſtian princes, that the biſhops of Rome grew to ſuch a highth of power, that at laſt they over-topped princes and emperors themſelves. Mohammed's firſt converts and diſciples were ſome of the principal perſons of Mecca; and after he had gained them, he began openly to publiſh his doctrin to the people, enforcing it more by the power of the ſword than by ſtrength of argument. But the religion of Jeſus was propagated by other means and for other ends; and the leſs of human art and wiſdom, of human power and authority was exerted in it, the more divine it appears, and the diviner ſtill for being ſo preſignified by the Spirit of prophecy. The prophet Iſaiah had foretold it, and our Saviour himſelf hath before us made the application. (Iſa. LXI. 1. Luke IV. 18, 19.) " The Spi-" rit of the Lord is upon me, becauſe he hath anointed me to preach " the goſpel to the poor; he hath ſent me to heal the broken-hearted, " to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of ſight to the " blind, to ſet at liberty them that are bruiſed, to preach the accept-" able year of the Lord."

After the reading of this paſſage in the ſynagogue our Saviour declared, (ver. 21.) " This day is this ſcripture fulfilled in your ears:" and it may ſtill in ſome meaſure be ſaid, " This day is this ſcripture " fulfilled in your ears." For though miraculous powers have long ſince ceaſed, yet never in any age was a nobler ſpirit of chriſtian charity exerted than in this age, and in this country. Here are not only various hoſpitals for the relief and cure of the various maladies and diſeaſes incident to human bodies, but great care is likewiſe taken of the cultivation of human minds; and innumerable almoſt is the number of charity ſchools for the education of poor children, inſtructing them in the principles of the chriſtian religion, and bringing them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. Poor children have alſo frequent opportunities of being farther inſtructed and catechiſed by their reſpective miniſters; ſo that they are " trained up in the way that " they ſhould go," and it is their own fault if they " depart from it" when they are " old." Ignorance is not eſteemed in this country the

mother of devotion; the people are not therefore kept in ignorance with purpoſe to render them tame and obedient: but the poor are allowed to have as free uſe of the ſcriptures, and as free acceſs to the adminiſtration of the word and ſacraments, as the rich; and I know not whether the former are not more conſtant and regular in their attendence upon the public offices of religion than the latter. Moreover, when the poor are grown old and paſt work and labor, here are ſeveral charitable houſes for their reception, where care is taken both of their bodies and of their ſouls, wholeſome food and medicins, pious advice and inſtruction, are both adminiſtered, prayers are duly read and the word is preached, and if they will as duly attend, they may live in peace and die in comfort, fitted and prepared for a happy eternity.

This Society contributes largely to the inſtruction of the poor, and to the *promotion of true chriſtian knowlege*, by diſperſing both at home and abroad, Bibles, Prayer-books, and various ſorts of religious tracts, which are afforded upon the eaſieſt terms to the members, who have diſtributed many hundred thouſands of them, (it may reaſonably be hoped and believed) to the great advancement of religion and virtue in the world. Nor are their good inſtructions confined to their own language, but they have printed and diſtributed more than thirty thouſand copies of the Bible in the Welſh language; have procured an edition in Arabic of above ſix thouſand Pſalters and ten thouſand Teſtaments, as alſo five thouſand Catechetical Inſtructions with an Abridgement of the Hiſtory of the Bible annexed, for the uſe of the Chriſtian churches in Paleſtine, Arabia, and the neighbouring countries; have moreover eſtabliſhed a colony of German proteſtants in Georgia, as they have a proteſtant miſſion in the Eaſt Indies, with a generoſity far beyond their ability. So fully do they anſwer to the title of *the Society for promoting chriſtian knowlege:* and by the bleſſing of the Holy Spirit upon their endevors, and thoſe of the other *Society for the propagation of the Goſpel in foreign parts*, (Mal. I. 11.) " the name of God will" in due time " from the riſing of the ſun even unto the going down of the

" ſame

" ſame be great among the Gentiles, and in every place incenſe be " offered unto his name, and a pure offering."

So many ways is the goſpel preached to the poor, but the principal, and the foundation of all future good, are the ſchools for the education of poor children. For without this pious and charitable inſtitution, how helpleſs, how wretched would be their condition! Their parents, if they were willing, are yet not able to give them a tolerable education; and what generally are the conſequences but beggary and want, idleneſs and vice, pilfering and ſtealing, a flagitious life, and perhaps an ignominious death? Whereas by taking them from their parents, and cloathing and educating them, you may not only prevent all this evil, but happily may prove the occaſion of much good both to themſelves and to the community. It is eaſing their parents of a charge, which lieth heavy upon them, but is not felt by the public. It is a double charity to the children themſelves, making proviſion not only for their bodies but alſo for their better part, their ſouls, " turn- " ing them from darkneſs to light, and from the power of Satan unto " God;" inſtead of peſts and burdens to ſociety bringing them up ſo as they may become uſeful members of the commonwealth, inſtead of vagrants and robbers fitting and qualifying them for ſervants and apprentices, teaching them to know more and to do better than they would otherwiſe learn, and thereby enabling them more faithfully to diſcharge their duty both to God and men. Who that hath the bowels of a Chriſtian, who that hath the heart of a Man, can refuſe his liberal aſſiſtance to ſo ſalutary and laudable a deſign, the benefits whereof may not only reſult to the preſent age, but likewiſe extend to future generations? The caſe of theſe poor children is almoſt as deſtitute and forlorn as that of Moſes expoſed in the waters of the river Nile; and their end may prove more fatal, unleſs ſome charitable hand, like Pharaoh's daughter, ſhould take them up and educate them: and ſhall an Egyptian do this to a Hebrew, and not a Chriſtian to a Chriſtian? (Phil. II. 1.) " If there be therefore any conſolation in Chriſt, if any " comfort of love, if any fellowſhip of the Spirit, if any bowels and " mercies," let every man contribute ſomething to ſo pious and uſe-

ful an inſtitution, as he hath opportunity, and (1 Cor. XVI. 2.) "as "God hath proſpered him."

It would be happy, if the children were ſupported and maintained altogether, that what they learn at ſchool they might not unlearn at home; the numbers indeed could not be ſo great as they are at preſent, but the public utility would be much greater. But to benefactions of this nature you may ſometimes have heard it objected, that theſe ſchools inſtead of inuring the children to labor and induſtry, rather train them up in ſloth and idleneſs, that they are inſtructed in pſalmody and other things more than are requiſite and becoming, that many uſeful hands are hereby loſt to the public, they are elevated above their rank and condition, and look upon huſbandry and menial work and ſervice as employments very much beneath them. Theſe objections, if true, would indeed be material objections: but whatever occaſion there may have been for theſe complaints formerly, I hope the prudence and diſcretion of the preſent truſtees and governors of theſe charities will effectually refute and ſilence all cavils of this kind for the future. Religion and labor are the profeſſed deſign, and ought to be the principal objects of theſe inſtitutions, not only to keep the children out of the ways of violence and vice, but alſo to prepare and qualify them, the boys ſome for ſervants, ſome for ſeamen, ſome for apprentices; the girls for knitting and ſowing and other domeſtic work and ſervice. To be able to write and read is very uſeful, and almoſt neceſſary in the loweſt offices and ſtations of life. If too much attention is paid to ſinging, it muſt be allowed that the time and the pains might otherwiſe be much better employed. Their ſinging of pſalms in a plain parochial manner is very commendable, but their ſinging of hymns and anthems after the manner of cathedrals is highly improper, as it can anſwer no good end or purpoſe, can afford no real pleaſure to the hearers, and give only a wrong turn to the performers, who muſt get their livelihood by their labor. I would rather be an advocate for their not ſinging at all, than ſinging in this manner. This is an abuſe therefore that either is, or at leaſt ought to be rectified. Catechiſing and inſtructing the children in the principles of religion, teaching them

plain

plain rules and leſſons of morality, accuſtoming them to frequent the church and to hear prayers and ſermons, bringing them up in the paths of piety and virtue, cannot poſſibly have any bad, and will probably be productive of many good effects. For it will ever be found true, that they who have a juſt ſenſe of their duty to God, will beſt diſcharge their duty to men. They will be moſt faithful to their maſter upon earth, who remember that they have alſo a maſter in heaven. They will be moſt diligent, moſt honeſt, moſt obedient, (Tit. II. 10.) " not purloining but ſhowing all good fidelity," (Eph. VI. 6.) " not " with eye-ſervice, as men-pleaſers, but as the ſervants of Chriſt, doing " the will of God from the heart." Happy it is, when religion and labor go thus hand in hand together: and experience as well as reaſon will confirm the truth of theſe aſſertions. For very few inſtances can be produced of perſons educated in theſe ſchools, who have (1 Pet. IV. 15.) " ſuffered as a murderer, or as a thief, or as an evil-doer:" whereas on the contrary innumerable are the inſtances of perſons, who have riſen from hence to honeſt trades and callings, ſome even to wealth and honor, and have gratefully beſtowed upon others that charity, which they themſelves here firſt received.

Since then there are no juſt objections againſt theſe ſchools, and ſo many good reaſons and arguments for them, (2 Cor. IX. 7.) " Every " man according as he purpoſeth in his heart, ſo let him give, not " grudgingly or of neceſſity, for God loveth a chearful giver." For conſider with yourſelves, that this is the beſt and moſt effectual method of protecting innocence, promoting virtue, and diffuſing morality among the lower ranks of people.—This is properly bringing young children unto Chriſt, for though they are made Chriſtians by baptiſm, yet by inſtruction alone can they become good Chriſtians.—This is not only (James V. 20.) " ſaving a ſoul," but many ſouls " from " death, converting them from the error of their ways," and (Luke I. 79.) " guiding their feet into the way of peace."—But the benefit will redound to yourſelves the givers, as well as to the children the partakers of your charity. For ſociety is hereby made more ſecure, eaſy, and delightful, and the beſt foundation is laid for peace, order,

and

and good government.—At the ſame time to a generous mind there is a ſelf-ſatisfaction in the tender ſenſations of humanity, you grow happy in proportion as you do good, and experience even more heart-felt pleaſure than you beſtow.—You follow the amiable example of your Lord and Saviour, who ſaid (Mark X. 14, 16.) "Suffer the little chil-"dren to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of ſuch is the "kingdom of God: and he took them up in his arms, put his hands "upon them, and bleſſed them."—You engage the prayers of widows and orphans in your behalf, (Job XXIX. 13.) "the bleſſings of "him that was ready to periſh come upon you," and what is more, the bleſſings of God.—Liberal actions are uſually requited even in this life, and what you thus (Prov. XIX. 17.) "lend unto the Lord" is "paid you again."—At leaſt you (1 Tim. VI. 19.) "lay up in ſtore "for yourſelves a good foundation," a good treaſure, "againſt the "time to come;" and though the poor and fatherleſs (Luke XIV. 14.) "cannot recompenſe you," yet you ſhall be fully "recompenſed "at the reſurrection of the juſt."—You ſhall be judged at the laſt great day chiefly by acts of mercy and charity, and what you "do" in this kind "to the leaſt" of theſe little ones, our Saviour hath declared (Matt. XXV. 40.) that he will accept as "done to himſelf."—Finally, by thus promoting the glory of God, the felicity of men, you ſhall not only attain to bliſs and glory, but to the higher degrees of bliſs and glory; (2 Pet. I. 11.) "an entrance ſhall be miniſtred unto "you abundantly into the everlaſting kingdom of our Lord and Sa-"viour Jeſus Chriſt;" (Dan. XII. 3.) "and they that be wiſe ſhall "ſhine as the brightneſs of the firmament, and they that turn many "to righteouſneſs as the ſtars for ever and ever."

SER-

SERMON IX.

On the imperfect Reception of the Goſpel:

Preached before the INCORPORATED SOCIETY for the Propagation of the Goſpel in Foreign Parts; at their Anniverſary Meeting in the Pariſh Church of St. Mary-le-Bow, on Friday, February 17, 1769.

At the Anniverſary Meeting of the Society for the Propagation of the Goſpel in Foreign Parts, in the Veſtry-room of St. Mary-le-Bow, on Friday, the 17th day of February, 1769;

AGREED that the Thanks of the Society be given to the Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of Briſtol, for his Sermon preached this day before the Society; and that his Lordſhip be deſired to deliver a Copy of the ſame to the Society to be printed.

DANIEL BURTON, Secretary.

JOHN X. 16.

Other ſheep I have which are not of this fold.

THERE is a ſcruple which one time or other ariſeth in the breaſt, I believe, of every ſerious conſiderate Chriſtian; and that is, How cometh it to paſs that the Chriſtian religion is profeſſed only in ſo ſmall a part of the world, while Paganiſm and Mohammediſm overſpread at leaſt three quarters of the globe? Since "there is none other "name under heaven whereby men muſt be ſaved," (Acts IV. 12.) why is any other name under heaven adored, beſides the name of Chriſt Jeſus? Why doth God ſuffer impoſture to prevail ſo far over truth, the kingdom of Satan over the kingdom of his dear Son? (Jer. XII. 1.) "Righteous art thou, O Lord, when we plead with thee, "yet let us talk with thee of thy judgments."

1. Suppoſing we cannot give any ſatisfactory account of this proceeding, yet it is not therefore a juſt objection againſt the providence of God. It muſt be confeſſed, that the imperfect reception of Chriſtianity in the world is one of the darkeſt myſteries of divine providence; but becauſe we cannot readily apprehend the reaſon of God's government, ſhall we therefore conclude it to be conducted without reaſon? How can our finite groveling minds fully underſtand the polity of the ſupreme infinite mind? "His judgments are like the great "deep," (Pſal. XXXVI. 6.) not to be fathomed by the ſhort line of human reaſon. How do we know what mercy God may extend to thoſe who have not heard of the high-prieſt of our profeſſion Chriſt Jeſus? How do we know but he ſuffers not the goſpel to be preached to ſeveral nations, as knowing beforehand that they would reject it, and by theſe means aggravate their condemnation? Expedients there may be to ſolve this difficulty more than man can expreſs, more than he can imagin. (Rom. XI. 33, 34.) "O the depth of the riches both "of the wiſdom and knowlege of God! How unſearchable are his "judgments, and his ways paſt finding out! For who hath known "the mind of the Lord, or who hath been his counſeller?" However of this we may reſt aſſured, that God can as ſoon ceaſe to be, as ceaſe to do what is beſt and fitteſt in the whole: and though (Pſal. XCVII. 2.) "clouds and darkneſs are round about him, yet righteouſneſs and "judgment are the habitation of his ſeat;" though we cannot enter into the reaſons of his diſpenſations, nor comprehend all the various methods of his dealing with the ſons of men, yet infinite juſtice muſt act juſtly, infinite wiſdom muſt act wiſely, and infinite goodneſs muſt do things which are good and right to be done.

2. But God was not obliged to make a revelation of himſelf univerſal. That God made any revelation of himſelf at all was an act of mere bounty, mercy, and goodneſs; and ſurely he may confer his favors in what manner, and at what times, and upon what perſons he pleaſeth. "I will be gracious," ſaith the Lord, (Exod. XXXIII. 19.) "to whom I will be gracious, and will ſhow mercy on whom I "will ſhow mercy." God was no more obliged to make all men Chriſtians,

Chriſtians, than he was to make all creatures men, or all men angels: and as he hath manifeſted his power and wiſdom in induing different perſons with different tempers and capacities, why might he not as well afford to ſome more and greater, to ſome fewer and leſs opportunities of knowing and ſerving him? (Matt. XX. 15.) "Is it not law-"ful for him to do what he will with his own?" "Hath not the pot-"ter," as the apoſtle argueth on this head, (Rom. IX. 21.) "power "over the clay, of the ſame lump to make one veſſel to honor, and "another unto diſhonor?"

3. As God was not obliged to make a revelation of himſelf univerſal, ſo he hath foretold by the mouth of his holy prophets, that the Chriſtian religion ſhould not (for ſome time at leaſt ſhould not) be univerſal. And what more pregnant, more convincing proofs can we require of this, than thoſe many prophecies of the obſtinacy and infidelity of the Jews in the Old Teſtament, of the diſtreſſes and perſecutions of the Chriſtians in the New? So that the want of univerſality is ſo far from infringing the truth of the Chriſtian religion, that it is abſolutely neceſſary, we ſee, to confirm it; as that without which theſe prophecies, and conſequently the books containing theſe prophecies, could not be true.

4. But though God make not a revelation univerſal, yet hath he not left himſelf "without witneſs." Though the ſcriptures be not put into every man's hands, yet the larger volumes of nature and right reaſon lie ever open to all mankind. There is ſuch grandeur and exquiſite contrivance, ſuch beauty and proportion in this great fabric of the univerſe, as evidently point out to us the firſt cauſe, the all-wiſe and all-powerful architect. Every thing within us, every thing without us, may lead us one way or other to the knowlege of God and of our duty: and if men however are blindly hurried away by their luſts and paſſions, and liſten not to the dictates of nature and the whiſpers of conſcience, they are "without excuſe," and their condemnation will be, that having eyes they would not ſee, and having underſtandings they would not underſtand. Herein I ſpeak the ſenſe of the great preacher to the Gentiles, who declares, (Acts XIV. 16, 17.)

that, " though God ſuffered all nations to walk in their own ways, " nevertheleſs he left not himſelf without witneſs, in that he did good, " and gave us rain from heaven and fruitful ſeaſons, filling our hearts " with food and gladneſs:" And in another place ſpeaking of the Gentiles he ſaith, (Rom. I. 19, 20.) " That which may be known of God " is manifeſt in them, for God hath ſhowed it unto them; For the " inviſible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly " ſeen, being underſtood by the things that are made, even his eter- " nal power and godhead, ſo that they are without excuſe."

5. Though a revelation be made to ſome perſons only, yet it may be of great ſervice to many others. Chriſtianity operates beyond the ſphere of Chriſtendom. At the firſt riſing of the ſun of righteouſneſs many even of the Heathens were ſenſibly reformed, and became better and brighter as it were by reflection. They grew aſhamed of their former barbarous rites and ſuperſtitious ceremonies; and no longer made uſe of human ſacrifices, no longer offered their ſons and their daughters unto devils. It is alſo very well worth our obſervation, that morality hath been carried to a greater highth, and the law of nature hath been more rationally explained, illuſtrated, and enforced by many a one of the philoſophers ſince the coming of Chriſt, than by all of them taken together before it. And if there is any thing good and excellent in the falſe religions of the world, it is wholly borrowed from ſome traditions of the true religion, or derived from that fountain of goodneſs and excellency, the holy ſcriptures. Of ſuch ſignal advantage is the Chriſtian inſtitution even to Pagans and unbelievers; and like its divine author, " bleſſeth" its very " enemies," and doeth " good to them" who " deſpitefully uſe" it and " perſecute" it.

6. Chriſt's ſatisfaction upon the croſs was not partial but univerſal. He died for all mankind in general, as well for thoſe who went before, as thoſe who come after him; as well for thoſe who have not, as thoſe who have, opportunities of knowing him. He is for this reaſon ſtiled in ſcripture " the Saviour of the world." He is upon this account ſaid (1 Tim. II. 6. Heb. II. 9.) to " give himſelf a ranſom for all," and " to taſte death for every man." He is by St. John called (1 John

II.

II. 2.) "the propitiation for our sins, and not for our sins only, but "also for the sins of the whole world." As all men were created by him, so by him were all redeemed: as all men were involved in the consequences of Adam's transgression, so all partake of the benefits of Christ's righteousness; or to speak in the words of St. Paul, (Rom. V. 18.) "as by the offense of one judgment came upon all men to "condemnation, even so by the righteousness of one the free gift "came upon all men unto justification of life."

7. Men will be judged variously, in proportion to their various means and opportunities of knowing and doing their duty. For what justice would it be to expect the same returns of duty and obedience from the rude Indian in his hutt, or wild savage in the woods, as from those who have had the advantage of a learned and Christian education, who "from children have known the holy scriptures," and "have "been taught as the truth is in Jesus?" Far be it from God, to require impossibilities of any man, or to condemn any man for invincible ignorance. The words of St. Paul are very clear in this point, (Rom. II. 12.) "As many as have sinned without law, shall also perish without "law; and as many as have sinned in the law, shall be judged by "the law:" and afterward, (Rom. IV. 15.) "Where no law is, "there is no transgression;" where a law is not sufficiently promulged, there men are not accountable for the violation of it. Our Saviour and Judge himself saith, (Luke XII. 48.) "Unto whomsoever much "is given, of him shall be much required; and to whom men have "committed much, of him they will ask the more:" and again, (John IX. 41.) "If ye were blind, ye should have no sin; but now "ye say We see, therefore your sin remaineth."

8. There is scarce any civilized nation, that hath not one time or other had sufficient opportunity of being converted to the Christian religion. Our Saviour's instruction to his disciples was, (Matt. XXVIII. 19.) "Go teach all nations:" and the writers of the history of the church all with one full consent and entire harmony agree, that the apostles or their immediate disciples in their own persons published the glad tidings of the gospel through all the parts of the world then known.

known. St. Paul himſelf very aptly applies to them the elegant ſaying of the pſalmiſt, (Rom. X. 18.) " Their ſound went into all the " earth, and their words into the end of the world." Within about five centuries after Chriſt we find the fathers aſſerting, that (1) the Chriſtians were in all parts of the world far more numerous than both the Heathens and Jews. Nay even in theſe degenerate times we ſhall have no reaſon to think, that the unbelievers are left wholly deſtitute of the means of coming to the knowlege of the truth; conſidering that the Chriſtians are of all people the moſt learned, and hold trade and commerce with all; conſidering again that there are ſome Chriſtians or others dwelling in every country, and in all Mohammedan countries the Chriſtian religion is in the higheſt degree of eſteem next to their own; conſidering farther that there are ſocieties erected for the propagation of the goſpel, and miſſionaries diſpatched into ſeveral remote parts of the world; conſidering laſtly that there are extant, in all the current languages of the world, tranſlations of the Bible, which are ſo many pipes and conduits as it were to convey knowlege unto all people.

9. That the goſpel therefore is not more generally profeſſed muſt be charged altogether upon the faults of men, and not in the leaſt imputed to want of foreſight or goodneſs in God. In the propoſing of a new revelation God dealeth with us like (what he hath made us) free reaſonable creatures. He commits no violence upon our faculties, but addreſſeth himſelf coolly to our underſtandings. He affords ſuch evidences of the truth as are ſufficient indeed, but not ſuch as are irreſiſtible; ſuch as may eaſily convince us if we will, but not ſuch as muſt and ſhall convince us whether we will or not. Such is the reaſonableneſs evidence and certainty of the Chriſtian religion, that I am verily perſuaded whoever calmly conſiders the arguments urged in defenſe of it cannot but ſee and acknowlege its divine origin, believe without doubt and aſſent without reſerve. Whence is it therefore that it doth not find a more general reception? Whence is it that ſo many withſtand

(1) Plures enim jam Chriſtiani ſunt, quam ſi Judæi ſimulacrorum cultoribus adjungantur. St. Aug. de Utilitate credendi. Cap. 19. Tom. 8. Edit. Benedict. &c. &c.

(2) See

ſtand its force? Why? becauſe they are too idle or too buſy to conſider; they think not of it at all, or think with prejudice; they have bad heads or corrupt hearts. Why in particular did the Jews reject the Chriſtian religion? Becauſe they were eaten up with blind zeal and bigottry for their law; and the expectations of a temporal prince had ſo poſſeſſed and ſwelled their minds, that they could not reliſh the humble doctrins of the croſs. Why ſtill did not the Greeks embrace it? Becauſe they were proud opinionative men, and ſought after (what they falſely called) *wiſdom*; and (1 Cor. I. 22, 23.) as Chriſt crucified was to the "Jews a ſtumbling-block," ſo was he to the "Greeks "fooliſhneſs." Why are ſo many nations which once were Chriſtian become Anti-chriſtian? Becauſe they did not (ſee Matt. XXI. 23. Rev. II. 5.) "bring forth the fruits of the goſpel," and therefore "the candleſtick of the Lord was removed out of its place, and the "kingdom of God was taken from them." Why has Mohammediſm prevailed ſo mightily in the world? It is plain the grounds upon which that impoſture ſtandeth are the vices and follies of men; it was begot by ambition and luſt, was propagated by rapin and violence, and is ſtill upheld by power and authority. And thus (John III. 19.) though "light is come into the world, men love darkneſs rather than "light, becauſe their deeds are evil." I wiſh I could not add that Chriſtianity hath been ſtopt and retarded in its progreſs by the hereſies and ſchiſms of ſome, the debauched lives and converſations of others, who profeſs themſelves Chriſtians, but yet are really a ſcandal to the doctrin of Chriſt. Had Chriſtian princes been as ambitious of extending the kingdom of Chriſt, as of inlarging their own empires; had Chriſtian ſubjects been as zealous to propagate the goſpel as to carry on traffic and commerce; and had the lives of all been agreeable to their moſt holy profeſſion, the Chriſtian religion would not have been confined within theſe narrow bounds, and thoſe (1 Pet. II. 12.) who now "ſpeak againſt us as evil doers," would then, "beholding our "good works, have glorified God in the day of viſitation."

10. This very want of univerſality is made to ſerve ſeveral wiſe ends and purpoſes of providence. Such is the tranſcendent wiſdom of God, that

that he can bring good out of evil, light out of darkneſs, and turn even the infidelity of ſome into arguments to beget and nouriſh faith in others. None of the philoſophers and princes of the world embraced Chriſtianity till ſome centuries after Chriſt: (1 Cor. I.) "not many "wiſe, not many mighty, not many noble were called;" for what reaſon? "that no fleſh ſhould glory in his preſence," that the propagation and eſtabliſhment of the goſpel might appear not to be owing to human means, but to be the work of heaven itſelf. The infidelity of the Jews renders them perhaps more proper and unſuſpected witneſſes of the truth of the Old Teſtament, than if they had been converted to Chriſtianity; for the conceſſions of a profeſſed enemy generally carry greater force and conviction with them, than the moſt favorable arguments urged by a friend. The more too are the enemies of our religion, the more is the divine providence manifeſted in preſerving his church, and not ſuffering, (Matt. XVI. 18.) "the gates "of hell to prevail againſt it." Had "this counſel or this work been "of men," (Acts V. 38, 39.) it would doubtleſs, in ſo many ages, amidſt ſo many enemies, have "come to nought," but "being of "God, nothing can overthrow it."

Laſtly, It is foretold in ſcripture, that the Chriſtian religion ſhall one time or other before the end of the world become univerſal. This, I think, is plainly intimated in the words following my text; "Other "ſheep I have," ſaith our bleſſed Saviour, "which are not of this "fold; them alſo I muſt bring, and they ſhall hear my voice, and "there ſhall be one fold and one ſhepherd." Hitherto, I conceive, are to be referred thoſe promiſes (Pſal. II. 8. LXXII. 11. Dan. VII. 14) of giving Chriſt "the heathen for his inheritance, and the ut-"termoſt parts of the earth for his poſſeſſion;" of "all kings falling "down before him;" and of "all people, nations, and languages "ſerving him." "When the fulneſs of the Gentiles is come in," ſaith St. Paul, (Rom. XI. 25, 26.) "all Iſrael ſhall be ſaved." Many and triumphant are the predictions of this kind; for there is no ſubject upon which the prophets dwell more, or more delight to dwell. At what time and by what methods God will accompliſh this wondrous

revolution, we cannot ſay; but accompliſh it he will, as ſurely as he is true. (Numb. XXIII. 19.) " Hath he ſaid, and ſhall he not do " it? Hath he ſpoken, and ſhall he not make it good?"

No doubt there are more and greater reaſons than theſe known to that all-perfect mind which governs the univerſe: but even theſe (upon each of which I might have expatiated, but have compreſſed the matter into as narrow a compaſs as I could) if not ſingly taken, yet all united, are I hope of force ſufficient to lay the objection, and to ſatisfy us that God may be juſtified in his tranſactions, even in the moſt dark and myſterious of his tranſactions, with the ſons of men: (Rom. III. 4.) " as it is written, that thou mighteſt be juſtified in thy ſay- " ings, and mighteſt overcome when thou art judged."

The natural conſequence of this diſcourſe is the great duty of promoting, as much as lieth in our power, the univerſal reign of Chriſt upon earth. For the imperfect ſtate of Chriſtianity is no juſt objection to divine providence; it is more properly a reproach to ourſelves, and condemns the negligence and indifference of Chriſtians. We are aſſured indeed by God himſelf ſpeaking in the prophet, (Mal. I. 11.) " From the riſing of the ſun even unto the going down of the ſame " my name ſhall be great among the Gentiles, and in every place in- " cenſe ſhall be offered unto my name, and a pure offering; for my " name ſhall be great among the Heathen, ſaith the Lords of hoſts:" But we muſt not ſit idle and unconcerned ſpectators waiting for the accompliſhment of this prediction, under pretence of leaving it to the ſuperior wiſdom and almighty power of God. He intends all his predictions to be accompliſhed by the agency of men; and happy are thoſe men, who ſhall be the agents and inſtruments of effecting what providence ſo graciouſly intends, and who ſharing in the heavenly work ſhall be ſure alſo to ſhare in the heavenly reward.

We are taught to pray daily, and I ſuppoſe every one almoſt doth pray daily, " Thy kingdom come:" but it is not enough to offer up our prayers, unleſs we likewiſe exert our moſt zealous endevors; for how can we be thought to pray in earneſt, as long as we do nothing more?

Not that I conceive we are obliged with the hazard of our lives and fortunes to propagate the goſpel in foreign parts; neither muſt we ſeek the advancement of our religion by pious leagues and holy wars, by ſtriving to regain with our ſwords thoſe countries which we have loſt by our ſins. We are by no means fit for the one, and the other is not fit for us. We are not indued with the gift of tongues and the power of miracles neceſſary for the former; and as for the latter (2 Cor. X. 4.) "the weapons of our warfare are not carnal but ſpiritual." The ſpirit indeed of Croiſades prevailed mightily for ſome centuries, and ſet all the princes of Chriſtendom in arms. But we have not ſo learned Chriſt; and would we contribute ſomething to the extenſion of the Chriſtian name we muſt endure conflicts, and obtain victories of another kind. To fight under the banner of Chriſt againſt ſin the world and the devil; to conquer and ſubdue our rebellious luſts and appetites; to (2 Cor. X. 5.) "caſt down imaginations, and every high "thing that exalteth itſelf againſt the knowlege of God;" to bring our paſſions into ſubjection to our reaſon; to have the free and uncontrolled empire of our minds; to let (Col. III. 15.) "the peace of God "rule in our hearts;" theſe are the wars, theſe are the triumphs of Chriſtians. The beſt way to inlarge the kingdom of Chriſt without us, is firſt to begin by planting and eſtabliſhing it within us. For how can we expect that others ſhould be won over to our belief, when we ourſelves live as if we believed not? (Matt. V. 16.) "Let your "light ſo ſhine before men that they may ſee your good works, and" the conſequence will be, "they will glorify your Father which is in "heaven."

The Chriſtian religion is ſo ſalutary and beneficial a ſcheme, ſo plainly calculated for the ſervice and intereſt of mankind as well as for the honor and glory of God, that it is an act of the greateſt humanity and charity to plant and cultivate it, wherever we have any opportunity: and to ſee how happy kingdoms and nations are with it, and how miſerable they are for the want of it, we need only compare the former floriſhing ſtate of the churches of Aſia and Africa with their

preſent wretched condition, now they are ſunk in ſuperſtition and ignorance, in ſlavery and brutality. What barbarians were the people of this iland, before ever the light of the goſpel ſhone upon them; and how have we been improved and civilized ſince in conſequence of it? And do we not find in our colonies and plantations abroad, that the people grow leſs and leſs ſavage, and more and more humanized, in proportion as true Chriſtianity is propagated and prevails more among them?

However it may be in other places, here certainly (Matt. IX. 37, 38.) " the harveſt is plenteous, but the laborers are few; pray ye " therefore the Lord of the harveſt, that he will ſend forth laborers " into his harveſt." We are the more obliged to this tender care and concern for them, as we receive ſo many benefits and advantages from thence; and (1 Cor. IX. 11.) as we " reap" of their " carnal " things," it is but juſt and equitable that we ſhould " ſow" unto them of our " ſpiritual things." How many have large properties there, and go thither to carry on traffic and commerce; and ſhall none be found to propagate true religion and virtue among them? The worſt of our ſpecies, felons and convicts, are tranſported thither in abundance; and ſhall we ſend none of a better character to give them better ideas of us and our religion? The church of Rome glories in the zeal and number of her miſſionaries, who (Matt. XXIII. 13.) " compaſs ſea and land to make proſelytes;" and ſhall they be more diligent to propagate a falſe Chriſtianity than we the true? And if we totally neglect our colonies and plantations, will they not ſoon ſink into barbariſm and brutality, or become an eaſy prey to fanaticiſm, or popery, or infidelity, or atheiſm, or what not?

But (Rom. X. 14, 15.) " how then ſhall they believe in him, of " whom they have not heard? and how ſhall they hear without a " preacher? and how ſhall they preach except they be ſent?" Small contributions can hardly be applied at all, and larger benefactions will avail little and loſe their effect applied ſeparately; nothing conſiderable can be done, no great information be gained, no great influence

be preſerved, but under the direction and conduct of a regular ſociety. Such a ſociety was accordingly erected and incorporated near ſeventy years ago by a Prince, to whom our religion and liberties owe their preſervation: and its primary and immediate object was (according to the words of the charter) "the maintenance of a learned and orthodox "clergy" for the adminiſtration of the word and ſacraments in thoſe of our colonies and plantations, where was either mean proviſion or none at all for the public worſhip of God. The deſign was truly pious and charitable, and God hath bleſſed it with remarkable ſucceſs. For in thoſe countries, where they had ſcarcely any form or place of public worſhip; where even the Lord's day was hardly diſtinguiſhed from others but by greater idleneſs and profaneneſs; where the ſacraments were adminiſtered, baptiſm perhaps not above once in twenty years, and the Lord's ſupper not above once in ſixty: there more than a hundred churches have been erected, and more are erecting; there more than a hundred and forty thouſand of our people, infants and adults, have been baptized; there more than a hundred and fifty thouſand bibles and common-prayer-books, with other pious and inſtructive treatiſes and ſmaller tracts innumerable, have been diſtributed; many numerous congregations have been ſet up, who maintain the public ſervice of God at their own expenſe; and the Society are at the farther charge of more than a hundred miſſionaries catechiſts and ſchoolmaſters for the farther propagation of the goſpel and inſtruction of the young and ignorant. So that now there is a goodly appearance of religion; much good hath been done, and poſſibly more harm prevented; the people are greatly reformed and improved; and it is (2) computed that one third of the inhabitants, near a million of ſouls, are profeſſed members of the church of England.

Another and an early object of the Society's attention were the poor Negroes, whoſe bodily labor and ſervice juſtly intitle them to ſome concern for their ſpiritual welfare. It was not long after the firſt inſtitution

(2) See Dr. Bradbury Chandler's Appeal to the Public in behalf of the Church of England in America, Sect. 6.

(3) See

ſtitution of the Society, that inſtructions were given to the miſſionaries for this purpoſe, and catechiſts and ſchoolmaſters were employed, and have proceeded in this good work of teaching and baptizing theſe Heathen ſlaves, as far as the difficulty of the thing, and their Chriſtian or rather unchriſtian maſters would allow. From that time to this many thouſands of them have been converted to the faith; and they have upon all occaſions behaved better, with more fidelity and duty, than their unconverted brethren; whenever any inſurrections and rebellions have happened, few or none of the Chriſtian Blacks have been concerned in them. It would be little for the honor of the Society to exhort and admoniſh others, if they did not themſelves, within their own property and plantations, ſet a good example to other planters and maſters, in the management of their Negroes, ſoftening the ſeverities of their ſervitude, treating their perſons with gentleneſs, as well as forming their minds by ſeaſonable inſtruction, rightly conceiving humanity to be one of the moſt effectual methods of conciliating them to Chriſtianity: and it is much to be wiſhed, that the example was more generally followed. A farther improvement hath been made by the Society within theſe few years, by giving ſome kind of liberal education to ſome young Negroes, and training them up in ſuch a manner as may qualify them to become more familiar teachers and inſtructors of their countrymen; an expedient, which it is hoped, will be attended with conſiderable ſucceſs both in Africa and America.

After theſe more immediate objects of their care and attention, ſome ſhare of the Society's compaſſion hath been extended to the native Indians: and notwithſtanding the diverſity and difficulty of their languages, their wandering life, their groſs ignorance, their fierce diſpoſitions, their continual wars, their ſavage manners, their barbarous cuſtoms, their horrid ſuperſtitions, yet ſeveral of them have been made converts, and ſome congregations of Chriſtians have been formed among the Mohawks and other Indian tribes. Some of the Society's miſſionaries and catechiſts have been at the pains of learning ſome of the

the American languages for the readier diſcourſe and communication with the people; and ſome ſchools are erecting for their better education and inſtruction, to civilize in order to convert them.

But yet the deſigns of the Society are very far from being completed. Many things are wanting to perfect and eſtabliſh the good work that is begun. With regard to the members of the church of England, they are continually importuning the Society to ſend over more miſſionaries, more than their abilities will allow, which is a certain indication that many advantages have ariſen from thoſe who have been ſent already. But the greateſt want of all is that of an American Biſhop for the purpoſes of confirmation, ordination, viſitation of the clergy, and other eccleſiaſtical offices, without the leaſt ſhare of civil power or juriſdiction whatever. Such an inſtitution patronized by ſo many pious and judicious perſons living and dying, and eſpecially by the late moſt worthy ever to be lamented ever to be honored Preſident of this Society, but indeed what good deſign did he not patronize and encourage? Such an inſtitution, I ſay, may be beneficial to many, can be really hurtful to none: and ſhall all other ſectaries enjoy their particular privileges and forms of worſhip in their full latitude, and at the ſame time the members of the national church, near a million of ſouls as I ſaid, a third of the people, be debarred and deprived of what they eſteem ſo material a part of their conſtitution? Where is the juſtice, equity, or reaſon of this proceeding? But there are men who will receive neither law nor goſpel from us; who clamor for liberty, but yet are the moſt imperious of taſk-maſters and tyrants; who contend for the moſt unlimited toleration for themſelves, but yet are to all others moſt intolerant, wherever they get power into their own hands.

With regard to the poor Negroes, whoſe number is (3) computed to be conſiderably above half a million; as it is now generally known and underſtood that Chriſtianity maketh no alteration in mens civil rights and conditions, but (1 Cor. VII. 20.) "every man" is to "abide "in the ſame calling wherein he was called," whether he be bond or free;

(3) See Dr. Chandler as before.

free; it is to be hoped that the proprietors and planters will be leſs jealous of their ſlaves being inſtructed in the true religion, which will ſoften and improve their manners, and make them ſubject not only for fear but alſo for conſcience ſake, (Eph. VI. 7.) " with good will " doing ſervice, as to the Lord, and not to men." Whatever neceſſity may be pleaded for it, it is greatly to be lamented, that there is any ſuch thing as ſlavery any where. As Moſes ſaid, (Numb. XI. 29.) " Would God that all the Lord's people were prophets," ſo I would ſay, Would God that all mankind were free, that thoſe who are bond were free, and that thoſe who are free may ſo uſe their liberty as not to abuſe it unto licentiouſneſs!

With regard to the native Indians, a wide field is opened to us by the late treaty of peace. But they muſt be made men, before they can be made Chriſtians. To bring them off from their roving courſes, and reconcile them to a more ſettled kind of life; to give them ſome notions of agriculture, and furniſh them with proper implements for it; to teach them ſuch of the more common mechanic arts, as may be the means of their more comfortable ſubſiſtence; to open ſchools in different parts for their farther erudition and improvement; to learn their languages, or familiarize them to our own; to convince them of our concern for their ſpiritual by our regard to their temporal welfare, by acts of humanity juſtice and kindneſs; theſe will be found to be the moſt efficacious methods of winning them over to our religion, of (Acts XXVI. 18.) " turning them from darkneſs to light, " and from the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive " forgiveneſs of ſins, and inheritance among them which are ſanc- " tified."

Great things have already been done by the Society, though their certain annual income is inconſiderable if compared to their certain annual expenſe; but greater ſtill remain to be done, which indeed can never be accompliſhed without the charitable contributions of well-diſpoſed perſons, without the aid and aſſiſtance of government, and without the particular bleſſing of Almighty God. May God Almighty therefore

therefore so dispose the hearts, and open the hands of you and of all to whom this charity shall be recommended, that it may go on prospering and to prosper; that (2 Thess. III. 1.) "the word of the Lord "may have free course, and be glorified;" that (Psal. LXVII. 2.) "his way may be known upon earth, his saving health among all "nations;" that (Rev. XI. 15.) "the kingdoms of this world may "become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ; and he may "reign for ever and ever!"

CHARGES.

CHARGES.

I.

On READING the SCRIPTURES.

1763.

CHARGE I.

On Reading the SCRIPTURES.

My Reverend Brethren,

AT our firſt meeting together I thought I could diſcourſe to you of nothing more properly than of what is or ought to be our principal ſtudy, the reading and ſtudy of the holy ſcriptures. If a man's capacity and genius are diſcovered by the nature of his ſtudies, I am afraid, the ſtudies of the preſent age will not give us a very favorable opinion of it. Nothing was ever more futile and trifling than the books which are now moſt in requeſt. All good reading ſeemeth to be neglected, but the ſcriptures moſt of all; and I am ſorry to ſay it, that ſome even of ourſelves ſeem more remiſs and negligent in this matter than *we* ought to be whoſe profeſſion it is to ſtudy and explain the word of God. It is the commendation of Timothy, that "from "a child he had known the holy ſcriptures;" (2 Tim. III. 15.) and the earlier a man begins theſe ſtudies, the more he will be like him (II. 15.) "a workman that needeth not to be aſhamed, rightly di-"viding the word of truth." No ſubject therefore can be more proper more ſeaſonable, as none is more important more deſerving to be recommended, than the duty of reading the ſcriptures: and the better to induce you to the obſervation of this duty, I will conſider the reaſonableneſs of it, and then how it may moſt ſucceſfully be put in practice; firſt offer ſome arguments and reaſons for being conſtant and diligent in reading the ſcriptures, and ſecondly ſuggeſt ſome plain uſeful rules and directions for reading them in the beſt manner and to the beſt advantage.

I. In the firſt place I will offer ſome arguments and reaſons for being conſtant and diligent in reading the ſcriptures; which arguments

and reaſons, though they may in ſome meaſure relate to Chriſtians in general, yet more particularly appertain to us of the Clergy. And to ſuppoſe the loweſt that we can ſuppoſe, we ſhould find it extremely well worth our while to be converſant in them if they were nothing more than human compoſitions. But they challenge a greater regard from us as they are of divine inſpiration. By them too, and by them only, we can attain a competent knowlege of our religion, and be ſufficiently inſtructed in all ſaving neceſſary truths. Nay, they will not only teach us all ſaving neceſſary truths, but are farther "profitable "for doctrin, for reproof, for correction, for inſtruction in righte-"ouſneſs, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furniſhed "unto all good works." (2 Tim. III. 16, 17.)

1. I ſay, ſuppoſing the loweſt that we can ſuppoſe, we ſhould find it extremely well worth our while to be converſant in the ſcriptures, if they were nothing more than human compoſitions. For conſidered only in that light they have excellencies ſufficient to engage every intelligent reader; and ſuch an one can employ his time and attention no where I will venture to ſay more agreeably as well as more uſefully. We are freed from the drudgery of labor, trade, and buſineſs, that we may devote our time more attentively to ſtudy and reading; and what reading is comparable to the word of God?

If you are pleaſed with *hiſtory*, where have you any near ſo ancient? where can you find ſo regular a ſeries for ſo many ages together, and ages whereof all other accounts are dark and fabulous? a ſeries of events the moſt remarkable both for their greatneſs and variety; and the more it is examined, the more probable, more rational, more authentic ſtill doth it appear. As it is written with the greateſt plainneſs and integrity, ſo likewiſe with the trueſt majeſty and beauty. Doth not the great critic Longinus, though an heathen, admire the ſublimity of the Moſaic hiſtory of the creation? How unaffected and natural and lively is the account of the patriarchs; and particularly in what an exquiſite manner and with what moving circumſtances is the whole ſtory related of Joſeph and his brethren? Of what ancient kings are

(1) πρὸς τοὺς Παυλὸν ὁ Ταρσευς, ὀυδενὰ καὶ πρῶτον φημι προϊσαμενον δογματὸς ἀναποδειξιν. præterea

are there clearer and more ſuccinct chronicles than of the kings of Iſrael and Judah? And where have four hiſtorians written with ſuch a noble ſimplicity, ſuch diſintereſtedneſs and harmony as the four evangeliſts?

If you are delighted with *oratory*, where can you find bolder tropes and figures than in ſome of the prophets? doth not (1) Longinus himſelf reckon among the moſt eminent orators Paul of Tarſus, the patron as he ſays of an opinion not yet fully proved? and who can attentively read our Saviour's diſcourſes, ſuch ſhort and inſtructive precepts, ſuch appoſite and lively parables, ſuch decent and proper anſwers upon every occaſion, and will not readily agree to the truth of that ſaying (John VII. 46.) "Never man ſpake like this man?"

If you are charmed with *poetry*, where have you finer images and deſcriptions than in the book of Job? where are any tragic ſtrains ſo mournful and tender as the Lamentations of Jeremiah, or David's lamentation over Saul and Jonathan? What fables or parables of Æſop or any of the ancient mythologiſts are comparable to Jotham's of the trees, to Nathan's of the ewe-lamb, and to ſeveral in the goſpels? and what are the fineſt compoſitions of the lyric poets, how cold and unaffecting in compariſon with ſome of the pſalms, and the ſongs of Moſes, and of Deborah and Barak, and other hymns in ſcripture?

If you admire *ſhort ſentences and wiſe ſayings*, in what authors ancient or modern is there ſuch a treaſure as in the book of Eccleſiaſticus and the proverbs of Solomon? No books contain ſhorter and more excellent rules of life, no books are fitter "to give ſuttlety to the ſim-
"ple, to the young man knowlege and diſcretion." (Prov. I. 4.)

And for morality there is none ſo pure and genuin as in the ſcriptures. In the beſt of the heathen moraliſts there is a mixture of good and bad, but the goſpel is all truth, without the leaſt tincture or allay of error. Morality before was to be learned here a little and there a little in various writings of various ages; but it is all collected as it were into one body in the goſpel. It was before taught doubtfully and imperfectly, and ſhone but faintly in the world; but it is now advanced

terea Paulus Tarſenſis, quem et primum dico præfuiſſe opinioni argumentis non probatæ. In fragment. p. 260. Edit. Pearce in 8vo.

advanced and improved to the utmoſt perfection, and like the ſun irradiates and illuminates all mankind. So very well worth our while would it be to be converſant in the ſcriptures, if they were nothing more than human compoſitions: but

2. They challenge a greater regard from us as they are of divine inſpiration. For if God condeſcends to ſpeak unto men, the leaſt ſurely that we can do is to be attentive and ready every one of us to ſay with Samuel (1 Sam. III. 9.) "Speak, Lord, for thy ſervant heareth." "Whatſoever things were written aforetime (Rom. XV. 4.) were "written for our learning, that we through patience and comfort of "the ſcriptures might have hope." The very writing of them infers an obligation upon us to read them: and to ſlight and neglect them, is it not to fruſtrate the gracious ends and deſigns of providence? is it not a neglect and contempt of the Almighty? We are with reaſon fond of the productions of great geniuſes, which are the effects as I may ſay of natural inſpiration, and of "that light (John I. 9.) which "lighteth every man who cometh into the world:" and ſhall we not be more curious and attentive, when ſupernatural powers plainly evince a ſupernatural inſpiration, and "holy men of God (2 Pet. I. 21.) "ſpeak" and write "as they are" more immediately "moved by the "Holy Ghoſt." What can be of greater concern and conſequence to us to know than the will of God, the meaſures of our duty here and the conditions of our happineſs hereafter? and what is all other reading in compariſon of this and without an eye to this, but only a more ingenious ſort of trifling? It is the character of a good man given by the pſalmiſt, (Pſal. I. 2.) that "his delight is in the law of the Lord, "and in his law doth he meditate day and night." The Jews were commanded to be very diligent in reading and learning the ſcriptures; (Deut. VI. 6, 7.) "Theſe words which I command thee this day "ſhall be in thine heart; and thou ſhalt teach them diligently unto "thy children, and ſhalt talk of them when thou ſitteſt in thy houſe, "and when thou walkeſt by the way, and when thou lieſt down, "and when thou riſeſt up:" And do not equal obligations lie upon us Chriſtians? "Search the ſcriptures," ſays our Saviour; (John V.

39.) we muſt not barely *read*, but we muſt *ſearch* them with all diligence and attention; and to this we of the Clergy are more particularly called. "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear" is often repeated. Nothing but a total want of capacity can excuſe any man. "Bleſſed are they that hear the word of God and keep it," ſays our Lord (Luke XI. 28.) upon another occaſion. And what St. John ſays of a part is applicable to the whole; (Rev. I. 3.) "Bleſſed is he "that readeth, and they that hear the words of this revelation, and "keep thoſe things which are written therein." Indeed if we could know the will of God as well any other way, there would be no ſuch abſolute neceſſity for reading the ſcriptures: but

3. It is by them and by them only that we can attain a competent knowlege of our religion, and be ſufficiently inſtructed in all ſaving neceſſary truths. "The ſcriptures are able to make us wiſe unto "ſalvation;" (2 Tim. III. 15.) and in order to this end it is better to read them without all other books, than all other books without them. Away then with ſyſtems and bodies of divinity; the beſt body of divinity is the bible, and the only one that I would recommend to your conſtant ſtudy and meditation. For the word of God only is infallible; men are liable to deceive and to be deceived. The word of God comprehends the whole of religion, all that we are to believe, all that we are to do, without any vain redundancy on the one hand, without any material deficiency on the other: but in the comments and expoſitions of men there is always either too little or too much, ſomething omitted that ſhould be inſerted, or ſomething inſerted that had better been omitted. The word of God is all conſiſtent, uniform, and harmonious: but there are fathers againſt fathers, councils againſt councils, the church of one age and country againſt the church of another age and country; and they diſagree not only one with another, but are often even at variance with and contradict themſelves. "Lord to "whom" therefore "ſhall we go? (John VI. 68.) thou haſt the "words of eternal life." Who to become a Platoniſt or Ariſtotelian, would not have recourſe to Plato and Ariſtotle before all the critics and commentators upon them? and where can we better learn the

doctrins

doctrins of the goſpel than in the goſpel itſelf? Why ſhould we hew ourſelves out " ciſterns, broken ciſterns which can hold no water," (Jer. II. 13.) when we may drink purer and clearer at the fountain-head? What are the effects and conſequences of not reading and underſtanding the word of God, but infidelity and profaneneſs in ſome, and as great credulity and ſuperſtition in others? And particularly what abſurd things are the people made to believe in the church of Rome, only for want of a little better knowlege of the ſcriptures? The ſcripture may ſay, as our Saviour ſaid (John XIV. 6.) " I am the way, " and the truth, and the life, no man cometh unto the father but by " me?" Moreover

4. They will not only teach us all ſaving neceſſary truths, but are farther " profitable for doctrin, for reproof, for correction, for inſtruc- " tion in righteouſneſs, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly " furniſhed unto all good works."—They are profitable for *doctrin*, not only to teach us as it was ſaid all neceſſary truths, but to inſtruct us in ſuch other parts of divine knowlege, as may be uſeful to us and contribute to our improvement and happineſs: and to a man who ſhall attentively read and conſider them, no farther arguments will be wanting of their truth and divinity; the internal evidence for our religion will appear as irrefragable as the external, the ſigns and miracles which attended it.—They are profitable for *reproof*, to inform and awaken mens conſciences, to ſhow themſelves to themſelves, to convince them of their errors and of their ſins, being the ſtandard of truth and rule of duty.—They are profitable for *correction*, to reform and amend our manners, to comfort the feeble-minded, to ſupport the weak, to make ſtrait the crooked, and to raiſe up them who are fallen.—And they are profitable *for inſtruction in righteouſneſs*, not only to reclaim us from all evil, but to improve us in all holineſs, to ſtabliſh us in every good word and work, (Eph. IV. 13.) " till we all come in the " unity of the faith and of the knowlege of the Son of God unto the " meaſure of the ſtature of the fulneſs of Chriſt." And ſhall ſuch ineſtimable pearls be caſt before ſwine? ſhall we not rather (Phil. III. 8.) " count all things but loſs" in compariſon of " the excellency of"

this

this " knowlege of Chriſt Jeſus our Lord?" There was only one plauſible argument ever urged againſt reading the ſcriptures, which is their obſcurity; and that rightly conſidered is rather an argument for reading them. For wherein doth their obſcurity conſiſt? They are plain and eaſy to be underſtood in every thing eſſential and neceſſary to ſalvation, and not only in eſſentials but in many things alſo which are not neceſſary but only profitable unto godlineſs: and thoſe paſſages which are left obſcure are left obſcure for this reaſon among others, to prove our induſtry and faithfulneſs, to engage the attention of curious and contemplative minds, and to furniſh inexhauſtible matter after all their ſearches ſtill for more reſearches. " Therefore leaving " the principles of the doctrin of Chriſt (Heb. VI. 1.) let us go on " unto perfection." No ſtudy or contemplation can be more honorable for men, for theſe are things which (1 Pet. I. 12.) even the " an- " gels deſire to look into."

II. You ſee the expediency and neceſſity of being conſtant and diligent in reading the ſcriptures; and let me now in the ſecond place ſuggeſt ſome plain uſeful rules and directions for reading them in the beſt manner and to the beſt advantage; which rules and directions I would be underſtood to propoſe chiefly for the uſe and benefit of the younger Clergy and thoſe who are yet beginning their ſtudies. I would not preſume to inſtruct thoſe who are as capable of inſtructing me. But before all rules and directions I muſt ſuppoſe that you are able to read the ſcriptures in the original languages. If you have not already attained, it ſhould be your endevor to attain this knowlege, which is the beſt and indeed the neceſſary key to open to you the true ſenſe of the ſcriptures. All tranſlations are defective; our Engliſh tranſlation may with reaſon pretend to as much perfection as any other; but no man, I believe, will preſume to juſtify it in all reſpects.

1. The firſt rule to be recommended is to bring with you an honeſt diſintereſted mind, as free from prejudice and prepoſſeſſion as you can, to the reading of the ſcriptures. For prejudice like the jaundice diffuſes its own color on every object that it ſurveys; and when men come to the ſcriptures full of their own prepoſſeſſions and with a bias

a certain way, they incline and draw all that way; they endevor not ſo much to find out the true ſenſe of the ſcriptures, as to accommodate them to their own ſenſe; and inſtead of conforming their religion to the word of God wreſt and pervert the word of God to favor their religion. An honeſt unprejudiced mind is a neceſſary qualification for a learner of all truth and eſpecially of divine truth, to the reception and entertainment whereof there ſeemeth to be as much need of a good heart as of a good underſtanding. We ſhould come to the ſtudy of divine truth, with minds as clear and untainted, as free from partiality, as open to conviction, as ſuſceptible of good impreſſions, as in the ſtate of childhood: and this is what St. Peter recommends when he ſays (1 Pet. II. 2.) "As new-born babes deſire the ſincere "milk of the word that ye may grow thereby;" this is what our Saviour requires when he ſays (Mark X. 15.) "Whoſoever ſhall not "receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he ſhall not enter "therein."

2. Another rule to be recommended is to begin with reading the plaineſt and eaſieſt parts, and ſo by degrees to proceed to thoſe which are more obſcure and difficult. This method we obſerve in learning all other arts and ſciences, and we ſhould do the ſame in the ſtudy of the ſcriptures. In the Old Teſtament it is beſt to begin with the *pſalms* and the *proverbs* and the like, then to read the *hiſtorical* books as they ſtand in order of time, and to conclude with the *prophets*, whoſe ſubjects often oblige them to be more obſcure than other writers. In the New Teſtament (the greater part whereof ſhould be read before the Old) the *goſpels* are the moſt proper introduction, the acts of our Saviour are fitly ſucceeded by the *acts* of his *apoſtles*, and the acts of the apoſtles prepare the way for their *epiſtles*; the epiſtles ſhould be read as much as may be according to the order of time wherein they were written, and the *Revelation* as it is placed laſt of all ſhould laſt of all be read and ſtudied by us.

3. It is another good rule to mind the *context* as much as you can, and never to regard the diviſion into chapters and verſes. For as the ſacred books were originally written without this diviſion, ſo they ſhould

ſhould be read as much as may be according to the original. It is certain that ſuch a diviſion disjoints the ſenſe, and diſturbs the reader; and you can ſooner diſcover the meaning in a continued diſcourſe than in detached and divided ſentences; as you can ſee better through a whole glaſs than a broken one. Conſider therefore the context as well as you can ſtripped and diveſted of chapters and verſes; and peruſe a whole book or epiſtle together, if you have leiſure and opportunity, by which means you will better ſee the drift of the author, and more eaſily comprehend his meaning, than by reading one part at one time, and another at another. This was the method that Mr. Locke purſued in his paraphraſe and notes upon the principal of St. Paul's Epiſtles, and by this very thing he hath done more towards clearing and aſcertaining and fixing their ſenſe than any commentator, I had almoſt ſaid than all the commentators before him.

4. It will be a farther help and aſſiſtance to compare ſcripture with ſcripture, the writings of one author with another, of the ſame author with himſelf, and ſo to make the word of God as much as poſſible its own interpreter. It is neceſſary indeed to conſult the critics and commentators upon ſome paſſages; but they are often ſilent where there is any real difficulty, and are ſure to be very prolix and tedious where there is none. They puzzle more than they explain; and put you upon ſo many different ſents, that you are in danger of loſing the true one. You will beſt underſtand the word of God by conferring it with itſelf, and (1 Cor. II. 13.) "comparing ſpiritual things with "ſpiritual." And the better to aſſiſt us in this compariſon, our bibles (eſpecially the quarto bibles) are printed with copious references in the margin; ſo that if you happen not to underſtand any text, you may turn to others of a ſimilar nature, and what was obſcure by itſelf may perhaps be cleared up to you by comparing it with others. For theſe references in the margin of our bibles, as well as for the chronological table at the end, we are chiefly indebted to the very learned Biſhop Lloyd of Worceſter, who was eminently well ſkilled in theſe ſtudies, and underſtood the prophecies and other obſcure parts of Holy Writ better perhaps than any man of his time.

5. As you ſhould judge of revelation by reaſon, and receive nothing as the ſenſe of divine revelation that contradicts natural reaſon; ſo you ſhould judge of any part of revelation according to the analogy of the whole, and be ſure never by your interpretations make God the author of contradictions. Who that carefully obſerved this rule, could ever believe tranſubſtantiation on the one hand, or juſtification by faith alone without good works on the other? the former ſo contrary to all ſenſe and reaſon, the latter to the whole tenor of divine revelation, though countenanced perhaps by the letter of a text or two in ſcripture. "Let us propheſy according to the proportion of faith," ſays the Apoſtle; (Rom. XII. 6.) let us interpret all the parts of holy writ according to the *analogy of faith*, ſo as to correſpond and agree with the whole and with one another.

6. Never depart lightly from the generally received interpretation of any text, and eſpecially if it was the interpretation received in the three firſt ages of the church; when the ſtream of tradition might be ſuppoſed to run purer than now at this diſtance from the ſpring and fountain. It is true indeed that every man muſt judge for himſelf, and ought to be ſingular in the truth, rather than err with a multitude, or follow the moſt venerable names in the wrong. But then I ſay that he ſhould not depart from the general opinion *lightly*, and without very good reaſon on his ſide. A modeſt man, though in the right, diſſents from the reſt of mankind not without ſome pain and uneaſineſs; and is never better ſatisfied with his own reaſonings than when they are generally approved and confirmed by others, eſpecially by thoſe who have had the reputation of wiſe and good men in all ages.

7. If you happen not to underſtand any paſſage at firſt or ſecond reading, do not therefore deſiſt, but conſider it at other times; and after all if you are ſtill unſatisfied and dubious of the meaning, aſk the opinion of others, and particularly of thoſe who have made theſe things more their ſtudy, and therefore may reaſonably be ſuppoſed to know them better than other men. A living interpreter is better than a dead one; and difficulties are more eaſily reſolved, and ſatisfaction ſooner obtained, by a perſonal conference and a few ſhort queſtions

and

and anſwers, than by hearing long harangues, and reading whole volumes of annotations. If any difficulty therefore remains with you in reading, apply to thoſe who are more converſant in theſe matters, and perſons of a benevolent ſpirit will take pleaſure in inſtructing you, for nothing is a more charitable or godlike office than to propagate truth and communicate knowlege.

But 8. above all beg of the God of truth to direct you in the ſtudy and ſearch of truth. That Holy Spirit who firſt indited the ſcriptures, can beſt open our minds to underſtand them; and he hath promiſed his gracious aſſiſtance to as many as ſhall aſk it of him in prayer. If therefore (James I. 5.) " any of you lack wiſdom, let him aſk of " God that giveth to all men liberally and upbraideth not; and it " ſhall be given him."

Finally as you ſhould endevor to underſtand the word of God in order to put it in practice, ſo you ſhould put it in practice in order to the better underſtanding of it. " If any man will do his will (John " VII. 17.) he ſhall know of the doctrin." Virtue promotes truth, as truth again promotes virtue.

" And now brethren, (Acts XX. 32.) I commend you to God and " to the word of his grace, which is able to build you up, and to " give you an inheritance among all them who are ſanctified."

CHARGE II.

On the Increaſe of POPERY.

1766.

My Reverend Brethren,

YOU cannot but be ſenſible, that many and grievous complaints have been made lately of the great growth and increaſe of Popery in this kingdom. Even the public papers have rung out the alarm-bell

bell in the ears of the people from one end of the land unto the other. We cannot indeed be too much alarmed, nor too much upon our guard againſt any advances of ſo corrupt a religion, which is no leſs an enemy to our civil than our religious liberties: but yet on the other hand we ſhould not run away with an unreaſonable panic, nor multiply difficulties and dangers beyond their due proportion; for I cannot but hope and believe, that the cry hath exceeded the occaſion, and a greater alarm hath been ſpread than the truth of facts will juſtify. I was deſirous therefore of learning the real ſtate of the matter within my own dioceſe, as you may perceive by the purport of one of my queries; and I truſt the reſult will prove as favorable, as I know it hath done in ſome other dioceſes upon the like inquiry. Some perſons, who are of no religion at all, yet pretend a mighty zeal for the proteſtant religion, merely for the pleaſure of finding fault and bringing railing accuſations againſt their ſuperiors. The fears of weak proteſtants, the hopes of ſanguin papiſts, may both concur in producing the ſame effect, in apprehending and repreſenting the number of the latter to be much greater than it is in reality. Not but I ſuppoſe that their number may have increaſed of late years, eſpecially among the poorer ſort; and it behoves and becomes us of the Clergy particularly to conſider what may have been the cauſes and occaſions of it. I would not inquire into the cauſes of the growth and increaſe of popery in general, (a volume would hardly ſuffice for ſo copious a diſquiſition) but only into ſuch cauſes as are more peculiar to this time, that ſo we may furniſh ourſelves and the people committed to our care with proper antidotes againſt the ſpreading of this poiſon.

I. One cauſe without doubt is the late arrival of ſo many Jeſuits in this country, who having been driven from other kingdoms, have taken ſhelter in this land of liberty. Never was there a ſet of men that acted more contrary to their name and profeſſion. They call themſelves by the name, and profeſs themſelves the peculiar diſciples of the meek and lowly Jeſus; but they are in reality, and have been from

(1) Since the delivery of this Charge, the Courts of Spain and Portugal have wiſely united their forces

from their firſt inſtitution, the peſts and incendiaries of the world. They have filled all the courts, all the kingdoms of Europe with their plots and intrigues, their aſſaſſinations and murders: erect every where a dominion within a dominion: and, where they can out of the reach of the civil power (1), in South America, they are laying the foundations of what may perhaps one day prove the greateſt empire upon earth. It is no wonder therefore that ſo many princes grown jealous of their continual encroachments and uſurpations ſhould baniſh them from their dominions, and that England ſhould prove in this inſtance, what it hath been in many others, the ſink and receptacle of all vices. The lenity of the government invites them hither; and they have the gratitude and generoſity to return all the evil they dare for all the good they receive. It cannot be preſumed or expected, that ſuch turbulent ſpirits, who cannot live quiet under princes of their own communion, ſhould ever become loyal ſubjects to thoſe of a different religion. But yet, artful and inſinuating as they are, they will have the cunning and addreſs to ſhow themſelves as little as poſſible, till a favorable opportunity ſhall offer itſelf. Like moles they work underground, undermining the faith and conſcience of as many as come in their way: and their operations are viſible, while they themſelves remain unſeen. It is the more difficult to guard againſt them by reaſon of the variety of ſhapes which they aſſume, and the ſurpriſing changes and metamorphoſes which they undergo. They ſeldom appear in their proper character; ſometimes they mingle among fanatics and diſſenters of every denomination and are themſelves the loudeſt in declaiming againſt Popery; ſometimes they deſcend to the loweſt trades, the meaneſt offices and employments; and in the worſt ſenſe of the words "become all "things to all men that they may by all means gain ſome." They take as many forms as Proteus, and like Proteus too they muſt be manacled and bound, before they will return to their own ſhape, and confeſs the truth. But the greater their artifice and diſguiſe, their zeal and activity, the greater alſo ſhould be our attention and caution, our dilig nce

forces to extirpate theſe Fathers out of Paraguay; or they would in time have grown up to a rivalſhip in power and dominion.

diligence and aſſiduity in forewarning and forearming our people againſt their wiles and ſtratagems, admoniſhing and exhorting them (Matt. VII. 15.) " to beware of falſe prophets, which come to them in ſheeps " cloathing, but inwardly are ravening wolves;" (Epheſ. VI. 11.) to " put on the whole armour of God, that they may be able to ſtand " againſt the wiles of the devil;" (1 Pet. V. 8.) to " be ſober," to " be vigilant, becauſe their adverſary the devil, as a roaring lion, " walketh about ſeeking whom he may devour." It is a breach of charity to think ill of another man before you know him, but it is no more than prudence to ſuſpect a Jeſuit. If he happens to be a good man, it muſt be owing to the goodneſs of his nature, his education and principles have a contrary tendency and effect.

II. Another thing, that may have contributed not a little to the increaſe of papiſts, is the number of Methodiſts; for from methodiſm to popery is a natural and eaſy tranſition. The primary and capital fault of methodiſm is, that it unhinges and unſettles mens religious principles; and when they are once unſettled, they ſeldom know how to ſettle again. They are " like the troubled ſea when it cannot reſt," toſſed and agitated by contrary winds, as they are by contrary doctrins: but they cannot always be floting thus in the wide ocean of doubt and uncertainty; as it is fabled of the iland Delos, they muſt fix at laſt, and where are they ſo likely to fix as upon the rock of an infallible church, which promiſes eaſy abſolution and certain ſalvation? You ſcarce ever ſee the Methodiſts, with all their ſufficiency and preſumption, rightly ſatisfied in their own minds, for enthuſiaſm never knoweth where to ſtop; they ſtill require ſomething more novel and extraordinary, they ſtill want new illuminations new aſſurances, they proceed from abſurdity to abſurdity, from one degree of fanaticiſm to another, and ſo become Moravians, and then Sandimanians, and after all terminate, as it happens, in popery or in madneſs. This inſtability in religion is giving the ſuttle Prieſt and Jeſuit the advantage that he would deſire.

Hoc Ithacus velit, et magno mercentur Atridæ.

He would not wiſh to put his ſickle into a more plenteous harveſt. And as it is very well known that Popiſh prieſts and friers conſtantly mingled among the puritans and ſectaries of former ages, why ſhould we not conceive the caſe to be the ſame at preſent? Sic notus Ulyſſes? Is the Jeſuit no better known? Hath his right hand forgotten its cunning? Or is he, who watcheth all opportunities, likely to neglect and forego ſuch advantages? The effects of the contrary conduct are too viſible: and indeed methodiſm and popery are ſo ſimilar, ſo congenial, that the one readily mixes and incorporates with the other. As certain colors are more naturally tranſmuted, and take one dye or tincture better than another; ſo a methodiſt is more than half prepared, and is moſt eaſily dyed a papiſt in grain.

Fanatics of all ages and countries are nearly related, and bear a ſtrong reſemblance to each other: but the parallel is moſt remarkably ſtriking between the ſaints of Methodiſm and the ſaints of Rome. Their doctrin concerning regeneration and the new birth—their teaching of juſtification by faith alone not only to the excluſion but even to the condemnation of good works—their pretended profeſſion of poverty—their corporal ſeverities and mortifications—their itinerant ſpirit and compaſſing ſea and land to make proſelytes—the boaſted ſucceſs of their miniſtry—their ſudden and inſtantaneous converſions—their aſſurances of pardon and ſalvation—their unſpotted and unſinning ſtate of perfection—their inſpirations and revelations and familiar communications with the divine perſons—their extaſies and raptures, apparitions and viſions—their comparing themſelves with patriarchs, prophets, apoſtles, and even with Chriſt himſelf—their great want of charity, and condemning all who differ from them—their ſecret confeſſions—their unſeaſonable aſſemblies, love-feaſts, and nocturnal myſteries—all theſe and many other principles and practices are ſo much alike, ſo much the ſame in both religions, that there is hardly any change from the one to the other. I would not enter farther into the particulars, for you may ſee them deduced at large with ample proofs and illuſtrations by a late reverend

and learned Prelate in a work entitled *The enthuſiaſm of Methodiſts and Papiſts compared.*

We ſhould be ſedulous therefore to guard our people againſt methodiſm, as we would guard them againſt popery; (2 Tim. IV. 2, 3.) " preach the word, be inſtant in ſeaſon, out of ſeaſon, reprove, " rebuke, exhort with all long-ſuffering and doctrin; for the time " will come," yea is already come, " when they will not en- " dure ſound doctrin, but after their own luſts ſhall they heap to " themſelves teachers, having itching ears." " Wherefore rebuke " them ſharply," as the apoſtle ſaith (Tit. I. 13.) " that they may be " found in the faith;" (Heb. XIII. 9.) that " they be not carried " about with divers and ſtrange doctrins; (Eph. IV. 14.) that " they " be no more children, toſſed to and fro, and carried about with every " wind of doctrin, by the ſleight of men and cunning craftineſs, " whereby they lie in wait to deceive;" (Rom. XVI. 17.) that they " mark them, which cauſe diviſions and offenſes, contrary to the " doctrin which they have learned, and avoid them;" (2 Pet. III. 17, 18.) that they " beware leſt they alſo being led away by the error " of the wicked, fall from their own ſtedfaſtneſs, but grow in" real " grace, and in the" true " knowlege of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus " Chriſt." Every tabernacle of methodiſts is in truth a ſchool and ſeminary for papiſts; and the teachers, whether they know it or not, are agents and factors for popery; and they ſeem to be poſſeſſed by the ſame ſpirit, as they aſpire to the ſame dominion and lordſhip over God's heritage, affect the ſame powers privileges and prerogatives, excell in all the ſame arts of ſophiſtry and evaſion, equivocation and mental reſervation, make the ſame merchandize of the word of God, uſurp the ſame authority over the purſes and conſciences of their diſciples, drain the few rich and wealthy of their ſubſtance, wring even from the hard hands of poor laborers and ſervants their ſmall pittance, and by all means make their religion their gain, or it would be no religion for them. Vanity may have ſome ſhare, but the principal end and motive is " filthy lucre." The people may be deceived, but the

the teachers muſt be deceivers, or enthuſiaſts, or both. Charity herſelf cannot invent any other diſtinction.

III. As the third cauſe of the ſpreading of this contagion, we may reckon the non-execution of the laws againſt Popery and Popiſh prieſts. One of the moſt melancholy ſymptoms of this time, and big with ruin and deſtruction to this or any country, is that total neglect of all order and diſciplin, that entire relaxation of all government and authority, ſo that we are almoſt reduced to the ſame condition, as when (Judg. XVII. 6.) "there was no king in Iſrael, but every man did "that which was right in his own eyes." No laws whatever are duly executed, except ſome few perhaps relative to the public revenue, and the game laws which are altogether ſupported by private aſſociations. Every good man ſees and laments this diſorder, but no man in good earneſt applies a helping hand to remedy it. Such being the ſtate of the laws in general, we have the leſs reaſon to wonder at the little regard paid to thoſe particularly relating to religion, when religion itſelf is no more regarded. Modern ſtateſmen are too apt to conſider religion as nothing more if they conſider it ſo much as an engin of politics: And the Popiſh nobility and gentry uſually giving their intereſt in elections to the miniſters of ſtate for the time being whoever they may happen to be, the miniſters in return favor them with their connivence and indulgence; and when any attempts are made to check and reſtrain them, they who ſhould be the firſt to promote the due execution of the laws, are often the firſt to prevent and defeat it. I have never known but one miniſter ſuperior to theſe paltry conſiderations, Mr. Grenville by name, who ſupported me with his authority in ſuppreſſing a maſs-houſe which was going to be opened at Briſtol. The laws indeed againſt the papiſts are ſo ſevere, that one would not wiſh them to be ſtrictly executed but for the ſame wiſe reaſons of government, for which they were at firſt enacted. The danger was then imminent; it is now more remote; and the laws therefore may reaſonably admit of ſome relaxation. If we ſuffer papiſts to live among us, we muſt ſuffer them in ſome meaſure to exerciſe their religion; we muſt ſuffer them to have ſome ſchools for education of their children,

unleſs we will oblige them (which would be worſe policy) to ſend their money and their children abroad. But then they ſhould take and enjoy theſe liberties with ſome kind of modeſty and decency, in a private manner and in private houſes. If they preſume to erect public ſchools and maſs-houſes, if they ſet up openly to make converts, if they publiſh ſuch impudent abuſive lying hiſtories as *the life of Cardinal Pole*, if any way they fly in the face of authority and inſult the eſtabliſhed religion, then it ſhould be made appear, that the law is not dead but ſleepeth, and that (Rom. XIII. 4.) "the magiſtrate beareth "not the ſword in vain." The laws are made ſo ſevere againſt them, not upon a religious but a civil account, not as enemies to the truth but as enemies to the ſtate. They who refuſe to pay the allegiance of ſubjects, have certainly no right to claim the privileges of ſubjects. They who will not tolerate but perſecute all others, are not intitled to toleration themſelves. Perſecute them again we ſhould not, but we ſhould at leaſt ſecure ourſelves: And for this purpoſe it would be an employment worthy of the legiſlature, to reviſe the laws relating to popery, and to conſider what may be proper to be repealed, and what to be enforced, and to enforce them. Private perſons it would ill become to direct their ſuperiors; but we may all pray unto God, that "it may pleaſe him to bleſs and keep the magiſtrates, giving them "grace to execute juſtice and to maintain truth." They have the beſt of examples in the Prince now upon the throne; and if his magiſtrates were but half as good as he is, we ſhould be the happieſt of nations.

IV. and laſtly. But the blame ſhould not be transferred altogether upon others; ſome part of it, I am afraid, my reverend brethren, muſt be charged to our own account. Not that any of us, I hope, are directly the cauſe; but ſeveral, I fear, prove undeſignedly the occaſion, of ſpreading popery among our people. Though we may not actually promote it, yet we do not ſufficiently hinder it. That diſſipation of thought, that eagerneſs after pleaſure, that indifference to religion, which are ſome of the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics of the preſent age, have taken poſſeſſion of too many of the clergy. They

ſeem

ſeem to have no notion of the reſerve, the decency, the gravity of deportment becoming their character; they are not canonical ſo much as in their dreſs; they mix in parties of pleaſure and diverſions as much as other men, neglect their ſtudies, and what is worſe, neglect even the neceſſary duties of their calling: And when the clergy are thus indifferent about religion, what can be expected of the laity? Too little religion as well as too much is almoſt a ſure and certain way to popery. As all good learning is too much neglected, ſo particularly the controverſy between the papiſts and proteſtants is not ſtudied nor underſtood, as it ought to be. It is now reckoned in ſome meaſure unfaſhionable to preach againſt popery. Sermons are now generally calculated more for entertainment than inſtruction, more to give no offenſe than to do any good. But by theſe means the people have well nigh loſt that ſenſe and abhorrence of the abſurdity idolatry tyranny cruelty of the church of Rome, which ought to be kept alive and vigorous at all times, and eſpecially when popery begins to gain any ground, or attempts to make any advances upon us. But what is even more pernicious than this, is the want of reſidence and reſident curates, whereby a wide door is left open for methodiſm popery and all kinds of evil to enter without check or controll. Every man's pariſh is, as I may ſay, his proper field; and if the huſbandman neglects to ſow good ſeed, the enemy will certainly come to ſow his tares. As our Saviour declares, (John X. 12, &c.) "the hireling ſeeth the wolf "coming, and leaveth the ſheep, and fleeth; the hireling fleeth be-"cauſe he is an hireling, and careth not for the ſheep: but the good "ſhepherd knoweth his ſheep, and is known of them; and a ſtranger "will they not follow, but will flee from him, for they know not "the voice of ſtrangers," methodiſts or papiſts. The better to guard them againſt popery we ſhould take all proper occaſions of inſtilling into their minds a juſt dread and horror of that religion, and whether they will hear, or whether they will forbear, we ſhall yet have delivered our own ſouls. Even the younger clergy cannot be at a loſs for ſufficient materials. Mr. Locke ſays, that if a man would reaſon well, he ſhould read Chillingworth; and Chillingworth, Tillotſon and Stillingfleet

Stillingfleet will of themſelves make any one a competent maſter of the controverſy. If you would examin more into the particulars, there is a collection of the principal tracts and diſcourſes written againſt popery by the moſt eminent divines in the reigns of Charles and James the Second. So noble a ſtand did the clergy make at that important and dangerous criſis: and for this collection we are obliged to the ſame great and worthy Prelate, to whom we are ſo much indebted for the knowlege of our eccleſiaſtical laws and conſtitution. No clergyman ſhould be without it, eſpecially as it may, though conſiſting of three large volumes in folio, be purchaſed at a moderate price. But you ſhould apply to all other parts of good learning as well as to this; (1 Tim. IV. 13, &c.) " give attendence to reading, to exhortation, " to doctrin; meditate upon theſe things, give yourſelves wholly to " them, that your profiting may appear to all." But above all you ſhould lead clerical lives, lives becoming clergymen. You ſhould " abſtain" not only from the reality, but likewiſe (1 Theſſ. V. 22.) " from all appearance of evil;" for people are much influenced even by appearances. You ſhould not only ſhow in your whole deportment and converſation a due ſenſe of religion yourſelves, but likewiſe exert your utmoſt endevors to impreſs it upon others. Men are ſo eaſily perverted from their religion, becauſe they have no foundation of religion at all. You ſhould recollect what you promiſed at your ordination; and to men of truth and honor there needeth not any other exhortation than barely to remind them of their promiſe. You then engaged, that you would " be ready with all faithful diligence " to baniſh and drive away all erroneous and ſtrange doctrins contrary " to God's word; and to uſe both public and private monitions and " exhortations, as well to the ſick as to the whole, within your cures, " as need ſhall require, and occaſion ſhall be given:" That you would " be diligent in prayers, and in reading of the holy ſcriptures, and " in ſuch ſtudies as help to the knowlege of the ſame, laying aſide " the ſtudy of the world and the fleſh:" That you would " be diligent to frame and faſhion your own ſelves and your families according to the doctrin of Chriſt; and to make both yourſelves and

" them, as much as in you lieth, wholſom examples and patterns to " the flock of Chriſt." Theſe things you promiſed with the greateſt ſolemnity: and may God almighty give you grace and power to perform the ſame, (2 Theſſ. II. 17.) " make you perfect in every good " word and work," (1 Pet. V. 10.) " ſtabliſh, ſtrengthen, ſettle you," (Heb. XIII. 21.) " working in you that which is well pleaſing in his " ſight, through Jeſus Chriſt; to whom be glory for ever and ever. " Amen."

CHARGE III.

On the Licentiouſneſs of the Times.

1770.

YOU cannot but grieve and lament with me, my Reverend Brethren, that we are fallen into very troubleſome and turbulent times, ſufficient to make the moſt careleſs to conſider, and the moſt reſolute of us all to tremble at the probable conſequences. In former times the conteſt uſed to be, Under what kind of government we ſhould live, and Who ſhould be our governors; but now we are almoſt reduced to this queſtion, Whether we ſhall have any government at all. The danger threatens equally the Church and the State. There is no ſubordination any where, neither that weight and authority which ought to be in the magiſtrates, nor that reverence and ſubmiſſion which ought to be in the people. Both the laws and the lawgivers have loſt their power and dignity. A leveling principle prevails. Liberty is the cry, but the meaning is licentiouſneſs. All things are tending to anarchy and confuſion, as if there was no king, and no God who ruled in the kingdoms of men.

Never

Never was there a period, when the people had leſs reaſon to be jealous and apprehenſive of the power or ambition of the clergy, when the Biſhops and governors of the Church were more gentle and moderate in the exerciſe of that juriſdiction with which the conſtitution hath veſted them. We are ſo far from exerting any improper authority, or incroaching upon any of the rights and privileges of the laity or clergy, that it muſt be ſaid we are rather too remiſs and negligent in maintaining proper diſciplin, and exacting canonical obedience. We and the reſt of the Clergy are ſo far from infringing or deſiring in any reſpect to infringe the act of toleration, that we readily allow to all ſorts of diſſenters the free exerciſe of their religion, nay we connive at ſeveral abuſes of the law, rather than give the leaſt handle to unreaſonable jealouſies and ſuſpicions. But yet complaints are publicly made, as if the Engliſh clergy were too favorably inclined to popery, and were for reviving all the exorbitant claims and uſurpations of the Romiſh hierarchy. Grave books are written profeſſedly with intention to ſubvert all eccleſiaſtical government, yea to diſſolve and deſtroy the very being of the Church as a ſociety, by breaking down all its fences and incloſures and throwing the whole as it were into a common field, by rejecting all creeds and confeſſions, all articles and canons, and requiring only ſuch looſe and general ſubſcriptions, as a papiſt may make as well as a proteſtant, any heretic as well as a true believer. They complain of church power for no other reaſon but becauſe they have it not. When they get it into their own hands, none are more imperious than they, or more abſolute "lords "over God's heritage." In the fulleſt and freeſt enjoyment of their own religion, they ſullenly refuſe to the Church of England what the Church of England generouſly allows to them, every eſſential order in their church, and will not ſo much as bear the name of a biſhop in America.

Never was there a period, when a better king ſat on the throne of theſe kingdoms, an illuſtrious example to all his ſubjects of all virtues, of ſobriety and temperance uncommon in the early part of life, of the trueſt filial duty, of the deareſt conjugal affection, of the greateſt paternal

paternal tenderneſs, of the moſt decent and unaffected piety and devotion, the beſt of men as well as the beſt of princes, a judge as well as a patron of the fine arts. No vice public or private can be laid to his charge. If he hath any failing, it is only being too good for the corruption and iniquity of the times. He hath conſtantly made the law of the land the rule of his actions, and hath teſtified his regard for law and liberty by doing what none of our kings ever did before him, increaſing the ſalaries and making the office of the judges independent and for life. Happy in himſelf and in his family he hath no intereſt, he can have no intereſt but to make all his people happy; and it is altogether their own fault if they are not ſo. But yet how hath this moſt amiable prince been peſtered, his privacies broke in upon, and his repoſe diſturbed by the unmannerlineſs and unrulineſs of ſome of his ſubjects! How hath the vileſt and the groſſeſt abuſe been poured upon all that he holds dear as well as upon his own ſacred perſon! What it would be treaſon only to whiſper in the ear, hath been publicly printed and diſperſed among the people. He hath been branded as a Nero, who more than Titus deſerves to be called *the delight of human kind*. Surely there can be no tyranny, there can be ſtretch of power and prerogative, there muſt on the contrary be too much lenity, too much forbearance in government, when ſuch crimes are ſuffered to paſs without the moſt exemplary puniſhment.

Never was there a period, when theſe kingdoms were in a more floriſhing condition, or wealthier or happier, if we were but ſenſible of our happineſs. We are at peace with our neighbours, and no proſpect of an immediate rupture. Wealth and the ſigns of wealth, coaches plate jewels, never ſo much abounded. Riches flow in upon us with every tide. Our trade and manufactures are daily increaſing and improving. Agriculture is better underſtood. All arts and ſciences are advancing to greater perfection. It is hardly poſſible for thoſe who have not ſeen them to frame an adequate idea of the great improvements made within theſe few years in the metropolis. The ſame ſpirit is ſpreading throughout the nation. Cities and towns are vying with each other in paving and lighting their ſtreets, in the number as

well as in the convenience and elegance of their houſes, in their public as well as in their private edifices, in building bridges, cutting canals, and making rivers navigable. The country diſplays a very different ſcene from what it did not many years ago. Inſtead of here and there an old caſtle and ruined fortification beautiful villas and magnificent palaces are thick ſet in almoſt every county. The roads every where are ſo much mended, that we travel now with delight where before we went with danger; waſte and barren lands are incloſed and inriched by cultivation; grounds are laid out with taſte, and plantations made for pleaſure as well as for profit; every farm almoſt is ornamented, and the whole country hath the appearance of a garden. Look into Scotland, look into Ireland, and you will ſee the ſame improvements or greater, as there was greater room for them. At the ſame time profit hath kept pace with improvement; and in all parts the rents are greatly advanced, in ſome they are doubled. Every man may ſit at eaſe under his own vine and under his own fig-tree, enjoying the good things of life with which he is ſurrounded, without any moleſtation or diſturbance, unleſs perhaps from the riotous and unruly multitude; for there is our greateſt danger, not from the power of the crown but the licentiouſneſs of the people. But yet contrary to theſe plain matters of fact you may hear tragical outcries and lamentations, as if the nation were ſinking under a load of grievances, as if our trade and commerce were totally ruined, as if liberty and property were in the utmoſt danger, as if the Parlament were depriving the people of their rights when for the good of the people they have even given up their own privileges, as if King Lords and Commons were in conſpiracy to eſtabliſh deſpotiſm and tyranny, with a thouſand other grievances, which exiſt no where but in the gloomy imagination of ſome diſappointed malecontents, and thence are propagated with aggravation to taint and inflame the minds of the people.

But what then? perhaps you will ſay. Are there no grievances? Yes I could draw up a long and a black catalogue of grievances. But the ſpring and ſource, the ſum and ſubſtance of all is the want of religion. Religion hath loſt its hold upon the minds of the people.

High and low, rich and poor, all retain too little ſenſe of religion; and hence proceed all our evils. With religion we might be the happieſt nation upon earth, having every thing elſe to make us ſo. (Pſal. CXLIV. 15.) "Happy are the people that are in ſuch a caſe, yea "bleſſed are the people who have the Lord for their God." Without religion (LXIX. 23.) "the things that ſhould have been for our "wealth, will be to us an occaſion of falling," our bleſſings become our curſe, and ſalvation itſelf cannot ſave us.

If religion and virtue had their due influence and effect, there would not be that total degeneracy and profligacy of manners among all ſorts of people; that idleneſs and diſſipation, that luxury and extravagance, that inordinate love of pleaſure, that immoderate ſpirit of gaming, thoſe midnight routs and revels, thoſe frequent intrigues adulteries and divorces in higher life; that averſeneſs from all work and labor, that drunkenneſs and debauchery, that pride and beggary, that ſpirit of riot and diſobedience, thoſe horrid oaths and execrations, thoſe frequent robberies burglaries and murders in lower life. We may truly make the complaint of the prophets; (Iſa. I. 5, 6.) "The "whole head is ſick, and the whole heart faint; From the ſole of "the foot even unto the head, there is no ſoundneſs in it, but wounds "and bruiſes and putrifying ſores. (Pſal. XIV. 4, &c.) "They are "gone out of the way, they are all together become abominable, "there is none that doeth good, no not one; Deſtruction and unhappineſs is in their ways, and the way of peace have they not "known, there is no fear of God before their eyes."

If religion and chriſtian charity had their due influence and effect, there would not be thoſe violent feuds and animoſities, which almoſt tear out the heart and vitals of our dear country. And all for what end and purpoſe? St. James will reſolve us (James IV. 1.) "From whence "come wars and fightings among you? come they not hence, even "of your luſts?" It is all a contention for place and power. They talk much of a change of meaſures, but they deſign only a change of men. Their profeſſions are all for the public, their endevors are all for themſelves. Thoſe who are out would be in, and thoſe who are

in would keep ſo: and the folly is that the people are drawn in to be the dupes and inſtruments of a quarrel, wherein they have no manner of concern one way or other, and will not be one jot the better whatever changes are made. We have tried all changes, and been diſſatisfied in all. The Jews were wearied of God's own theocracy; and if an angel were to deſcend from heaven to govern us, we ſhould ſtill be diſcontented; ſo long as we are an immoral and irreligious, we can never be an eaſy or happy people. (Iſa. LVII. 21.) "There "is no peace, ſaith my God, to the wicked."

If religion and moral truth had their due influence and effect, there would not be that ſcandal and defamation, that monſtrous abuſe of all names and characters though ever ſo high ever ſo ſacred, thoſe abominable lies and calumnies, not whiſpered in broken hints, but printed at length and circulated throughout the nation, for our people are too much like the Athenians, who (Acts XVII. 21.) "ſpent their "time in nothing elſe but either to tell or to hear ſome new thing:" and the groſſer the lies and calumnies, the more greedily they are received. In ſhort truth honor and virtue are rarely to be found anywhere. It is not this party alone, nor that party alone, that is to blame. All parties are much alike.

Hiacos intra muros peccatur et extra.

And it is a lamentable proof of the wickedneſs and depravity of the times, when ſome of the moſt profligate and abandoned characters in the kingdom, blaſphemers of their God, and libellers of their king, are the greateſt favorites and idols of the people.

It is hoped that none of you, my Reverend Brethren, will add fewel to the fire that is kindled in the nation. You are the miniſters of the goſpel of peace, and will never be the promoters of diviſion and faction; but rather bring water to quench the flame, and contribute your utmoſt endevors in your ſeveral ſtations to quiet and compoſe the minds of the people.

You will convince them of the neceſſity of religion to their preſent as well as their future, to their public as well as their private happi-

neſs;

neſs; convince them by your doctrin, and what is more, convince them by your example, which will give double force to your doctrin. It will ever be found true as Solomon hath ſaid, (Prov. XIV. 34.) that "righteouſneſs exalteth a nation, but ſin is a reproach to any "people." No man can be a good miniſter, no man can be a good patriot, who is not alſo a man of religion and virtue. A man of vice and extravagance, who hath ruined his own private fortune, can never be a good ſteward or truſtee for the public. Whatever profeſſions he may make, whatever diſguiſes he may wear, the whole man, good or bad, muſt go together. A villain in private life, his public virtues are all pretence and mockery.

You will more particularly ſet before them the numerous evils and dangerous conſequences of diviſion and faction; that they abſorb all public ſpirit, call off mens attention from national points, and conſume their whole time in perſonal oppoſition or defenſe; that they give our enemies the greateſt advantage over us; (Matt. XII. 25.) that "every kingdom divided againſt itſelf is brought to deſolation;" (James III. 16.) that "where envying and ſtrife is, there is confuſion "and every evil work!" The dreadful effects of civil commotions, one would think, were ſufficiently felt in the laſt century: and can any lover of his country wiſh to ſee the ſame tragedy acted again, or without the like reaſons run into the ſame dangers? There were then more real cauſes of complaint; there were then (no diſparagement to the preſent) more able and virtuous leaders of oppoſition; there was then ſome religion, which is not ſo much as pretended at preſent; there was then the parlament with the main body of the people againſt the court, and not as at preſent, only a part, and chiefly the lower part of the people againſt King Lords and Commons. But yet with thoſe advantages at that time on the popular ſide what were the fruits and conſequences? All the horrors and calamities of a civil war, bloodſhed and devaſtation, the ſubverſion of our excellent conſtitution in church and ſtate, the ruin of the chief nobility clergy and gentry, the murder of one king, the baniſhment of another with all the royal family, the heavieſt payments and ſequeſtrations, a military govern-

ment

ment and variety of tyranny, till at length the nation, exhauſted and wearied out with oppreſſions, were impatient to recover their ancient conſtitution, and were glad to ſit down where they firſt ſet out, without any conditions obtained for their future ſecurity. It would be downright madneſs in men, with ſuch an example before their eyes, farther to proſecute their civil diſſenſions. You will ſhow them on the contrary, (Pſal. CXXXIII. 1.) "how good and how pleaſant it is "for brethren to dwell together in unity;" and exhort them to brotherly kindneſs and charity, to make their (Philip. IV. 5.) "modera-"tion known unto all men;" (Rom. XVI. 17.) "to mark them who "cauſe diviſions, and to avoid them:" (Rom. XII. 18.) "if it be poſ-"ſible, as much as lieth in them, to live peaceably with all men:" for (1 Cor. XIV. 33.) "God is not the author of confuſion, but of "peace;" (James III. 18.) "and the fruit of righteouſneſs is ſown "in peace of them that make peace." It can be for no man's intereſt to blow the coals of ſedition, unleſs men of the moſt reſtleſs ambition, or of broken deſperate fortunes, who like common incendiaries ſet the houſe on fire, that they may run away with ſome of the ſpoil in the general confuſion. A true patriot is for healing the bleeding wounds of his country, and for not tearing them more open.

You will farther admoniſh them to be ſober and induſtrious in their different callings; (1 Theſſ. IV. 11.) to "ſtudy to be quiet, and to "do their own buſineſs;" (Pſal. CXXXI. 1.) "not to exerciſe them-"ſelves in great matters, or in things too high for them;" (Prov. XXIV. 21.) to "fear the Lord and the king, and not" to "meddle "with them that are given to change." The public will not be the better for all their talking and intermeddling, but their own private affairs will be the worſe. Idleneſs erects them into politicians; and politicians ſoon become ſpendthrifts, and drunkards, and bankrupts, and even beggars, as we have ſeen in ſeveral inſtances. And what better foundation have the chief articles of their political creed than the public papers, three parts whereof conſiſt of calumnies and lies, and if there is any truth in the remaining part, that truth is commonly miſtaken or miſrepreſented. Never was in any other age ſuch

ſcandalous

ſcandalous abuſe of the liberty of the preſs, nor would be ſuffered in any other country. Surely the writers and publiſhers do not enough conſider the hainouſneſs of the crime. (John VIII. 44.) " The de-" vil is the father of lies;" and among thoſe who " ſhall have their " part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimſtone" (Rev. XXI. 8. XXII. 15.) are particularly mentioned " all liers," and " whoſo-" ever loveth and maketh a lie."

Moreover you will lay great ſtreſs and emphaſis upon the duties of ſubjection and obedience to the higher powers, that they (Rom. XIII. 5.) " muſt needs be ſubject not only for wrath, but alſo for conſcience " ſake." Conſidering the difficulties of government, they ſhould render it as eaſy as they can to their governors; and inſtead of raiſing obſtructions and aggravating complaints, ſhould rather make favorable allowances for miſtakes and errors in ſo large a ſphere, when even within their own little circle they cannot manage their own houſeholds entirely to ſatisfaction, the ſervants of the public being no more than others exempted from faults and failings. How much ſoever it may be the practice, it is no light offenſe to " deſpiſe dominion and ſpeak " evil of dignities." (Exod. XXII.) " Thou ſhalt not," ſaith Moſes, " revile the gods, nor curſe the ruler of thy people." And who are they chiefly who bring ſuch " railing accuſations," but carnal ſenſual wicked men, as both St. Peter and St. Jude deſcribe them? St. Peter ſaith, (2 Pet. II. 9, 10.) " The Lord knoweth how to re-" ſerve the unjuſt unto the day of judgment to be puniſhed, but " chiefly them that walk after the fleſh in the luſt of uncleanneſs, and " deſpiſe government; preſumptuous are they, ſelf-willed, they are " not afraid to ſpeak evil of dignities." St. Jude in like manner, (ver. 8.) " Likewiſe alſo theſe filthy dreamers defile the fleſh, de-" ſpiſe dominion, and ſpeak evil of dignities." " Put them" therefore (Tit. III. 1, 2.) " in mind to be ſubject to principalities and " powers, to obey magiſtrates, to be ready to every good work, to " ſpeak evil of no man, to be no brawlers, but gentle, ſhowing all " meekneſs unto all men." Addreſs them in the words of St. Peter, (1 Pet. II. 13, &c.) " Submit yourſelves to every ordinance of man

" for

" for the Lord's ſake, whether it be to the King as ſupreme, or unto " governors, as unto them that are ſent by him for the puniſhment " of evil doers and for the praiſe of them that do well. For ſo is " the will of God, that with well doing ye may put to ſilence the " ignorance of fooliſh men: As free, and not uſing your liberty for a " cloke of maliciouſneſs, but as the ſervants of God. Honor all " men, love the brotherhood: fear God, honor the King." Addreſs them in the words of St. Paul, (Gal. V. 13.) " Brethren, ye have " been called unto liberty; only uſe not liberty for an occaſion to " the fleſh, but by love ſerve one another." Liberty and licentiouſneſs are totally different things, and the one is the certain deſtruction of the other; the moſt ready way to loſe our liberties is to abuſe them. Such pretended champions for law and liberty, when they get power, are the firſt to trample upon all laws, and prove the worſt of tyrants. For (2 Pet. II. 19.) " while they promiſe" others " liberty, they themſelves are the ſervants of corruption." A bad man can never be free. (2 Cor. III. 17.) " Where the ſpirit of the " Lord is, there" and there only " is liberty."

Finally, my brethren, (1 Tim. II. 1, 2, 3.) " I exhort that ſup- " plications, prayers, interceſſions, and giving of thanks be made for " all men, for kings, and for all that are in authority, that we may " lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godlineſs and honeſty; for this " is good and acceptable in the ſight of God our Saviour." Amidſt all the tumults and diſorders of the world, it is ſtill matter of joy and comfort, that there is a God above all, who is able to controll the unruly wills and actions of ſinful men. (Pſal. XCVII. 1.) " The Lord " is king, the earth may be glad thereof, yea the multitude of the " iles may be glad thereof." If there was not ſuch an overruling providence, and men were left to themſelves, there would be nothing but wild miſrule, deſtruction and deſperation; but (Pſal. LXV. 7.) " God ſtilleth the raging of the ſea, and the noiſe of his waves, and " the madneſs of the people." Let us therefore earneſtly beſeech " the King of kings and Lord of lords," that he (LXXII. 1, &c.) would " give the King his judgments and righteouſneſs," to " judge

" the

" the people according unto right, and puniſh the wrong doer," direct his heart and ſtrengthen his hands, and (Pſal. CXXXII. 19.) " for " his enemies cloath them with ſhame, but upon himſelf" make " his crown floriſh;" that he would indue the magiſtrates with ſpirit and courage, to " bear" no longer " the ſword in vain," but faithfully and vigorouſly execute the laws, and maintain good order and good government; that he would open the eyes of the deluded multitude, and recover them to a juſt ſenſe of their duty and of their intereſt, to diſtinguiſh rightly, who are their true friends and really wiſh to make them happy, and who are their real enemies and uſe them only as the tools and ſtepping-ſtones of their ambition; that he would " deliver us from all ſedition, privy conſpiracy, and rebellion, from " hardneſs of heart and contempt of his word and commandment;" that there may be (Pſal. CXLIV. 14.) " no decay, no leading into " captivity, and no complaining in our ſtreets;" that there may be none other contention among us, than who ſhall be the beſt citizens and ſubjects, the beſt men and chriſtians, (Matt. XXII. 21.) " ren- " dering unto Cæſar the things that are Cæſar's, and unto God the " things that are God's." No man who truly prayeth for the welfare of his country, can ever be willing to diſturb its peace. " O pray" then (Pſal. CXXII. 6, &c.) " for the peace of Jeruſalem; they ſhall " proſper that love thee. Peace be within thy walls, and plenteouſ- " neſs within thy palaces. For my brethren and companions ſake" for the ſake of all civil and ſocial duties, " I will wiſh thee proſpe- " rity: Yea, becauſe of the houſe of the Lord our God," becauſe of the true religion profeſſed among us, " I will ſeek to do thee good." And may God give us all the grace and wiſdom (Luke XIX. 42.) to ſee and " know, at leaſt in this our day, the things which belong unto " our peace," before " they are hid from our eyes."

CHARGE IV.

On the late Attempts againſt the CHURCH.

1773.

My Reverend Brethren,

YOU know very well whoſe ſaying it is, that "in the laſt days "perilous times ſhall come;" and I may ſay, "This day is this "ſcripture fulfilled in your ears." Time has been, when a grievous outcry was raiſed of the Church being in danger without much occaſion for it; men were afraid, where little or no fear was: but at preſent we ſeem incompaſſed with dangers on every ſide, which it behoves every true ſon of the Church, and us of the Clergy particularly, to watch and guard againſt. That ſpirit of licentiouſneſs under the maſk of liberty, which was the ſubject of my complaint and exhortation at our laſt meeting, hath ſpread its taint and infection from the ſtate even to the Church, is equally an enemy to all government eccleſiaſtical as well as civil, and if not reſtrained in due time, will terminate in the ruin and deſtruction of both.

The firſt attack was made by ſome of our own body, diſclaiming all creeds articles and confeſſions; as if any Church, or indeed any ſociety could ſubſiſt in the world without certain rules and orders, to which all the members ſhould be obliged to conform. Even while they are men, they will be ſubject to no human juriſdiction. The infallible word of God is the teſt and ſtandard of their opinions, and to that alone they will ſubſcribe. But every fanatic and enthuſiaſt, every ſectary and papiſt, every ſchiſmatic and heretic would ſay the ſame: and ſo the door would be opened for any or all of theſe to enter, all uniformity would be deſtroyed, and the Church of England become a Babel of religions as well as of languages. The propoſition

is

is ſo palpably abſurd, ſo contrary to all ſenſe and reaſon, that no wonder their petition was rejected as ſoon almoſt as it was offered. The wonder was that any could be found to recommend it; but there is nothing ſo monſtrous and unreaſonable, that ſome or others will not ſupport and maintain merely for the ſake of oppoſition. It ſhould ſeem that they themſelves were in ſome meaſure aſhamed of their attempt by not renewing their application this laſt ſeſſion, if they had not declared their purpoſe of perſevering. But it is to be hoped that God's grace and time for recollection may bring them to a better underſtanding, and convince them of the iniquity the folly the madneſs of their undertaking. If they had read and ſtudied *Hooker*, as every Divine ought to do, their ſcruples would never have been raiſed, or would have been laid as ſoon as raiſed. They might alſo have learned better things from *Dr. Rogers's Diſcourſe of the viſible and inviſible Church*, which in a manner put an end to the Bangorian controverſy. Or if inſtead of reading only *the Confeſſional*, they would read together with it Dr. Ridley's anſwers, wherein he was aſſiſted by our late moſt worthy and moſt able Metropolitan, they would ſee the ſophiſtry of the arguments detected, the falſity of the facts and quotations expoſed, and the whole book as effectually refuted as ever book was, beſides the manifeſt inconſiſtency of a man's pleading for entire liberty of conſcience with all the malevolence and intolerance of a father of the Inquiſition. Not to mention now *the Alliance between Church and State*, or the late vindications of the Church of England by thoſe learned Divines who have engaged in the preſent controverſy, particularly the Archdeacon of Wincheſter, and the Dean of Gloceſter [to whom I am glad of this opportunity of returning my public thanks.] If none of theſe will ſatisfy them, if (1 John II. 19.) "they will not be of us," it is to be wiſhed that "they would go out from us," and ſhow their ſincerity at leaſt by not deſiring or retaining (what they think) "the "wages of unrighteouſneſs."

Much more may be ſaid in favor of the Diſſenters plea, who from ſome hints thrown out in this debate took occaſion alſo to apply for relief. But really what relief was wanting, or where was the leaſt ſha-

dow of grievance? The laws lay dormant, and no man was aiming or wiſhing to rouſe them into execution againſt them. They complied with the terms of the toleration act or not, they ſubſcribed to the Articles and took out a licence or not, juſt as they pleaſed, none offering to moleſt or call them to any account. The great lenity and mildneſs of government, the known moderation and candor of the clergy, the free ſpirit and liberal temper of the times abſolutely forbid all apprehenſions of ſeverity: and were the attempt to be made, I am perſuaded it would not ſucceed. What occaſion then to raiſe an alarm, when there was not the leaſt danger, or the leaſt appearance of danger? Churchmen and diſſenters were drawing nearer and nearer to each other; but now I fear they may have fixed (I hope it was not their intention to fix) a laſting barrier between us. Toleration and liberty of conſcience are indeed glorious things; and I wiſh to God, that every man of every country and religion had the full and free enjoyment of them. But they who plead at large for toleration do not ſufficiently diſtinguiſh between private opinion and public preaching. A man's private opinions ought not to be, and indeed cannot be ſubject to human controll; they muſt be left to God and his own conſcience: but his public preaching, as a matter relating to the community, ſhould be ſubject to ſome limitations and reſtrictions. It is contrary to all the rules and maxims of ſound policy for any ſtate or government to grant a licence to any men or number of men to preach any doctrins that they think proper, without knowing at all the nature of their doctrins whether they are hurtful to the ſtate or not. Mr. Locke and the ſtrongeſt advocates for toleration are yet for allowing it only ſo far as it may conſiſt with the ſafety of the ſtate. The Diſſenters themſelves in their printed Caſe admit, "that the ſafety of the "ſtate is the grand line which ſhould limit the extent of toleration." Some teſt therefore is requiſite, ſome declaration or ſummary of their principles for the ſecurity and ſatisfaction of government, that it may be known whether they are conſiſtent with the peace and happineſs of civil ſociety. This teſt, this ſummary of doctrins, their foreſathers and our foreſathers agreed, ſhould be ſubſcription to the 39 Articles,

except the 34th, 35th, 36th, and part of the 20th Article, which relate to church government: and in this meaſure both parties have acquieſced above fourſcore years, and the greateſt part of the diſſenters are for acquieſcing ſtill. Laſt year indeed it was pretended, that the new bill would be acceptable to the whole body of diſſenters; but this year it appeared, that great numbers of them petitioned, and were heard by counſel againſt it. It is not a bill therefore for the relief of proteſtant diſſenting miniſters at large, but only of ſome particular perſons, who differing from their forefathers and differing from many of their brethren profeſs, that they can no longer ſubſcribe to the Articles, yet without expreſſing what Articles they diſlike; their opinions are very different from what they were, yet without ſpecifying what their preſent opinions are; inſtead of the 39 Articles they can only ſubſcribe "a declaration of their being Chriſtians and Proteſtants, "and that, as ſuch, they receive the revelation of the will of God, "contained in the ſcriptures of the Old and New Teſtament, as the "rule of their faith and practice." But there are ſeveral ſects of Chriſtians and Proteſtants, who will make all the ſame declaration, and yet maintain principles pernicious to all ſociety and deſtructive of all morality, as Antinomians, Fifth-monarchy-men, and others whom I could name: And where then is the certainty and aſſurance to government, that ſome or others of them alſo may not advance the like pernicious doctrins, and in like manner derive, or pretend to derive them from ſcripture? If they will declare nothing to the contrary, they may be perhaps ſome Moravians, ſome Socinians, or ſome I know not what. Their unwillingneſs to give a ſummary of their doctrins infers at leaſt a ſuſpicion, that they cannot abide the teſt, or otherwiſe they would not be aſhamed of them. This declaration therefore is by no means ſatisfactory or ſufficient; and yet more they refuſe as being too much; this cannot be accepted as being too little: and whatever reaſons the Commons may have had for paſſing their bill, the Lords have rejected it twice by a majority of more than two to one, excluſive of the Biſhops.

Another

Another attack has been made, and threatened to be renewed, which would be more fatal to the Church and the Clergy. The old law maxim, that no time avails againſt the King or the Church, nullum tempus occurrit regi vel eccleſiæ, having been lately repealed with regard to the crown, it is pretended to be juſt and reaſonable, that it ſhould alſo be ſet aſide with regard to the church. But the two caſes are extremely different. The manors and demeans of the crown are but a very ſmall part of its revenues; it is more amply provided for by the bounty and liberality of the public: but the tithes and eſtates of the church are in a manner the whole ſubſiſtence of the clergy; ſupplies from other quarters are very inconſiderable. The crown too has more powerful means of aſſerting its claims and recovering its dues than the church; and the limitation of time, which may be proper for the one, would be deſtructive to the other. If ſuch a bill paſs into a law, the ſtate and condition of the church would be deplorable indeed. For partly through the encroachments and uſurpations of the laity, the influence of patrons and combinations of pariſhioners, their pleading moduſes and exemptions, their intereſted deſigns in keeping the clergy in ignorance, their little regard for religion and thoſe who miniſter in religion; and partly through the neglect and indolence of the clergy, their general want of ſkill and dexterity in ſecular affairs, their coming ſtrangers to their charges and diſcovering their rights (if at all) with great difficulty, their willingneſs to oblige their patrons and to live upon good terms with their neighbours, their backwardneſs to enter into law-ſuits, ſome for want of inclination, others for want of ability: by theſe means, I ſay, partly through the encroachments of the laity, and partly through the neglects (not to ſay worſe) of the clergy, the patrimony of the church would by degrees be reduced more and more, ſo that what in theſe dear times is hardly a ſufficient, would in the courſe of a few years become a totally inſufficient maintenance for the clergy; and there would be no church and no religion in the nation. Such is the ſtate to which ſome men ſeem deſirous to bring us: and a great aggravation of the grievance is, that "thoſe "who eat of our bread have lifted up their heel againſt us;" thoſe who

who hold eſtates under the church, and therefore ſhould be friendly to it, are often its worſt enemies; and not only contrary to all reaſon and juſtice make themſelves judges in their own cauſe, but even would repeal the old laws which are againſt them by enacting new ones in their own favor, which is the conſummation of arbitrary power. In the courſe of the laſt winter were publiſhed *Conſiderations on the Act of Parlament, commonly called the Nullum Tempus Act, with ſome reaſons why ſuch a ſtatute of limitation ought not to be extended to eccleſiaſtical perſons, printed for Lockyer Davis in Holborn:* Which are written with ſo much good ſenſe, ſuch command of temper, and ſuch force of argument, that I would recommend them to every Clergyman, and indeed to every Gentleman; and if after the ſerious peruſal of them any man could be for promoting ſuch a bill, I ſhould have a very bad opinion either of his honor or of his underſtanding, if not of both.

This attack was open enough; another has been made more ſlily and covertly. For in a bill, the declared purpoſe of which was *to inforce ſeveral acts of parlament for the recovery and payment of tithes, and to inlarge the powers thereby given*, there was a clauſe inſerted in favor of the Quakers, which inſtead of *inforcing* the ſeveral acts would plainly *weaken* them, and inſtead of *inlarging* the powers would *diminiſh* them. As the laws ſtand at preſent, the Clergy are allowed, for the greater and readier diſpatch, in ſuits for recovering tithes from Quakers the value whereof doth not exceed ten pounds, to apply to two Juſtices of the peace, and to have the thing determined in a ſummary way; and from them there is no farther appeal than to the Quarter-ſeſſions whoſe determination is to be final. But the deſign of this clauſe was to compel the Clergy to make uſe of the ſame ſummary method in all caſes whatever, and for all ſums whatever, and thereby oblige them to ſubmit their greateſt intereſts to an arbitrary and perhaps a partial determination, without the poſſibility of obtaining any redreſs elſewhere. This was indeed ſtealing a march upon us; for from the title of the bill ſuch a clauſe could never have been expected, and it had made ſome progreſs in the Houſe before the alarm was given:

given: but when the miſchief was pointed out in precluding ſo large a body of men from the great courts of judicature which are open to all the reſt of the nation, it appeared ſo contrary to all the principles of law and equity, ſo contrary to the nature and genius of this free government, that the promoters of it might well be aſhamed of it, and deſire to withdraw it.

The laſt attempt whereof I ſhall take particular notice at this time, proceeded from ſome of our own body, as did alſo the firſt that I mentioned. Theſe as well as the former contended for a reviſion of the Liturgy and Articles, and for making ſeveral alterations and amendments in accommodation to the preſent modes of thinking: but theſe did not like the former, "deſpiſe dominion and ſpeak evil of digni-"ties;" they propoſed to refer the whole to the ſuperior wiſdom and diſcretion of their eccleſiaſtical governors. Every one, I believe, will readily agree, that ſome things may be changed for the better both in our Liturgy and Articles; and no one hath wiſhed more earneſtly for a reviſion of them, than I did myſelf, till I had more fully conſidered matters. For there are abundant inſtances of things, which appear right and reaſonable and proper in theory, and yet when they come to be reduced to practice, are attended with inſuperable difficulties. If they who propoſe alterations were deſired themſelves to make them, ſcarce any three of them would agree together in the ſame particulars. In changes of ſuch public conſequence, it is not ſufficient for a man to ſit down in his cloſet, and make corrections and alterations as he may think proper; but the whole proceſs muſt be conducted in due form and order agreeably to the rules of the conſtitution in church and ſtate. A commiſſion muſt be firſt iſſued from the Crown to certain Biſhops and Divines for this purpoſe. But who ſhould apply for this commiſſion? The Biſhops, you will ſay. But ſhould not the Biſhops be firſt perſuaded of the practicability of the ſcheme and of the probability of its doing good, that the temper of the times will bear it, and that it will be carried on with candor and moderation on all ſides? If application ſhould be made for ſuch a commiſſion, how can we be certain that the King's miniſters will approve it, and adviſe His Majeſty

Majeſty to grant it? Miniſters are generally for keeping things quiet, at leaſt during their own time; and very wiſely, for no man knoweth, when matters of this ſort are once put into motion where they may ſtop, or what diſturbances innovations in the church may produce in the ſtate. But if a commiſſion ſhould be granted to ſuch and ſuch Biſhops and Divines, yet certainly it is a work that is not to be diſpatched haſtily, it would require much time and much deliberation, and after all poſſibly the commiſſioners might not agree in the form and ſubſtance of their alterations. But if the alterations ſhould be ſettled and agreed upon, then they are to be laid before the Convocation; and it is not difficult to foreſee what endleſs diſputes and altercations may ariſe there. Then they are to be laid before both Houſes of Parlament before they can paſs into a law; and who would wiſh to ſee the two Houſes of Parlament become ſchools of polemical divinity? But if all theſe difficulties were ſurmounted, and the alterations were eſtabliſhed by law, yet ſome would reject as others would receive them, ſome would think that too much and others that too little was done; there would immediately be the old Church of England and the new Church of England; ſchiſms would be multiplied and increaſed, and Chriſt's coat which was "without ſeam" would be rent all to pieces. Experience ſufficiently juſtifies theſe apprehenſions; for when commiſſions of the like kind have been granted, as after the acceſſion of James the Firſt, after the Reſtoration, and after the Revolution, they never produced any good, they terminated rather in more ſtrife and contention: and Biſhop Burnet himſelf, who was a zealous friend to toleration and comprehenſion, and was a very active member in the laſt commiſſion, ſpeaking of its ending without effect, aſſerts (1) that it was "a very happy direction of the providence of "God. For by all the judgments we could afterwards make, if we "had carried a majority in the convocation for alterations, they would "have done us more hurt than good." It is better therefore to reſt contented with a tolerable good conſtitution, than to be continually tampering with it, and trying medicins whereof we know neither the

(1) Hiſt. Vol. 2. p. 35, 36.

end nor the uſe nor the effect. No human inſtitution whatever can be without defects, that is the beſt which hath the leaſt and feweſt. God be thanked, there is nothing eſſential and fundamental to be altered in our Liturgy or Articles; and for leſſer imperfections we may very well bear with them, and with one another: and if any are ſtill for correcting and amending the Liturgy, let them firſt correct themſelves, and amend it, as becomes them, by a better manner of reading it with more gravity and devotion.

I thought it proper, my Reverend Brethren, to appriſe you of theſe ſigns and characteriſtics of the times, that from hence you may the better know how to direct and regulate your behaviour, that you may in ſome meaſure diſtinguiſh who are your friends, and who are your enemies, that you may give your enemies no advantage over you, but that "ye may be blameleſs and harmleſs, and in the midſt of a crooked "and perverſe generation may ſhine as lights in the world." There are yet other miſchiefs in embryo, relating to tithes and to lands in mortmain, which I truſt will prove abortive and never have ſtrength to come to the birth: but I have already treſpaſſed too long upon your patience and my own, and therefore will only conclude with the ſhort and ſeaſonable advice of the apoſtle (Eph. V. 15, 16.) "See "then that ye walk circumſpectly, not as fools, but as wiſe, Re-"deeming the time, becauſe the days are evil."

CHARGE

CHARGE V.

A Diſſuaſive from Schiſm.

1776 and 1777.

My Reverend Brethren,

CONSIDERING my age and frequent indiſpoſitions, this in all probability may be the laſt time of our meeting together in this manner. When our bleſſed Saviour was about to take leave of his diſciples, the legacy he bequeathed unto them was *Peace*. (John XIV. 27.) "Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you, not "as the world giveth, give I unto you." In humble imitation of this divine example my laſt requeſt, my laſt bequeſt unto you ſhall alſo be *Peace*. Peace is the great principle of the goſpel; I wiſh it was as much the ruling principle of our lives and actions. But ſuch is the perverſeneſs of the times, and to our ſhame be it ſpoken, that under the beſt of governments upon earth, as there are unreaſonable factions in the State, ſo there are groundleſs ſchiſms in the Church. There are men who cannot reſt contented with the old ſtated ſervice of the Church, for no better reaſon than becauſe it is old. They are for ſubſtituting new modes of worſhip, new articles of faith, new forms of prayer; and by ſtrange novel heterodox doctrins draw away diſciples after them.

But ſurely they have not ſufficiently conſidered the great duty and excellence of uniformity, and the great ſin and ſcandal of ſchiſm. Men, as individuals in the ſtate of nature, are free to think and chooſe and act for themſelves; but as members of ſociety they have given up part of their natural freedom, and are obliged to conform to the laws and orders of ſociety. Yet there is no ſociety, no government, eccleſiaſtical or civil, that hath ever attained unto perfection. There are ſome

laws and conſtitutions both in the one and in the other, which perhaps you may ſee reaſon to wiſh amended: but you are not therefore at liberty to diſobey the laws, and to diſturb the peace of the ſtate or church in which you were born, and under which you live. Public eſtabliſhments are not to be broken through out of private humor and caprice, becauſe this man or that man may conceive that this thing or that thing may poſſibly be made better. For by the ſame right that one man diſſents, another may diſſent; and ſo there would be no end of ſchiſms and diviſions, but an utter end of all eſtabliſhments, of all law and lawful authority. We are not yet come to that paſs, though it be what ſome earneſtly recommend, that every man ſhould be his own lawgiver, his own governor; nor can we ever come to that paſs, as long as any ſociety ſubſiſts, we muſt firſt be reduced to a ſtate below Hottentots and Savages.

How different from theſe men were the ſentiments of the good Pſalmiſt; (Pſal. CXXII. 1, &c.) " I was glad when they ſaid unto " me, Let us go into the houſe of the Lord. Pray for the peace of " Jeruſalem; they ſhall proſper that love thee. Peace be within thy " walls, and proſperity within thy palaces. For my brethren and " companions ſakes I will now ſay, Peace be within thee. Becauſe " of the houſe of the Lord our God, I will ſeek thy good." And upon the ſight of this union how doth he break forth into rapture, (CXXXIII. 1.) " Behold, how good and how pleaſant it is for bre- " thren to dwell together in unity!" Communion is more eſpecially the duty of all Chriſtians, and there are higher obligations to it than Acts of Uniformity. It is not only injoined by the law of the land, but is farther enforced and ſanctified by the law of the Lord. One main object of our Saviour's prayer for his diſciples was unity, (John XVII. 21.) " That they all may be one, as thou, Father, art in me, " and I in thee, that they alſo may be one in us; that the world " may believe that thou haſt ſent me:" and if the unity of his diſciples was a proof of his divine miſſion, their diſcord and diſſenſions muſt have a contrary effect. You cannot but remember that warm and affectionate exhortation of St. Paul to the Romans, (XVI. 17.)

" Now I beſeech you, brethren, mark them which cauſe diviſions and " offenſes contrary to the doctrin which ye have learned, and avoid " them :" and that again to the Corinthians, (1 Cor. I. 10.) " Now I " beſeech you, brethren, by the name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that " ye all ſpeak the ſame thing, and that there be no Σχισματα ſchiſms or " diviſions among you ; but that ye be perfectly joined together in the " ſame mind and in the ſame judgment :" and that alſo to the Epheſians, (IV. 1, &c.) " I therefore the priſoner of the Lord beſeech you, " that ye walk worthy of the vocation wherewith ye are called, with " all lowlineſs and meekneſs, with long-ſuffering, forbearing one " another in love ; endevoring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the " bond of peace. There is one body, and one Spirit, even as ye are " called in one hope of your calling ; one Lord, one faith, one bap- " tiſm ; one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through " all, and in you all."

Uniformity of worſhip being then the law of Chriſt as well as the law of the land, which we are all bound to obey, nothing can juſtify or excuſe a ſeparation, unleſs the terms of communion are ſinful ; and in ſuch a caſe we muſt obey God rather than men. It was upon this principle that we vindicated our reformation from the Church of Rome, " becauſe they not only taught doctrins expreſly contrary to the word of God, but were alſo guilty of idolatry and other corrupt practices : and there was no living in communion with them without joining in theſe ſame things, and offending palpably againſt the light and conviction of conſcience. They therefore who impoſed the yoke, and not they who broke from it, were in reality the ſchiſmatics. But what objections of this kind can fairly be made to the doctrin and diſciplin of the Church of England ? It is in vain to look for abſolute perfection in any work or ordinance of man. If we can approach any way near it, it is ſufficient, without viſionary ſchemes and projects of amendments. When things are once well ſettled and eſtabliſhed, and have the ſanction and approbation of ages, alterations are ſeldom made for the better, commonly for the worſe, as is moſt evidently to be ſeen in the Candid Diſquiſitions and other attempts of the like nature to correct

rect and reform our Liturgy. Look round the Chriſtian world, and you will find it to be a moſt certain truth, that of all the various forms of religious worſhip, there are many more excellencies, and fewer imperfections in our own than in any other whatever: And why then not reſt ſatisfied with ſo reaſonable a ſervice? why not "hold faſt the "profeſſion of our faith without wavering, not forſaking the aſſem-"bling of ourſelves together, as the manner of ſome is?"

Whether the numerous ſects of thoſe who are called *Diſſenters* have diſcovered any thing in the worſhip and ſervice of the Church eſtabliſhed by law ſo criminal and offenſive as to juſtify their ſeparation from it, this is not a time to inquire. To their own Maſter they ſtand or fall. But there are ſome men, who profeſs themſelves members of the Church of England, and pretend to hold her doctrins and articles in greater reverence and purity than others: and yet contrary to all order and decency, in open violation of the laws of the Church as well as the State, divine as well as human, ſet up ſeparate congregations; erect tabernacles; preach in the fields and corners of the ſtreets; call off people from their neceſſary work and labor; unable to diſtinguiſh themſelves by any fair or honorable means, have recourſe to unwarrantable expedients; would never be known, or heard of but for their ſtrange ſingularities and irregular practices; many of them ordained and licenſed only by themſelves, invade the prieſts office; revile the Clergy of the eſtabliſhed Church; rob them as much as they can of the affections of their pariſhioners, and even of their parochial dues; make ſhameful merchandiſe of the word of God, flatter and cajole the richer ſort, collect ſmall ſums from the poorer, "by good words and "fair ſpeeches," as St. Paul expreſſeth it, (Rom. XVI. 18.) "deceive "the hearts of the ſimple," beguiling them at once of their time, of their money, and of their underſtanding; cry up themſelves and their followers as the only ſaints upon earth, and paragons of all holineſs and godlineſs of living; boaſt of a divine miſſion and inſpiration, of extraordinary gifts and graces of the holy Spirit, without any proof or credentials but their own confident aſſertions; and by noiſe and novelty, by cant and hypocriſy attract the admiration and

applauſe

applauſe of gaping ignorant multitudes, the preachers nonſenſe ſuiting the peoples nonſenſe like two inſtruments in uniſon. If the good effects, which are ſaid to follow from hence, were all as real as they are pretended; yet we are expreſly forbidden (Rom. III. 8.) to "do "evil that good may come:" Of ſuch men the apoſtle aſſerts, that "their damnation is juſt." But what are theſe good effects? Some perhaps have by theſe means been brought to a miſtaken ſenſe of religion who had none at all before: but the more general, the more obvious and ſtriking effects are the neglect of their proper buſineſs and calling, morality and common honeſty ſwallowed up and loſt in faith, the form of godlineſs without the power, ſimulation and diſſimulation, canting and lying, confuſed and bewildered thoughts, diſturbed and dejected countenances, formality and preciſeneſs, pride and cenſoriouſneſs, fanaticiſm and enthuſiaſm, melancholy and madneſs. How they can reconcile this conduct of theirs to reaſon or ſcripture, to the laws of men or the laws of God, ſurpaſſes my comprehenſion. We ſhall hear any thing from them ſooner than reaſons, reaſoning not being their talent; and ſo we muſt leave the matter to God and their own conſciences. But for ſhame, let them no longer pretend to be of the Church of England. (1 Cor. XI. 16.) "We "have no ſuch cuſtoms, neither the churches of God." For (XIV. 33.) "God is not the author of confuſion, but of peace, as in all "churches of the ſaints."

Others there are who have a better plea for their ſeparation, if their principles were true. Theſe are they who deny the divinity of our bleſſed Saviour, admit him indeed to be a teacher ſent with an extraordinary commiſſion from God, but will not allow him to be more than man, or to have had any exiſtence prior to his being born of the Virgin Mary, and conſequently profeſs to reverence and obey him as their prophet, to apply to him as their mediator, but not to worſhip and adore him as their God. Now the doctrin and practice of the Church of England being contrary to theirs, they can no longer join in communion with her, but renounce her liturgy and articles, reſign their livings, and publiſh apologies for ſo doing, though this be the leaſt

leaſt exceptionable part of their conduct, and that which ſtandeth leaſt in need of any apology or vindication. For without doubt reſigning is better than equivocating and lying both to God and men; and it is to be wiſhed, that all others who entertain the ſame opinions, would follow the ſame example, rather than receive the wages of iniquity, confeſſing one thing with their mouth, and believing another in their heart. Reſignation would be ſome proof of their ſincerity and diſintereſtedneſs, if they ſat down contented with their loſs, or if we could be certain that pride or vanity or love of filthy lucre did not lie at the bottom; the pride of heading a ſeparate congregation, the vanity of being ſingular, the love of filthy lucre by contributions and collections from their auditors. Reſignation may poſſibly proceed from a good intention, but there can be no excuſe for continued prevarication.

If their principles I ſay were true, if their premiſes were right, their concluſion alſo would be right; and we ſhould really be what they are pleaſed to call us, *idolaters*. But they have no better reaſon for denying the divinity of our Saviour and the doctrin of the Trinity, than becauſe they cannot comprehend them; and if they are to reject every thing in religion which they cannot comprehend, there will be ſcarce any article of faith remaining. Neither do we pretend to comprehend theſe things any more than they, but we have the moſt ſufficient and ſatisfactory reaſon for believing them, the authority of God, becauſe they are expreſly aſſerted or plainly implied in the word of God, and therefore cannot but be true. As St. Paul ſaith (Rom. III. 4.) " Let God be true, and every man a lier." The authority of God is not to be ſet aſide or weakened by their flimſy metaphyſical reaſonings. Their writings and apologies ſtrike out no new lights, furniſh no new matter, not even one new argument to the purpoſe; they are only a dull repetition of ſtale objections which have been refuted over and over again. But it is not fitting that ſuch peſtilential hereſies ſhould be ſuffered at any time to walk about without notice or reply. As faſt as theſe Hydra's revive and raiſe their head, they ſhould be knocked down again, which in the preſent caſe hath been done

moſt

moſt effectually, and to general approbation, by a moſt ingenious Layman and Member of the Iriſh Parlament, by the worthy Preſident of Corpus Chriſti College in Oxford, and by a learned Clergyman of my own dioceſe, Mr. Bingham, a name memorable for the knowlege of Chriſtian Antiquities.

We muſt admit indeed, that the Church of England, though ſhe generally offers up her prayers to God through the only mediator between God and men, yet ſometimes addreſſes prayers and praiſes to our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and alſo to the Holy Ghoſt, as in the Litany, and in the Te Deum, and in ſome other parts of our ſervice: and we cannot but think ourſelves ſufficiently juſtified in complying with the precepts and examples of ſcripture, and in conforming to the worſhip of the Chriſtian Church of all ages and nations. We muſt likewiſe admit, that (Mark XII. 32.) " there is one God, and there " is none other but he," and that (Matt. IV. 10.) " we muſt wor- " ſhip the Lord God, and him only we muſt ſerve." On the other hand it is alſo true, if ſcripture be true, that the Father is God, and the Son is God, and the Holy Ghoſt is God; and not only the ſame name, but all the ſame divine attributes and perfections are aſcribed to each of them. From theſe premiſes laid together it neceſſarily follows, that they are not three Gods but one God, an unity in trinity, and a trinity in unity; which identity and diverſity are not properly objects of our reaſon but only of our faith; and after what manner this ſameneſs and difference ſubſiſt in the Godhead we have not faculties to comprehend, but that they do really ſubſiſt there, we have infallible authority to believe; for they are not of our invention to ſolve a difficulty, but are plain and direct conſequences from the word of God, which muſt be conſiſtent with itſelf as well as with truth. One would think it impoſſible for men, who cannot fully comprehend their own nature and conſtitution, ever to arrive at ſuch preſumption as to pretend to define what is, and what is not the conſtitution of the Godhead, contrary to the teſtimony of God himſelf. Every reaſonable man would ſay with that great maſter of reaſon, Mr. Chillingworth, (Chap. 6. Sect. 56.) " Propoſe me any thing out

" of this book, (the Bible) and require whether I believe it or no, and " ſeem it never ſo incomprehenſible to human reaſon, I will ſubſcribe " it with hand and heart, as knowing no demonſtration can be " ſtronger than this, God hath ſaid ſo, therefore it is true."

We are baptized " in the name of the Father and of the Son and " of the Holy Ghoſt:" and what is this but devoting ourſelves to their worſhip and ſervice?—We are alſo bleſſed in their name; " The " grace of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the love of God, and the " communion of the Holy Ghoſt be with you all. Amen:" and have we not reaſon then to pray to them, and implore their benediction? —In all our Creeds we profeſs to " believe in the Father and in the " Son and in the Holy Ghoſt:" and ſince we are created, and redeemed, and ſanctified by them, why ſhould we not readily join in the doxology, " Glory to be the Father and to the Son and to the " Holy Ghoſt?"—It is God's declared intention, (John V. 23.) " that all men ſhould honor the Son, even as they honor the Fa- " ther."—At his firſt introduction into the world it was ſaid, (Heb. I. 6.) " Let all the angels of God worſhip him:" and ſhall man refuſe, who is ſo much more obliged to him, and more dependent upon him?—He was no ſooner aſcended into heaven than the apoſtles (Luke XXIV. 52.) " worſhipped him;" and at this time it was certainly more than civil homage and worſhip.—Soon after, when an apoſtle was to be choſen in the room of Judas, (Acts I. 24) " they " prayed and ſaid, Thou Lord which knoweſt the hearts of all men, " ſhow whether of theſe two thou haſt choſen;" which prayer was in all probability addreſſed to Chriſt, becauſe he is ſtiled " Lord" which was his uſual appellation, and it is his prerogative as well as God's to " know the hearts of all men," to " know (John II. 25.) what was " in man," and to be (Heb. IV. 12.) " a diſcerner of the thoughts " and intents of the heart;" and becauſe his apoſtles were all of his peculiar appointment; he was therefore the proper perſon to be invoked upon this occaſion to direct the choice; and he himſelf afterwards called St Paul to be an apoſtle in a miraculous manner from heaven.—As in the article of death he commended his ſoul to God,

(Luke

(Luke XXIII. 46.) " Father, into thy hands I commend my ſpirit;" ſo St. Stephen ſurrenders up his ſoul to Chriſt with the like prayer, (Acts VII. 59.) " Lord Jeſus, receive my ſpirit."—The worſhip of Chriſt was eſteemed ſo neceſſary and eſſential a part of the Chriſtian religion, that the firſt Chriſtians were diſtinguiſhed by the title of thoſe (1 Cor. I. 2.) " who call upon the name of Jeſus Chriſt, our Lord." —Paul upon his converſion was exhorted by his brother Ananias (Acts XXII. 16.) " to be baptized and waſh away his ſins, calling on the " name of the Lord," meaning without doubt " the Lord even Je- " ſus who appeared to him in the way."—St. Peter (Acts II. 21.) and St. Paul (Rom. X. 13.) both recite the prophecy of Joel, and both apply it to Chriſt, " Whoſoever ſhall call upon the name of the Lord " ſhall be ſaved."—St. Paul ſpeaking of his thorn in the fleſh or bodily infirmity ſays, (2 Cor. XII. 8.) " For this thing I beſought the " Lord thrice, that it might depart from me:" where " the Lord" evidently appears from the context to be the Lord Chriſt, for his " ſtrength" or power (δυναμις) is afterwards called (δυναμις again) " the " power of Chriſt."—His name as well as God the Father's is employed in the moſt ſolemn adjurations, as by St. Paul (Rom. IX. 1.) " I ſpeak the truth in Chriſt, I lie not, my conſcience alſo bearing " me witneſs in the Holy Ghoſt."—" Grace and mercy and peace" are implored from him as well as from God the Father in numerous paſſages of ſcripture; and St. Paul in particular begins and concludes moſt of his epiſtles with the ſame kind of prayer or benediction.— " Dominion and power and glory and honor and bleſſing" are attributed to him as well as to God the Father in ſeveral places; and particularly by St. Peter (2 Pet. III. 18.) " Grow in grace and in the " knowlege of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. To him be glory " both now and for ever. Amen:" and by St. John (Rev. I. 5, 6.) " Unto him that loved us, and waſhed us from our ſins in his own " blood—be glory and dominion for ever and ever: Amen;" and again (V. 12, 13.) " Worthy is the Lamb that was ſlain to receive " power, and riches, and wiſdom, and ſtrength, and honor, and glory, " and bleſſing: And every creature which is in heaven, and on the

" earth, and under the earth, and ſuch as are in the ſea, heard I,
" ſaying, Bleſſing, and honor, and glory, and power be unto Him
" that ſitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb for ever and ever."

After ſo many proofs, and many more which might eaſily be collected, with what face can theſe men preſume to call Jeſus our *idol?* or how have the confidence to tell us that the primitive Chriſtians were generally Unitarians till the Council of Nice, and that for the three firſt centuries they addreſſed all religious worſhip only to God the Father? Truth enforces me to ſay, that never were falſer and more confident aſſertions, not only contrary to Scripture as we have ſeen, but alſo to the truth of all eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, as it might amply be proved, and indeed hath been proved again and again, by abundance of citations from the fathers and ancient doxologies. Even Heathen authors might have taught them better. For in the beginning of the ſecond century, Pliny the younger, in a letter of his to the Emperor Trajan (X. 97.) giving an account of the Chriſtians of that age, ſays that they were wont on a ſtated day to aſſemble before it was light, and alternately to ſing *a hymn to Chriſt as God:* and in the ſame century Lucian in his *Proteus* or Death of the ſtranger reproaches the Chriſtians for worſhipping a crucified man; and in his *Philopatris* ridicules them for ſwearing by the Trinity, *one of three and three of one*, as he expreſſes it. The Arians never carried matters ſo far as to deny the divinity of our Saviour, or to refuſe the worſhip due to him and alſo to the Holy Ghoſt. Dr. Clarke in his Scripture-Doctrin of the Trinity hath two ſections, (Part 1. Chap. 2. Sect. 4. and Chap. 3. Sect. 5.) one containing the paſſages, wherein is ſet forth the honor and worſhip which ought to be paid to the Son; and the other compriſing the paſſages, wherein is declared what honor or worſhip is due to the Holy Ghoſt. But then he diſtinguiſheth between the ſupreme worſhip due to the perſon of the Father ſingly; and a ſubordinate kind of worſhip due to the Son and to the Holy Ghoſt. This is the ſame kind of plea that the Romaniſts urge in defenſe of their worſhipping of ſaints and angels: but an argument which we will not allow in them, we cannot reaſonably make uſe of ourſelves; and I was ſorry to ſee

ſo

ſo great and able a man as Dr. Clarke really was, adopt ſuch an idle diſtinction as he would not ſuffer in others. For there is not the leaſt foundation for it, nor the leaſt intimation of any ſupreme or ſubordinate worſhip in ſcripture. " Worſhip God," ſays the angel. (Rev. XXII. 9.) This is the only worſhip injoined in ſcripture; all other is forbidden.

Chriſt in his godhead is equal to the Father, he is inferior only in his manhood. As man only he is not to be worſhipped by us, he is to be worſhipped as God. But if he be not God, nor conſequently to be worſhipped by us, what becomes of the truth of the Chriſtian religion, or what can be ſaid in vindication of Chriſt and his Apoſtles for advancing ſo many falſities, and unavoidably leading us into ſuch pernicious errors? What apology or excuſe can be made for ſuch groſs fraud and prevarication as well as for ſuch audacious effrontery and preſumption, as their aſcribing to him, and his arrogating to himſelf, the ſtile and title of godhead, when he was no more than a creature? The Jews more than once charged Jeſus with blaſphemy, becauſe (John V. 18.) " he called God πατερα ιδιον his own " Father, making himſelf equal with God;" and becauſe (X. 33.) " he being a man made himſelf God;" and indeed if he had been man only, the charge would have been unanſwerable: But he was ſo far from admitting their argument, or retracting in the leaſt what he had ſaid, that in all his anſwers he rather confirmed and eſtabliſhed " his being equal with God, and his being God." According to St. Paul (Philipp. II. 6, &c.) Chriſt's merits conſiſted in this, that " being " in the form of God he thought it not robbery to be equal with " God;" that is, he did not aſſume to be equal with God, " but " made himſelf of no reputation;" εαυτον εκενωσε, emptied himſelf, deveſted himſelf of his former glory, " and took upon him the form " of a ſervant, and was made in the likeneſs of men;" and for this reaſon was " highly exalted, and a name given above every name, " that at the name of Jeſus every knee ſhould bow:" But according to theſe men the reverſe of all this was the truth, and he was guilty of this robbery in arrogating an equality with God. If he was nothing

nothing more than man, and had no being before he was born of the Virgin Mary, how could he ſay (John VIII. 58.) " Before Abraham " was, I am ;" *I am*, the name by which God made himſelf known unto the children of Iſrael: or how could he mention (XVII. 5.) his having been " in glory with the Father before the world was ?" If he was nothing more than man, how could he ſpeak of himſelf (III. 13.) as " coming down from heaven, and being in heaven" even while he was upon earth: or how could he declare (V. 23.) that " all men " ſhould honor the Son even as they honor the Father ?" If he was nothing more than man, how could he aſſume divine attributes to himſelf, (Rev. I. 17, 18.) " I am the firſt and the laſt, I am alive " for evermore ;" (II. 23.) " I am he which ſearcheth the reins and " hearts, and I will give to every one of you according to your " works?" Nothing could juſtify ſuch language but its being the voice of a God and not of a man. In any mere man it would be inſufferable ; and ſuch a man ſo preſumptuouſly affecting Godhead we could never with any reaſon believe to be a meſſenger of God and a teacher of righteouſneſs, but muſt neceſſarily look upon him with abhorrence as a groſs impoſtor, or foul blaſphemer, or downright madman at beſt. It is impoſſible therefore for any conſiſtent Socinian to be a true Chriſtian.

If ever there were any, theſe are the men, who not *privily*, as the apoſtle ſays, but *publicly* (2 Pet. II. 1.) " bring in damnable hereſies, " even denying the Lord that bought them," the atonement made by Chriſt as well as his divinity. But this is not their only fault. They have new-modeled the Liturgy in accommodation to their own tenets, and would willingly change the whole form of our government ; many of them being no leſs enemies to our civil than to our eccleſiaſtical conſtitution, Socinians in the one, Republicans in the other, and promoters of anarchy and confuſion in both. On a double account therefore we ſhould watch and guard againſt them, " leſt " like Satan (2 Cor. II. 11) they ſhould get an advantage of us, " for we are not ignorant of their devices." It is to be hoped that we have better learned our duty as Chriſtians and as Engliſhmen, and have

have a true love and reverence for our excellent conſtitution both in Church and State. Let us then with regard to the Church obſerve St. Paul's injunction to Timothy, (1 Tim. VI. 20.) " O Timothy, " keep that which is committed to thy truſt, avoiding profane and " vain bablings, and oppoſitions of ſcience falſely ſo called :" And with regard to the State let us continually bear in mind Solomon's wiſe advice to his ſon, (Prov. XXIV. 21.) " My ſon, fear thou the Lord " and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to " change."

" Now our Lord Jeſus Chriſt himſelf, (2 Theſſ. II. 16, 17.) and " God even our Father, who hath loved us, and hath given us ever- " laſting conſolation and good hope through grace, Comfort your " hearts, and ſtabliſh you in every good word and work."

THE END OF VOL. II.

ΠΡΟΛΟΓΟΣ